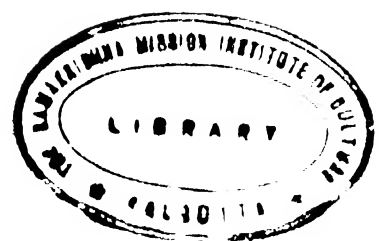


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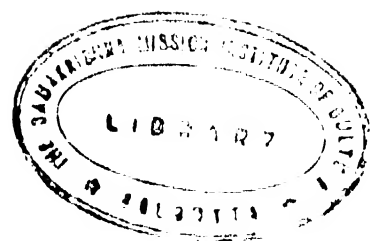


















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of

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OF THE MEM. BERLIN SOC. OF ANTHROPOLOGY, ETC., AND OF HAVANIAN SOC. OF ARTS AND SCIENCES; FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY, ETC.  
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“...and

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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

## I.—JABALPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF YASAḤKARNADEVA. [A. D. 1122.]

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription, of which I am unable to say where<sup>1</sup> or by whom it was discovered, was engraved on two plates. Both plates were deposited in the Nāgpur Museum, where a Devanāgarī transcript of the whole inscription was made which seems to exist still and which will be referred to below. Subsequently the second of the two plates was either lost or stolen. But the first plate is still in the Museum; and, since the inscription even in its fragmentary state is of some importance, being the only one of the Chedi king Yaśaḥkarnadeva hitherto discovered, I edit it now from five rubbings and impressions which during the last two or three years have been kindly supplied to me by Dr. Burgess, Mr. Fleet, and Colonel J. A. Tetrple.<sup>2</sup>

The plate is inscribed on one side only, and measures about 1' 6½" broad by 1' high. At the bottom it has a round hole, about ⅝" in diameter, for a ring which has probably disappeared together with the missing plate. The writing has suffered a good deal from corrosion, and there are in consequence several *aksharas* which cannot be read with absolute certainty. But, fortunately, everything of historical importance is clear and distinct, and there is no doubt about the purport of any part of the inscription. The size of the letters is between ⅜" and ⅞". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the introductory *om om namo Vrahmaṇe* and a few words at the end, the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is 24, of which 16 occur also in the Kumbhī copper-plate inscription of Gosaladevī.<sup>3</sup> As regards orthography, the letter *b*

<sup>1</sup> I call the plate the Jabalpur plate, because it is so called by Sir A. Cunningham. The district of 'Jāvalipattana or Jāuli-patan' was apparently mentioned in the lost portion of the inscription. See the references in note 2, below.

<sup>2</sup> See Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd edition, Introduction, pp. li and lii; and Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 87 and 88. Several of the statements which have been made regarding this inscription, on the basis of the Nāgpur Museum transcript, are very incorrect. Thus, according to one account, the inscription is one of Karpadeva, according to another it belongs to Gayakarna, and the transcript is said to read *Sri-mahāsa-Karna*; but there can be no doubt that the inscription belongs to Yaśaḥkarna and that, what the copyist had before him in the now lost plate, was *Srīmad-Yaśaḥkarna*. Karpadeva is said to have built a fort named Karna Meru from which flowed the river Karnaṇvatī; in reality Karna built a temple at Banāras, which the poet describes as Karna's Meru, and he founded the town of Karnaṇvatī. The same Karna is said to have conquered Bhīmeśvara, king of Andhra, who is identified with Bhīma II, one of the eastern Chālukyas. What the inscription really says is, that Yaśaḥkarna defeated the king of Andhra, and that he subsequently presented the holy Bhīmeśvara (or Śiva) with many ornaments. [See page 7, note 48.—E. H.]

<sup>3</sup> Edited and translated in the *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. VIII, pp. 483—495; and re-edited by Dr. F. E. Hall, *ib.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 116—123. It will be seen that the present inscription, in verses 3, 5, 8, 12, 14, and 20, furnishes decidedly better readings than those given by Dr. Hall, and that in verse 21 it supplies certain words which have been either omitted or given quite wrongly in the published versions of the Kumbhī inscription.



is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is frequently employed instead of the palatal; besides, *ś* is used for *s* in the word *śārdḍham*, in line 21, and *j* for *y* in *trijāmā*, in line 15.

The metrical portion of the inscription, after mentioning, like the Kumbhī and other Chedi inscriptions, a number of divine and semi-divine beings, gives the usual genealogy of the Kalachuri (or Chedi) kings of Tripurī, from Yuvarājadeva down to the reigning king Yaśaḥkarnadeva (Yuvarājadeva; Kokalla; Gāṅgeyadeva, also called Vikramāditya; Karnadeva, who married the Hūṇa princess Āvalladevī; and Yaśaḥkarnadeva). And, in addition to the well-known facts that Gāṅgeyadeva with his hundred wives obtained final salvation at Prayāga, and that Karnadeva founded the town of Karnāvatī, it only records (in verse 13) that Karṇa also built a magnificent temple at Kāśī or Benares, where evidently verse 13 was composed; and (in verse 23) that Yaśaḥkarṇa defeated the ruler of Andhra, in the vicinity of the river Godāvarī.

Of the prose portion of the inscription only a few words remain. But from these words—‘and this...*Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Parameśvara*, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vāmadeva,’<sup>4</sup>—it is clear that the inscription must have recorded a grant made by, or during the reign of, the king who in the metrical portion is mentioned last, *i.e.*, Yaśaḥkarnadeva. And it is fortunate that the Nāgpur Museum transcript, inaccurate as it is in other respects, enables us to ascertain the time when this grant was made, in my opinion, with certainty. We know that Yaśaḥkarṇa was succeeded by his son Gayakarnadeva, and we possess an inscription of this Gayakarnadeva<sup>5</sup> which must have been put up towards the end of his reign and which bears a date corresponding to the 17th June, A. D. 1151. Yaśaḥkarṇa would therefore have ceased to reign some time before, and probably at such a distance from, A. D. 1151, as would suit the relation to each other of father and son. Now according to the Nāgpur Museum transcript of the present inscription<sup>6</sup> the grant recorded in it was made ‘at the time of the Makara-saṁkrānti, on Monday, the 10th of the waning moon of Māgha.’ And during the sixty years preceding A. D. 1151, the only year which fulfils these conditions is A. D. 1122. For in that year<sup>7</sup> the 10th of the dark half of Māgha fell by the *pūrṇimānta* scheme on Monday, the 25th December, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise; and in the same year the Makara-saṁkrānti took place 15 minutes before mean sunrise of, or for religious purposes on, the same Monday. And I have no doubt that Monday, the 25th December A. D. 1122, corresponding, with my epoch of the Chedi era, to Māghabadi 10 of Chedi-saṁvat 874, is the true date of the grant, and that this is a reliable date for Yaśaḥkarnadeva, whose reign probably ended shortly afterwards.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 225.

<sup>5</sup> See *ib.*, vol. XVIII, p. 210.

<sup>6</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 218. After I had made the necessary calculations regarding the above date for my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era and found the above result, I learnt from Mr. Fleet that, according to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations, in the century Śaka-saṁvat 1000 to 1100 (A. D. 1078—1178) the only year in which the Makara-saṁkrānti occurred on a Monday, which was the 10th lunar or solar day of the month Māgha, was Śaka-saṁvat 1044 expired (A. D. 1122—23).



TEXT.<sup>8</sup>

L. 1.

श्री<sup>9</sup> [॥<sup>\*</sup>] श्री नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥

जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभीसरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जातवानज्ज(ज)सूतिः ॥(1)

अथ जयति स तस्यापत्यमत्रिस्तदक्षस्तदनु जयति जन्म प्राप्तवा-

2.

नन्धिवन्धुः<sup>10</sup> ॥<sup>11</sup>—[1].अथ वो(बो)धनमादिराजपुत्रं गृहजामातरमज्जवान्धवस्य<sup>12</sup> ।तनयं जनयाव(ब)भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥<sup>13</sup>—[2].

पुत्रं पुरुवरसमौरसमाप स-

3.

नुर्देवस्य सप्तजलरासि(शि)रसायनस्य ।

आसीदनन्यसमभाग्यशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्ध्वसी(शी) च सुकलत्रमिहोर्ध्वरा च ॥<sup>14</sup>—[3].

अ[त्रा]न्वये किल शताधिकसप्तिमधयूपोपरुद्धयमुनो-

4.

क्तविविक्तकीर्त्तिः ॥(1)

सप्ताब्धि(ब्धि)रत्नरस(श)नाभरणाभिरामविस्त्रं(श्वं)भ[रा]सु(शु)भरतो भरतो व(ब)भूव ॥ —[4].

हेलागृहीतपुनरुक्तसमस्तस(श)स्त्रो गोत्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य स कात्तवीर्यः ॥(1)

अ-

5.

त्रैव हेह्यनृपाव्ययपूर्वपुंसि राजेति नाम स(श)शलक्ष्मणि चक्षमे यः ॥ —[5].

स हिमाचल इव कलशुरिषंस(श)मसूत क्षमाभृतां भर्ता [॥<sup>\*</sup>]

सुक्तामणिभिरिवामलवृत्तैः पूतं महीप-

6.

तिभिः ॥<sup>15</sup>—[6].

तत्रान्वये नयवतां प्रवरो नरेन्द्रः पौरन्दरीमिव पुरीं त्रिपुरीं पुनानः ॥(1)

आसीन्मदान्धनृपगन्धगजाधि[राज]निर्मायकेसरियुवा युवराजदेवः ॥<sup>16</sup>—[7].

सिंहासने नृप-

7.

तिसिंहममुथ स्रुतमारुरूपनवनिभर्तुरमात्यमुख्याः ॥(1)

कोकलमणवचतुष्टयवीचिसंघसंघट्टरुचतुरङ्गचमूपचारं ॥ —[8].

इन्दुप्रभां निंदति हारगुच्छं जुगुप्सते

8.

चंदनमाक्षिपन्ती [॥]

यत्र प्रभौ दूरतरं प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रतिभाति कीर्त्तिः ॥<sup>17</sup>—[9].मरकतमणिपट्टप्रौढवक्षाः स्निताक्षो<sup>18</sup> नगरपरिघदैर्घो<sup>19</sup>(द्यै) लंघय[न्दो]र्हयेन ।

[शिर]सि

9.

कुलिस(श)पातो वैरिणां वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गेयदेवः ॥<sup>19</sup>—[10].

सवीरसिंहासनमौलिर[त्नं] स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः ।

य[स्माद]कस्मादप[वर्गं १]-

<sup>8</sup> From impressions supplied to me by the Editor and by Mr. Fleet.

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>10</sup> Read नन्धिवन्धुः.

<sup>11</sup> Metre, Mālini.

<sup>12</sup> Read मज्जवान्धवस्य.

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Aupachchhandasika.

<sup>14</sup> Metre of verses 3—5, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>15</sup> Metre, Āryā.

<sup>16</sup> Metre of verses 7 and 8, Vasantatilakā. As the noun *nirmātha* does not seem to occur anywhere else, I suspect it to have been put wrongly for *nirmāthi* (*nirmāthin*).

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>18</sup> This word is quite clear in the rubbings.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Mālini.



- L. 10. मिच्छन्नु[च्छ]लः[कुं स्वजि?]तां व(ब)भार ॥<sup>20</sup>—[11].  
 प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेस(श)व(ब)न्धौ सार्धं शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत्र मुक्तिं ।  
 पुत्रोऽस्य खड्गदलि[तारि]करीन्द्रकुम्भमुक्ताफलैः
11. स्म<sup>21</sup>ककुभोर्ध्वति कर्णदेवः ॥<sup>22</sup>—[12].  
 कनकसि(शि)खरवेङ्गजयन्तीसमीरग्नपितग[ग]नखेलस्थेचरीचक्रखे[द]ः ॥(1)  
 किमपरमिह कास्यां(श्यां) य[स्य] दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वीचीवल[यव(ब)?]-
12. हल[कीर्त्तः] कीर्त्तनं कर्णमेवः ॥<sup>23</sup>—[13].  
 अग्रं धाम स्त्रे(श्रे)यसो वेदविद्यावल्लीकंदः स्वःस्रवन्थाः किरीटं [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्तंभो येन कर्णावतीति प्रत्य[ष्ठापि] क्षातलव्र(ब्र)ह्मलो[कः]
13. ॥<sup>24</sup>—[14].  
 अजनि कलचुरीणां स्वामिना तेन हृणान्वयजलनिधिलक्ष्मणां श्रीमदावल्लदेव्यां ॥(1)  
 शशभृदुदयस(श)ङ्गाक्षुब्ध(ब्ध)दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वेलासहचरितयस(श):श्रीः श्रीयस(श):कर्ण-
14. देवः ॥<sup>25</sup>—[15].  
 [चंद्रार्कदीप]वति पर्वतराजपूर्णकुम्भावभासिनि महा[ब्धि(ब्धि)]चतुष्कमध्ये[1<sup>x</sup>]  
 चक्रे पुरोहितपुर[स्कृ]तिपूत[कर्मा] धर्मात्मनोऽस्य हि पितैव महाभिषेकं ॥<sup>26</sup>—[16].  
 न
15. खलु स[मदगो]ष्ठीपक्षपातस्य पात्रं ॥<sup>27</sup>न खलु कलुषचर्याकज्जलो[द्भावकश्च?] ॥(1)  
 कलयति कलिनामन्युत्तमं यस्त्रिजा(या)मातमसि जयति जम्बू(जम्बू)द्वीपरत्नप्रदीपः ॥<sup>28</sup>—[17].  
 चिन्ता-
16. मणि[क्षण?]सु(श)क्तियु[ग्म]क्रोडे स्याद्यदि कामधेनुदुग्धं [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 दृश्ये(श्ये)त दृशोस्तस्य दातुः सादृश्यं(श्यं) [ध]वलारुणेक्षणस्य । ॥<sup>29</sup>—[18].  
 यः ककुप्कुञ्जरालानस्तंभसत्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिणः ।
17. [आसा(शा)न्ते]षु जयस्तभानुदस्तंभयदुश्चकैः ॥<sup>30</sup>—[19].  
 यो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणां पाणिषु पंचपाणि दाता<sup>31</sup>निधत्ते पयसः पृषन्ति [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 तैरेव तृणामवधूय ते च रत्नाकरेपि प्रथयन्त्यव[ज्ञां ॥]<sup>32</sup>—[20].
18. महीभर्ता महादानैस्त्रैस्तुलापुरुषादिभिः [1]  
 गरिम्णा [मि]रत्यर्थं कृतार्थयति योर्थिनः । ॥<sup>33</sup>—[21].  
 स्वर्गराजगजदन्तरुचीनि क्षीरनीरनिधिमं(शं)खसु(श)चीनि ।  
 सा(शा)ङ्गि-
19. [वेप?]फणिकंशुकभांसि स्फोततां दधति यस्य यसां(शां)सि ॥<sup>34</sup>—[22].  
 अन्धाधीस(श)मरन्ध्रदोर्विलसितं स्वच्छन्दमुच्छिन्दता  
 येनाभ्यर्चयत भूरिभिः स भगवान्भीमिस्व(श्व)रो

<sup>20</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>21</sup> This word is quite clear in the rubbings.

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Śālinī.

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>27</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>28</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>29</sup> Metre, Bhadravirāj. The third Pāda wants one short syllable, between *drīṣas* and *tasya*. I would suggest reading *tadāśya*.

<sup>30</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>31</sup> This is quite clear in the rubbings.

<sup>32</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

<sup>33</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>34</sup> Metre, Svāgatā.



L. 20.

[भूष]णैः ॥(1)

यस्या[व]र्ण[यदात्त?]नृत्यलहरीद्रुवङ्गिगोदावरो

[वीर्याण्यु?]नदहंसनादमधुरैः स्रोतःस्वरैः सप्तभिः ॥(॥)<sup>36</sup>—[23].

कुर्वन्महीं ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसा-

21.

दरिद्रनिव(व)र्द्धणः [1\*]

शा(सा)र्द्ध परसु(शु)रामेण यः स्यर्द्धमधिरोहति ॥<sup>36</sup>—[24].

स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(स्व)रश्रीवामदेवपा-

. . . . .

## TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Brahman !

(Verse 1.) Glorious is (*the god*) whose navel is a lotus, glorious is the lotus which is his navel, (*and*) glorious is (*the god*) born from that lotus ! Glorious also is his offspring Atri, and glorious is the friend of the ocean who took his birth from Atri's eye!<sup>37</sup>

(2.) Now the king<sup>38</sup> who is the swan in the lake of the expanse of heaven begat as his offspring Bodhana, the son of (*that*) primeval king (*and*) son-in-law in the house of the friend of lotuses.

(3.) This son of the god<sup>39</sup> who is the elixir produced from the seven seas obtained, as the son of his own body, Purûravas, who had both Urvaśī and the earth here for his faithful wives, to be enjoyed by him with their hundreds of unrivalled blessings.

(4.) In this family forsooth was born Bharata, whose pure fame is proclaimed by the Yamunâ, hemmed in by more than hundred posts of horse-sacrifices (*offered by him*),—Bharata, who delighted in the welfare of the earth, made lovely, as by a pearl-ornament, by the girdle of the seven seas.

(5.) Highly glorious is in his family that Kârtavîrya who, though he had no need of them, wielded with ease every weapon, (*and*) who allowed the title of king<sup>40</sup> only to the Moon, the ancestor of the family of these Haihaya princes.

(6.) Resembling the Himâlaya, the lord of mountains, that lord of princes begat the Kalachuri race which is purified by rulers of spotless conduct, as with pure round pearls.

(7.) In this family was a prince, foremost of the prudent, who purified the town of Tripurî so that it was like Indra's city,—Yuvarâjâdeva, who destroyed the lords of princes blinded by passion, as a young lion does powerful infuriated elephants.

(8.) The chief ministers of that ruler of the earth placed on the throne his son Kokalla, a lion-like prince, the progress of whose armies, comprising elephants, chariots, horsemen and soldiers on foot,<sup>41</sup> was checked (*only*) by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans.

<sup>36</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>37</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>38</sup> This first verse glorifies the god Viṣṇu, his navel, the god Brahman, Atri, and the Moon. Further on we are told that the Moon's son Bodhana (or Budha, *i.e.*, Mercury) married (Ilâ or Iḍâ) a daughter of the Sun (or Mitra-Varuṇa), and that their son was Purûravas. 'The friend of the ocean' is the moon ; 'the friend of lotuses,' the sun.

<sup>39</sup> *i.e.*, the moon.

<sup>40</sup> *i.e.*, again the moon, under the name of Soma confounded with the Soma plant.

<sup>41</sup> For the same idea, compare *ante*, vol. I, p. 313, verse 16. Dr. F. E. Hall's reading *chakrame* in the Kumbhî copper-plate (instead of *chakshame*) yields no sense.

<sup>42</sup> The original has only the word *chaturāṅga*.



(V. 9.) That lord having gone far away, his fame shows like a forsaken woman ; deriding white sandal, it reproves the lustre of the moon, and is a reproach to a string of pearls.

(10.) His son was Gāṅgeyadeva, a thunderbolt falling on the heads of enemies (*and*) the lord of the fortune of heroes, with a chest broad like an emerald tablet, (*and*) with smiling eyes, (*and*) with his two arms surpassing the length of a city bar.

(11.) The crest-jewel of crowned heads, he has become famous under the name of Vikramāditya; for, striving after final beatitude (*and*) free from wicked deceit, he ruled the earth which he had himself conquered all of a sudden.

(12.) When, fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig tree of Prayāga, he had found salvation there together with his hundred wives, his son Karṇadeva honoured the quarters with the pearls from the frontal globes of the majestic elephants of his enemies, cleft by his sword.

(13.) Of him whose great fame is like the circle of waves of the milky ocean, need we say more than that here, at Kāśī, there is a temple (*erected by him*), Karṇa's *Meru*,<sup>42</sup> (*so lofty*) that the wind of the flags which wave from its golden spires lessens the fatigue of the damsels of heaven, when playing in the sky?

(14.) He set up the pillar of piety, called Karṇāvatī, the foremost abode of bliss, the root of the creeping plant—knowledge of the Vedas, the diadem of the stream of heaven, the world of Brahman on the surface of the earth.

(15.) That lord of the Kalachuris begat on the illustrious Āvalladevī, (*another*) goddess of fortune produced from the ocean of the Hūṇa family, the illustrious Yaśaḥ-karṇadeva, the glory of whose fame is co-extensive with the billows of the milky ocean which rose (*when he arose*), mistaking him to be the rising moon.

(16.) Of this law-abiding (*son*) the father, whose acts were purified by the respect which he paid to the family priests, performed himself the great inauguration ceremony in the midst of the four great oceans, made resplendent, as by a full jar, by the king of mountains, and illumined by the moon and the sun.<sup>43</sup>

(17.) Glorious is that jewel-lamp<sup>44</sup> of Jambūdvīpa which sends forth its rays in the darkness of night of the Kali age, never filled with partiality for the assemblies of the arrogant, and never displaying the lampblack—base conduct.

(18.) If the milk of the cow of plenty were (*put*) within the two black shells of the gem which grants every desire, then there would be seen a likeness with the eyes of that bountiful (*king*) whose eyes are both white and red.<sup>45</sup>

(19.) He erected high pillars of victory near the confines of the regions, as companions of the posts to which the elephants of the quarters are fastened.

(20.) This bountiful (*lord*) puts five or six drops of water into the hands of the

<sup>42</sup> *Meru* denotes a particular kind of temple (hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows, and four entrances; *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*, lvi, 20), and the word is chosen here because it is also the name of the well-known fabulous mountain of enormous height, the summit of which is the residence of Brahman. A similar temple is said to have been built by Gāṅgeyadeva; see v. 9 of the next inscription.

<sup>43</sup> At an ordinary *abhisheka* water from all the oceans, golden jars, etc., should be used. To show the magnificence of Yaśaḥkarṇa's *abhisheka*, the poet says that the ceremony here was performed in the midst of the four oceans, and that the Himālaya took the place of the ordinary golden jars, etc.; and he implies that Y. was inaugurated in the sovereignty of the whole earth, bounded by the oceans.

<sup>44</sup> *i.e.*, a lamp in which jewels give out light. Jambūdvīpa is the central division of the world, including India.

<sup>45</sup> The general meaning of this verse is that the king possesses the properties of both the fabulous cow of plenty and the gem which grants every desire.



Brāhmans<sup>46</sup>; and they with these already quench their thirst, and afterwards show their contempt even for the ocean.<sup>47</sup>

(V. 21.) In weight (*like the mountain*) Meru, this ruler of the earth exceedingly gratifies suppliants by bestowing on them (*gold*) equal to his own weight and by other great gifts.

(22.) Bright like the tusks of the elephant of the king of heaven, pure like the shells of the ocean of milk, (*and*) lustrous like the snake's skin in which Vishṇu is clad, his fame has become superabundant.

(23.) Extirpating with ease the ruler of Andhra (*even though*) the play of (*that king's*) arms disclosed no flaw, he revered the holy Bhīmeśvara<sup>48</sup> with many ornaments. The Godāvarī, with her waves, trees and creeping plants dancing, has sung his deeds of valour with the seven notes of her stream, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo.

(24.) Crushing the power of his enemies and making over the earth to the Brāhmans, he engages in a course of rivalry with Paraśurāma.

And this . . . the *Paramabhaktāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Parameśvara*, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vāmadeva . . . . .

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## II.—BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE QUEEN ALHANADEVI.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 907.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall, in 1857, at Bhera-Ghāt on the Narmadā, in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces, and subsequently presented by him to the American Oriental Society in whose Cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited. It is a plain block of greenstone, of a soft texture and easily cut, 2' 9½" broad by 1' 10½" high.<sup>1</sup> The inscription was first edited, with an English translation and notes, by Dr. Hall in the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499-532; and Dr. Hall's text was afterwards reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription, in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, pp. 107-9; and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 91-94. I now re-edit the inscription from two excellent impressions and a rubbing kindly prepared for me, at Professor Lanman's request, by Mr. Herbert C. Tohwan, of Yale University, New Haven.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription contains 29 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2' 7½" broad by 1' 9" high. With the exception of two *aksharas* each at the end of lines 11 and 12, which are almost entirely broken away, and about half a dozen other damaged *aksharas*,

<sup>46</sup> viz., at the time when he is making donations to them.

<sup>47</sup> The word translated by 'ocean' means originally 'a mine of precious stones.'

<sup>48</sup> i.e., the god Śiva. [I take this to refer to the Bhīmeśvara temple at Drākshārāma in the Godāvarī district.—E. H.]

<sup>1</sup> See the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499 and 534; and C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> It is hardly necessary to say that Dr. Hall's text and translation were prepared with his usual care and scholarship. Nevertheless, a few slight errors of his were pointed out already by the Committee of Publication of the American Oriental Society while his paper was passing through the press; and I have had occasion to differ still further from Dr. Hall, as regards both the text and the translation.

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the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{16}$  and  $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī, carefully drawn and engraved; and they include the sign of the *jihvāmūliya* in *mahāpālah*=*Karṇṇah*, in line 9, and that of the *upadhmanīya* in *Hūṇah*=*praharṣam*, in line 10. The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the introductory *om om namaḥ Śivāya* and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse.<sup>3</sup> The language is not quite free from mistakes.<sup>4</sup> For, in line 10, we find the perfect form *chakape*, instead of *chakampe* (which would not have suited the metre), and, in line 25, the imperative *vyadhattām*, possibly an error of the writer or engraver, instead of *vidhattām* which would suit the metre equally well. Besides we have, in line 9, the wrong abstract noun *chaṇḍimatā*, and, in line 2, the adjective *valgu*, used in the sense of the participle *valgat*. And the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed in *kim=vā*, line 2, and in *yushmān=sarīraiḥ*, line 3. As regards orthography, the consonant *b* is seven times denoted by its own proper sign, but just as often by the sign for *v*. Thus, in lines 7 and 10 we read *bibhrat*, but in line 6 *vibhrat*; in line 16 *buddher*, but in line 1 *vuddhim*, &c. The sibilants are generally employed each in its proper place; but in line 14 we have *śaṭāla*, instead of *saṭāla* as the word is correctly written in line 27. Instead of the sign of *anusvāra* the dental *n* has been wrongly employed in the word *sinha* (in the proper names *Vairisinka*, *Vijayasinha*, &c., in lines 16, 17, 21-23, and 29), in *vanśa*, line 20, and in *sudhāṇśuḥ*, line 18 (properly written *sudhāṁśu* in line 4); and even at the end of a word before an initial sibilant, in *sansatsu*, line 5, and *etān=sūriḥ*, line 28. And, generally, it may be noted that out of about 60 cases where the use of the *anusvāra* would have been optional, at the end of a word before a following initial consonant, and where it would now be usually employed throughout, it has been actually employed only about 25 times, while in the rest of the cases the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs has been used instead; and that the sign of *anusvāra* never occurs, instead of the sign for *m*, at the end of a verse or half-verse.

The inscription was composed by Śaśidhara, a younger son of Dharaṇīdhara<sup>5</sup> and grandson of Maheśvara, of the Mauna *gotra*; written on the stone by his elder brother Prithvīdhara; and engraved by Mahīdhara, a son of the artizan Bālasimha (verses 32-35 and 37). And its object is, to record that the queen Alhaṇadevī, the wife (or rather, widow) of the king Gayakarnadeva, and mother of the reigning king Narasimhadeva and his younger brother Jayasimhadeva, founded a Śiva temple, with a *maṭha* or cloister, a hall of study, and gardens attached to it; that, probably for the maintenance of these buildings and their occupants, she assigned the income from the two villages of Nāmaūṇḍī, in the Jāulī *pattalā*, and of Makarapāṭaka, on the right bank of the Narmadā in the land adjoining the hills; and that the management of the whole establishment, thus founded by the queen, was entrusted in the first instance to a Pāśupata ascetic, named Rudrarāśi, of Lāṭa lineage (vv. 27-31). The inscription also records (in verse 36) that all the buildings, etc., aforesaid, at one of which the inscription may be supposed to have been put up, were designed or executed by the architect Pītho.

<sup>3</sup> The second half of verse 20 grossly offends against a well-known metrical rule.

<sup>4</sup> Similar mistakes are found in other Chedi inscriptions of the same period.

<sup>5</sup> Dharaṇīdhara, Prithvīdhara and Mahīdhara are mentioned also in the Tewar stone inscription of Gayākarnadeva, of the Chedi year 902. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 210, note 2.



By way of introduction the inscription, after the words "om om, adoration to Śiva!", and six verses invoking the blessings of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, and Sarasvatī, furnishes the following meagre account of the royal family into which Alhanadevī had married, and of her own descent:—

From a prince of the lunar family, named Arjuna (or Sahasrārjuna, v. 7), was descended the king Kokalladeva (v. 8). From him sprang Gāṅgeyadeva (vv. 9-10); and his son was king Karna who is represented as having held in check the Pāṇḍyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kalingas, Kīras, and Hāṇas (vv. 11-13). Karna's son was Yaśaḥkarna, said to have become famous by devastating Champāraṇya (v. 14); and his son again was Gayakarna (vv. 15-16). Gayakarna married Alhanadevī, a daughter of the king Vijayasimha (a son of Vairisimha who was a son of the prince Hamsapāla, a descendant of the son of Gobhila or Gobhilaputra,) and his wife Śyāmaladevī, a daughter of the king Udayāditya of Mālava (vv. 17-23). And Alhanadevī bore to Gayakarna two sons, Narasimhadeva, who in the inscription is represented as the reigning king, and his younger brother Jayasimhadeva (vv. 24-26). Nearly all this is stated also in the Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasimhadeva, and I may therefore, for the present, refer the reader to my remarks on that inscription, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 215. •

Our inscription is dated, at the end of the last line, in the year 907, on Sunday, the 11th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha,—a date which must of course be referred to the Kalachuri or Chedi era. When writing on the epoch of that era, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 216, I felt inclined to accept Mr. Fleet's suggestion, based on an examination of the photozincograph of this inscription in No. 10 of the *Archæol. Survey of Western India* which alone was then available, that the figures for the day of this date were intended to be 10 (and not 11). But now my excellent impressions have shown me that the figures after all are 11, and that they are quite distinct and cannot be read in any other way. And accordingly the probabilities regarding the corresponding European date are as follows. With my epoch of the Kalachuri era, as to the general correctness of which there can now be hardly any doubt, and according to the way in which the other Kalachuri dates yield satisfactory results, our date should fall in A.D. 1155. But in A.D. 1155 the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha commenced 2 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 6th November, and ended 0 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 7th November, apparently causing sudi 11 to correspond, civilly, to the Monday. In the following year, A.D. 1156, on the other hand, the same 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha ended 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 25th November, and consequently, in that year, sudi 11 was, civilly, really a Sunday. Now, that the day intended by the original date is either Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, or Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156, appears to me certain; but I am not at present prepared to say confidently which of these two Sundays is the true date. Supposing all the other Kalachuri dates to cite current years, the present date might be taken to quote, exceptionally, an expired year, and in that case its equivalent would be Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156. But a more careful examination of the practice of other eras has shown that it is rather the *current* years which are quoted exceptionally. And assuming that, what is true of other eras, must hold good also of the Kalachuri era, one would rather be inclined to look upon Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, as the proper equivalent of the date, and to assume that the *tithi*, in this instance,



was joined with the weekday on which it commenced, and which was almost entirely filled by it.

The two villages Nāmaūṇḍī and Makarapāṭaka, mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to identify. The Jāulī *pattalā*, which apparently was mentioned also in the lost portion of Yaśaḥkarna's copper-plate,<sup>6</sup> must have been the country around Jabalpur.

TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

1. 1. श्री<sup>8</sup>[॥<sup>x</sup>] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥  
कल्याणितामविकलां भवतां तनोतु भाले कलानिधिकला शशिशेखरस्य ॥(1)  
एकैव या प्रमथसार्थगतां द्वितीयावु(बु)द्विम्बदोषविरहेपि करोति नित्यम् ॥<sup>9</sup>—[1].
2. किं मालाः कुमुदस्य किं शशिकलाः किन्धर्माकर्मकुराः<sup>10</sup>  
किम्वा<sup>11</sup>कञ्चुकिकञ्चुकाः किमथवा भूत्युद्गमा भान्धमी ।  
इत्यन्नाकिवितर्किताः शिवशिरःसञ्चारिनाकापगा-  
रिङ्गद्वलुतरङ्गभङ्गिततयः पुण्यप्र-  
पाः पान्तु वः ॥<sup>12</sup>—[2].  
भूतं सद्भिर्भु यद्भिभाति भुवनं यद्भिभ्रमाद्यञ्जग-  
न्नेत्रानन्दकरं धराश्रयरसाद्यन्धत्वहेतुश्च यत् ।  
यद्भ्योऽनुरधाम यश्च यजते शीतं यदेकान्ततः  
सस्पर्शं यदरूपमेभिरवताद्युष्मान्श(उश)रीरैः  
शिवः ॥ —[3].  
शक्तिहेतिपरप्रीतिहेतुश्चन्द्रकचर्चितः ।  
ताण्डवाडव(व)रः कुर्यान्नीलकण्ठः प्रियाणि वः ॥<sup>13</sup>—[4].  
विघ्नीघसन्तमससंहरणाय शक्तं मुक्तं कलंककलया शकलं सुधांशोः ।  
कुन्दावदाततरदन्तमिषाहधा-  
नः श्रेयः परन्दिशतु वः सदयं द्विपास्यः ॥<sup>14</sup>—[5].  
रूपैरनेकैर्व्यावहारजातमातन्वती पातु सरस्वती वः ।  
यस्मैशलालित्यलवादपि स्यात्सन्तु<sup>15</sup>पुंसाङ्गरिमा गरीयान् ॥<sup>x</sup> ॥<sup>16</sup> —[6].  
गोत्रे रात्रिकरस्य भूपति-  
रभूदि(दि)भ्रत्सहस्रं करा-  
न्प्रत्येकन्तिजगन्मनोविनयने रात्रिन्दिवं जागृविः ।  
तेजोभिर्जगतीभृतामपरिभवी नाम्नाञ्जुनः संस्मृते-  
र्यस्याद्याप्यधिगम्यते वसु गतन्नीतं च चौरैश्चिरम् ॥<sup>17</sup>—[7].  
तस्या-  
न्वये समभवत्प्रथितः पृथिव्या नाथः कथाङ्गततमापि वृथा न यस्य ।  
कोकलदेव इति बिभ्रदु[दार]रूपनाम त्रिलोकसुखसंजननैकधाम ॥<sup>18</sup>—[8].  
निर्जित्योर्जितगर्वपर्वतभृतः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वी-

<sup>6</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> From the impressions.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>9</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>10</sup> The sign of *anusvāra* in the last word is very faint, but it is there.

<sup>11</sup> Read किं वा.

<sup>12</sup> Metre of verses 2 and 3, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>14</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>15</sup> Read स्यात्सन्तु.

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.



L. 8.

भुजः

प्राप्तानन्तयशा बभूव नृपतिर्गाङ्गेयदेवस्ततः ।

पृथ्वी येन विधाय मेरुमतुलं कल्पद्रुमेण[र्]थनां

स्वर्गादूर्ध्वमधःस्थितापि विबुधाधारे [स?]मापादिता ॥<sup>19</sup>—[9].

पुण्यामृतेन संसिक्ता शुद्धसत्त्वप्रवर्द्धि-

9.

[त]ा ।

यत्कीर्त्तिव्रततिः सर्व्व व्याप ब्र(व)ह्माण्डमण्डपम(म्) ॥<sup>20</sup>—[10].

तेनाजनि महीपालकृष्णः स्वर्णेन कुर्व्वता ।

पूर्णतृष्णाण्वानर्थिसार्थानर्थितकीर्त्तिना ॥ —[11].

पाण्डुराशुमताम्रमोच मुरलस्तत्याज गर्व्व[य]हं<sup>21</sup>

10.

[कु]ङ्कः<sup>22</sup> सद्गतिमाजगाम चक्रपे<sup>23</sup>वङ्गः कलिङ्गैः सह ।

कीरः कीरवदास पञ्चरगट्टे ह्यण७प्रहर्ष जहौ

यस्मिन्नाजनि शौर्यविभ्रमभरं विभ्रत्यपूर्व्वप्रभे ॥<sup>24</sup>—[12].

अस्मद्भृत्पराभवेन सकला-

11.

भुङ्क्ते [भुव] यामसौ

तामेतास्तनवामहै तनुतराकारामितीष स्त्रियः ।

यत्प्रत्यर्थिमहीभुजान्नयनजैर्व्वापीः पयोधीन्वधुः

स्फारान्नमहोर्मिभिः पुनरमी तं वर्द्ध[याञ्च]-<sup>25</sup>

12.

किरे ॥ —[13].

चम्पारण्यविदारणोद्धतयशःशुभ्रांशुना भासय-

न्नाशाचक्रमवक्रभावहृदयः क्षमापालचूडामणिः ।

तस्माज्जग्न समाससाद विशदं श्रीमान्यशःकण्ठ इ-

त्थीदार्याङ्ग[निकी]-<sup>26</sup>

13.

चकार विबुधान्यः प्रेक्ष्य सर्व्वानपि ॥ —[14].

तस्मादशेषगुणरत्ननिधेरगाधाम्बुवत्सभः समभवद्भयकण्ठदेवः ।

यस्य प्रतापतपनोप्यरिसुन्दरीणां शोकाण्णवोदयनिदानपदं प्रपेदे ॥<sup>27</sup>—[15].

14.

द्युतिजितहरितालः श्रीलताकल्पशालः पृथुतरगुणमालः शत्रुवर्गेककालः ।

विमलितरणभालः कान्तकीर्त्त्या श(स)टालः शिततरकरवालः सोभवद्भूमिपालः ॥<sup>28</sup>—[16].

अस्ति

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The *akshara* put in brackets in the last line of this verse is almost entirely broken away.

<sup>20</sup> Metre of verses 10 and 11, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>21</sup> Of the *akshara* in brackets only the consonant *r* is absolutely certain. What the author meant to say, was probably गर्व्वयहं.

<sup>22</sup> The *akshara* in brackets is so much damaged that only part of the letter *k* remains. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xviii, p. 217, line 10.

<sup>23</sup> This reading is absolutely certain. चक्रपे is grammatically incorrect, for चक्रपे.

<sup>24</sup> Metre of verses 12-14, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>25</sup> The word तं of this line is quite certain. Of the *aksharas* in brackets only the first is partly visible.

<sup>26</sup> Of the *aksharas* in these brackets only the vowel *i* of the first remains; the rest had been already supplied by Dr. Hall.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>28</sup> Metre, Mālinī.



- L. 15. प्रसिद्धमिह गोभिलपुत्रगोत्रन्तत्राजनिष्ट नृपतिः किल हंसपालः ।  
शौर्यावसञ्जितनिरर्गलसैन्यसंघनम्बीकृताखिलमिलद्रिपुचक्रवालः ॥<sup>29</sup> —[17].  
तस्याभवत्तनुभवः प्र-
16. णमत्समस्तसामन्तशेखरशिरोमणिरञ्जिताङ्गेः<sup>30</sup> ।  
श्रीवैरिसिंहवसुधाधिपतिर्विशुद्धबुद्धेर्निधिर्न परमर्थिजनस्य चोच्चैः ॥ —[18].  
स श्रीवैरिसिंहोप्यनयाद्रिपूर्णां कुलानि गम्भीरगुहागट-
17. ङाणि ।  
स्वयञ्च तेषामधिशय्य चक्रे पुराणि दूरावजितालकानि ॥<sup>32</sup>—[19].  
तस्मादजायत समस्तजनाभिवन्द्यसौन्दर्यशौर्यभरभङ्गुरिताहितश्रीः ।  
पृथ्वीपतिर्विजयसिंह<sup>33</sup> इति
18. प्रवर्द्धमानः सदा जगति यस्य यशःसुधान्शुः<sup>34</sup> ॥<sup>35</sup>—[20].  
तस्याभवन्मालवमण्डलाधिनाथोदयादित्यसुता सुरूपा ।  
शृङ्गारिणी श्यामलदेव्युदारचरित्रचित्तामणिरञ्जितश्रीः ॥<sup>36</sup>—[21].
19. मेनायामिव शंकरप्रणयिनी क्षोणीभूतान्नायका-  
क्षीरिण्यामिव शुभ्रभानुवनिता दक्षात्प्रजानां सृजः ।  
तस्मादल्लङ्घनदेव्यजायत जगद्रक्षाक्षमाङ्गुपते-  
रेतस्यान्निज-
20. दीर्घवन्शविशदप्रेम्बत्पताकाकृतिः ॥<sup>37</sup>—[22].  
विवाहविधिमाधाय गयकर्णानरेश्वरः ।  
चक्रे प्रीतिस्मरामस्यां शिवायामिव शंकरः ॥<sup>39</sup>—[23].  
शृङ्गारशाला कलशी कलानां लावण्यमाला गु-
21. णपण्यभूमिः ।  
असूत पुत्रद्वयकर्णभूपादसौ नरेश्वरसिंहदेवम्<sup>40</sup> ॥<sup>41</sup>—[24].  
अस्य श्रीनरसिंहदेवनृपतेः<sup>42</sup> प्रोद्यन्त्यशश्वन्दमा  
दिग्भिर्सीर्ष्विदधातु व(व)भ्युरसुधासम्भारगम्भा इव ।  
भूर्भर्तारम-
22. वाप्य चैनमुचितं प्रीतिस्तथा प्राप्नुया-  
त्पूर्वेषाम् यथा मनागपि महाक्षोणीभूतां ध्यायति ॥<sup>43</sup>—[25].  
अस्यानुजो विजयतां जयसिंहदेवः<sup>44</sup> सौमित्रिवत्प्रथमजैर्जुतरूपसेवः ।  
यो मेघनादव(व)ङ्ग-
23. मायमहातिकायसैन्यं द्विषामभिभवन्नह[ह] प्रहस्तः ॥<sup>45</sup>—[26].  
अकारयन्मन्दिरमिन्दुमौलिरिदम्यठेनाद्भुतभूमिकेन ।

<sup>29</sup> Metre of verses 17 and 18, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>30</sup> Originally °दिः or °दिः, but altered to °ङ्गः. At the commencement of the next line read श्रीवैरिसिंह°.

<sup>31</sup> Read वैरिसिंहो.

<sup>32</sup> Metre, Upendravajrā.

<sup>33</sup> Read °सिंह.

<sup>34</sup> Read °सुधांशुः.

<sup>35</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>36</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>37</sup> Read दीर्घवन्श°.

<sup>38</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>39</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>40</sup> Read °सिंहदेवम्.

<sup>41</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>42</sup> Read श्रीनरसिंह°.

<sup>43</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>44</sup> Read जयसिंह°.

<sup>45</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.



सङ्ग्रामना श्रीनरसिंहदेवप्रसन्नसावल्लभदेव्युदारा<sup>40</sup> ॥<sup>47</sup>—[27].

व्याख्यानशा-

L. 24. लामुद्यानमालामविकलाममूम(म्) ।

अकारयत्सुयं शम्भुप्राप्तादालीहयन्त्रिजैः ॥<sup>48</sup>—[28].

देवायास्त्रै वैद्यनाथाभिधाय प्रादाद्देवी जाडलीपत्तलायाम् ।

ग्रामब्रान्ना नामउष्णीति सर्वादायैः<sup>49</sup>स्त्रा-

25. ई चारुचर्चाप्रसिद्धैः ॥<sup>50</sup>—[29].

नर्मदादक्षिणे कूले पर्वतोपत्यकाश्रये ।

तथापरमदाह्रामब्रान्ना मकरपाटकम् ॥<sup>51</sup>—[30].

लाटान्वयः पाशुपतस्तपस्वी श्रीरुद्रराशिर्विधिवद्ग्रधत्ताम्<sup>52</sup> ।

स्थानस्य रक्षावि-

26. धिमस्य तावद्यावन्निमीते भुवनानि शम्भुः ॥<sup>53</sup>—[31].

मौन्या(ना)न्वये<sup>54</sup>भार्गवर्वीतद्व्यसावेतसेतिप्रवरत्रयाव्ये ।

महेश्वराख्यावरणीधरोभूब्रान्ना गरिम्णा यशसा श्रिया च ॥<sup>55</sup>—[32].

कोमल-

27. कान्तिसटालिनोच्चैः स्नेहातिभारभरितेन ।

दीर्घमनोदशेन त्रिभुवनदीपायितं येन ॥<sup>56</sup>—[33].

पृथ्वीधरस्तस्य सुतः समस्तगभीरशास्त्रार्णवपारदृष्ट्वा ।

प्रशस्तिमेतामलिखद्यदीयैर्हि-

28. ड्मण्डली शिथ्यगणैर्विजिग्ये ॥<sup>57</sup>—[34].

एतस्यावरजस्तर्कनिष्ठातोद्गतनैपुणः<sup>58</sup> ।

प्रशस्तिमकरोदेतान्मूरिः<sup>59</sup>शशिधराभिधः ॥<sup>60</sup>—[35].

<sup>61</sup>असूत्रयदिदं सर्वं विश्वकर्माविधानवित् ।

पीथेसमभिधः सूत्र-

29. धारः पृथ्वीमृथुर्यया ॥ —[36].

सूत्रधाराश्रणीवा(वा)लसिंहसूनुर्महीधरः<sup>62</sup> ।

शिलास्तथाकरोद्वर्णैर्बभूवस्तारकितं यथा ॥ —[37].

संवत् ८०७ मार्गसुदि ११<sup>63</sup>रवौ ॥ ॥ ॥

<sup>40</sup> Read श्रीनरसिंह<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Metre, Upendravajrā.

<sup>48</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>49</sup> This sign of *visarga* is superfluous.

<sup>50</sup> Metre, Śālinī.

<sup>51</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>52</sup> The correct form would of course be विधत्ताम्.

<sup>53</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

<sup>54</sup> The correction may have been made already in the original.

<sup>55</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>56</sup> Metre, Āryā.

<sup>57</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>58</sup> Of the *akshara* to the superscript line which turns *ā* into *o* is rather faint, but it undoubtedly is there.

<sup>59</sup> Read °ता सूरिः.

<sup>60</sup> Metre of verses 35-37, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>61</sup> Originally चासू<sup>०</sup>, altered to चसू<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> Read °बालसिंह<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> There is no doubt whatever about these figures.



## TRANSLATION.

Om!

Om! Adoration to Śiva!

(*Verse 1.*) May the moon's digit on the forehead of the Moon-crested (*god*) provide for you unstinted bliss,—(*that digit*) which, only one (*and the first*), ever makes the troop of Śiva's attendants, even in the absence of the evening-twilight, think it to be (*joined by*) the second (*digit*)!<sup>64</sup>

(2.) May those founts of holiness, the lines of the creeping and leaping<sup>65</sup> tortuous waves of the river of heaven, meandering on Śiva's head, guard you,—(*those waves*) about which the celestials are doubting whether they be lotus-garlands, or lunar digits, or sprouts of righteous deeds, or serpents' skins, or (*the god's*) majesty bursting into view!

(3.) (*That body*) which, being a gross element, is all-pervading; (*that*) by whose revolution the world comes to light; (*that*) which gladdens the eyes of the creatures; and (*that*) which causes the diversity of savour and other (*qualities*) residing in earth; (*that*) which is the vast substratum of odour; (*that*) which sacrifices; (*that*) which is characterized by cold; (*and that*) which, colourless, is sensible to the feel;—may Śiva with these (*eight*) bodies<sup>66</sup> (*of his*) protect you!

(4.) May Nīlakaṇṭha, who fills with delight men eager to wield spear and missile, when decorated with the young moon he exults in his dance, grant whatever is dear to you!<sup>67</sup>

(5.) May the Elephant-faced (*god*) in his mercy bestow on you supreme felicity,—who, under the guise of a tusk whiter than jasmine, bears the piece of the moon which is freed from the dark digit, able to dispel the profound darkness of crowds of obstacles!

(6.) May Sarasvatī guard you,—who by manifold forms (*of speech*) brings about all intercourse (*of men, and*) by partaking of even a small portion of whose elegance in trifles (*even*), men may secure greater weight in assemblies!—

(7.) In the Moon's family was a prince with thousand hands, day and night watching to guide one by one the minds of (*the dwellers in*) the three worlds, (*and*) by his splendour eclipsing the rulers of the world,—(*a prince*) named Arjuna, by the (*mere*) remembrance of whom<sup>68</sup> is recovered even now what has been lost and carried off by thieves long ago.

(8.) In his lineage was born a renowned ruler of the earth of whom even the most marvellous tale is not untrue, bearing the name Kokalladeva, an illustrious name, eminently fit to give pleasure to the three worlds.

(9.) From him sprang the prince Gāṅgeyadeva who, by vanquishing hostile rulers

<sup>64</sup> *Viz.*, because the first lunar digit, by itself, is altogether invisible. The noun *kalyāṇitā* is not given by the dictionaries.

<sup>65</sup> *Valgu*, ordinarily 'handsome, beautiful', is here used in the sense of the participle *valgat*, opposed to *ringat*.

<sup>66</sup> These eight bodies of Śiva are the ether, the sun, the moon, fire, the earth, the sacrificing priest, water, and air. It will be sufficient to refer the reader to the opening verse of Kālidāsa's *Sakuntalā*.

<sup>67</sup> The two compounds of the first half of the verse would be applicable also to the dancing peacock (*nīlakaṇṭha*) which causes great delight to him whose weapon is a spear (*i.e.*, to the god Kārttikeya or Skanda, also called Śaktidhara 'the spear-bearer', to whom the peacock is sacred), and the tail of which is covered with spots similar to the moon. Compare the very similar verse No. 1737 of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, which will show that the translation of the word *chandrakā* by 'the young (or small) moon' is correct.

<sup>68</sup> Dr. Hall quotes a verse found by him in an extract from the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, which expresses the same idea.



supporting huge mountains of pride, secured endless fame; a tree of paradise to suppliants, who made the earth, though resting below, rise beyond the heavens up to the abode of the gods, by raising (*on it*) a *Meru*<sup>69</sup> without equal.

(7. 10.) The creeping-plant of his fame, sprinkled with the nectar of his religious merit and made to grow by his stainless character, overspread the whole bower of the universe.

(11.) He who, seeking good renown, so behaved to the crowds of suppliants that the ocean of their desires became replenished with gold, begat the prince Karna.

(12.) While this king, of unprecedented lustre, gave full play to his heroism, the Pândya relinquished violence,<sup>70</sup> the Murala gave up his arrogant bearing,<sup>71</sup> the Kuṅga entered the path of the good, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kalinga, the Kîra staid at home like a parrot in the cage, (*and*) the Hûṇa left off being merry.

(13.) When the wives of hostile princes enlarged the seas with the tears streaming from their eyes, intending as it were to reduce the size of the earth, because he had it all subjected to his rule by the defeat of their husbands, those same seas again did homage to him with large waves of precious stones.

(14.) From him took his spotless birth the illustrious Yaśaḥkarna, a crest-jewel of rulers, with a heart free from guile, who illuminated the circle of the regions with the moon of his fame which had risen from the devastation of Champâranya, (*and*) who in his generosity enriched all the learned without exception, as soon as he set eyes on them.

(15.) From him, an unfathomable ocean of all excellencies, was born the favourite of the earth, Gayakarnadeva. In his case even the sun,—the sun of his prowess,—took upon itself the function<sup>72</sup> of causing the rising of the sea,—the sea of sorrow of the wives of his adversaries.

(16.) That prince surpassed by his lustre yellow orpiment,<sup>73</sup> was a tree of paradise for the creeping-plant fortune, wore a broad garland of noble qualities, was the one god of death to the host of the enemies, adorned the van of battle, abounded in pleasing renown, (*and*) wielded indeed a sharp sword.—

(17.) Well known on the earth is the family of the son of Gobhila. Therein was born forsooth the prince Hamsapâla, who with the host of his valorous irresistible troops humbled the circle of all his foes combined.

(18.) He, whose feet were irradiated by the crest-jewels of the diadems of all the tributary chiefs prostrating themselves (*before him*), had a son, the lord of the earth, the illustrious Vairisimha, a treasure-house not merely of purified understanding, but also, eminently, (*one*) for suppliants.

(19.) That Vairisimha, too, drove the clans of his foes to seek the shelter of deep caverns, while he himself, occupying their towns, made these far surpass the residence of Kuvera.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>69</sup> See note 42 of the preceding inscription.

<sup>70</sup> The abstract noun *chandimattā* of the original is incorrect; the correct form of the word is *chandiman*.

<sup>71</sup> Properly 'his inclination to arrogance.'

<sup>72</sup> This function belongs properly to the moon.

<sup>73</sup> This is described as the seed or seminal energy of Vishṇu, *Harer-vīryam*, (see M. Williams' *Dictionary*); and the poet, who immediately afterwards has the word *Srī*, undoubtedly was thinking of the god Hari or Vishṇu. A proper rendering of this verse in which everything depends on the sound of the words employed is impossible, at least, to myself.

<sup>74</sup> Literally 'Alaka' (the residence of Kuvera, the god of riches).



(V. 20.) From him was born the lord of the earth Vijayasimha, whose beauty was justly celebrated by all men, who by the vigour of his heroism made his adversaries' fortunes totter, (and) the moon of whose fame (accordingly) was always waxing in the world.

(21.) His loving wife was the handsome daughter of Udayāditya, the ruler of the realm of Mālava,—Śyāmaladevī, a gem granting the desires of the nobly-conducted, (and herself) a votary of Fortune.

(22.) As Menā bore to the chief of mountains the beloved of Śamkara, (and) Vīriṇī to Dakṣha, the creator of beings, the wife of the Moon, so she bore to that prince, able to protect the world, Alhaṇadevī, in appearance the unsullied fluttering pennon of her long pedigree.<sup>75</sup>

(23.) Having wedded her with due rites, the king Gayakarna bestowed on her the most ardent affection, as Śamkara did on Śivā.

(24.) And she, a mansion of amorous passion, a beaker (brimful) of accomplishments, a garland of the graces, a store-house of excellent qualities, bore to king Gayakarna a son, the prince Narasimhadeva.

(25.) May the rising moon of the fame of this illustrious king Narasimhadeva richly saturate as it were the walls of the quarters with a pleasing whitewash; and may the earth, having secured in him a suitable lord, experience such delight as never to think, however little, of its former great rulers!

(26.) May victory attend his younger brother Jayasimhadeva, who in marvellous ways serves the first-born as Sumitrā's son<sup>76</sup> (did Rāma); who, behold!, when he lifts his hand, overpowers the enemies' most gigantic host, though it roars like thunder-clouds<sup>77</sup> and practises many wiles!—

(27.) That noble Alhaṇadevī, the mother of the illustrious Narasimhadeva, ordered this temple of the Moon-crested (god) to be built, together with that cloister with wonderful floors.

(28.) She too made her people construct that hall of study, (and) lay out that long line of gardens, in two ranges (adjoining) Śambhu's temple.

(29.) To make known her good report, the queen gave to this god, styled Vaidyanātha, the village named Nāmaūṇḍī together with every income (thereof), in the Jāulī pattalā.

(30.) And on the right bank of the Narmadā, in the land adjoining the hills, she gave to him another village, named Makarapātaka.

(31.) May the Pāsupata ascetic, the holy Rudraśiva of Lāṭa lineage, arrange conformably to rule for the management of this place, so long as Śiva pervades<sup>78</sup> the worlds!—

(32.) In the Mauna lineage, possessed of the triple pravara Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, and Sāvetasa,<sup>79</sup> there was born from one named Maheśvara Dharaṇīdhara, (a mountain)<sup>80</sup> by name, by weight, by fame, and by fortune.

<sup>75</sup> Or, 'of a lofty flag-staff (*vaṁśa*)'.

<sup>76</sup> I.e., Lakṣmīnara.

<sup>77</sup> *Meghanāda* and *Atikāya* are also the names of two sons of the demon Rāvaṇa; and *Prahasta* was one of Rāvaṇa's generals.

<sup>78</sup> Or rather, 'is coextensive with'.

<sup>79</sup> Compare the *Āśvalāyana-Srautasūtra*, Calcutta ed., p. 872.

<sup>80</sup> The word *dharaṇīdhara* has this meaning.



(7. 33.) Who, shedding a pleasing lustre, filled to overflowing with kindness, long enjoying a gratifying position, acted the part of a lamp<sup>81</sup> to the three worlds.

(34.) His son Prithvidhara, who has seen the further shores of all the deep oceans of learning, (and) by whose crowds of disciples the circle of the regions has been conquered, wrote this eulogy.

(35.) Of him the younger brother, the sage named Śaśidhara, well versed in logic and wondrously clever, composed this eulogy.

(36.) The architect named Pīthe, who knows the rules of Viśvakarman,<sup>82</sup> planned all this, as Prithu did the earth.

(37.) Mahīdhara, a son of the chief of artizans Bālasimha, so wrought this stone with letters that it is like the star-covered sky.

The year 907, on Sunday the 11th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha.

### III.—TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF JAYASIMHADEVA.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 928.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this short inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall at Tewar, a village about six miles to the west of Jabalpur, in the Central Provinces, and presented by him to the American Oriental Society in whose Cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited.<sup>1</sup> It is said to be of like character with that of Alhanadevi's inscription.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hall also first edited the inscription, with a translation, in the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 512-13; and his text was subsequently reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription, in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, p. 110, and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 95-96. I now re-edit<sup>3</sup> the inscription from an impression and a rubbing, kindly prepared for me by Mr. Herbert C. Tolwan, of Yale University, New Haven.

The inscription contains 9 lines of writing, the last of which is engraved along the proper left margin, and which together cover a space of 11" broad by 7" high. The writing is on the whole well preserved, but it is somewhat roughly and irregularly cut, and there are several *aksharas* in line 5 and one at the end of line 8, the true reading of which cannot be made out with absolute certainty. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the symbol for *om* at the commencement of line 1, lines 1-6 are in verse; the rest of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* in *vrahma* *Brahmādi*-(the only words in which *b* would occur), in line 1; and the dental sibilant is

<sup>81</sup> The adjectives of this verse would of course be also applicable to a lamp; *śneha* also means 'oil', and *daśā* 'the wick of a lamp'.

<sup>82</sup> The architect of the gods. The adjective would also mean 'who knows how to execute every kind of work'.

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499 and 536; and C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p. 487.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, No. II.

<sup>3</sup> I merely have had to verify Dr. Hall's text, which, so far as one may speak with confidence, is substantially correct.



used instead of the palatal in *naresvarah*, line 3, *Kesavah* and *aisvaram*, line 6, and *Kesavasya*, line 8; and *n* instead of *anusvāra* in *Jayasinha*-, line 4, (but not in *Narasimha*-, line 3). Besides, the text twice offends against the rules of *sandhi*.

The inscription, which opens with a verse in honour of Mahādeva (Śiva), records the erection of a Śiva temple by the *nāyaka* Keśava (the son of the Brāhman Āladeva, named Astaka (?)), a member of the Kātyāyana *gotra* and resident of the village Sīkhā in Mā[la]vaka; during the reign of the king Jayasimhadēva, a younger brother of the king Narasimhadēva whom he had succeeded, and son of the king Gayākarna. And it is dated in the year 928, on Sunday the 6th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, while the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta. Referring this date, again, to the Kalachuri or Chedi era, the corresponding European date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1177. In that year, the month Śrāvaṇa was intercalary, for the solar Śrāvaṇa lasted from the 26th June, 12 h. 32 m., to the 27th July, 23 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise, and there were new moons on the 27th June, 18 h. 30 m., and on the 27th July, 2 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise. Now, the 6th of the bright half of the first lunar Śrāvaṇa corresponded to Sunday the 3rd July, when the 6th *tithi* ended 7 h. 35 m. and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta up to 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise; and the 6th of the bright half of the second Śrāvaṇa corresponded to Monday the 1st August, when the 6th *tithi* ended 18 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise and the moon entered the *nakshatra* Svātī about sunrise. And, accordingly, there can be no doubt that the true equivalent of the date is Sunday the 3rd July, A.D. 1177, and that the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, put down in the date, belonged to the first (or intercalated) Śrāvaṇa.<sup>4</sup>

The village Sīkhā which, if the adopted reading is correct, was situated in Mālavaka or Mālava, I am unable to identify.

#### TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

- L. 1. श्री<sup>6</sup> [॥<sup>x</sup>] ज्ञानानंद<sup>7</sup> परं ब्र(ब्र)ह्म ब्र(ब्र)ह्मादिसुरसेवितं । वंदेम-
2. हि महादेवं देवदेवं जगद्गुरुम् ॥ श्रीमन्नयाक-
3. र्णनृपस्य<sup>8</sup> सूनुररेख(ख)रः श्रीनरसिंहदेवो<sup>9</sup> । जिह्ये धरि-
4. त्रीमनुजोस्य सम्राट्<sup>10</sup> जीयाच्चिरं श्रीजयसिंहदेवः<sup>11</sup> ॥
5. <sup>12</sup>वि[प्रो योस्त]<sup>13</sup>कना[माभू]दालदेवस्तदात्मजः ।
6. केस(श)वः कारयामास प्रासादममुमैख(ख)रम् ॥
7. सम्बत्<sup>14</sup> ८२८ आवणसुदि ६ रवौ हस्ते ॥
8. नायककेस(श)वस्य गोत्रं कात्यायनं स्थानं मा[स?]-<sup>15</sup>
9. वके सीखायामः ॥<sup>16</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For two similar dates compare the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 212, and vol. XIX, p. 38, No. 62.

<sup>5</sup> From the impressions.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>7</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>8</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>9</sup> Read °देवः.

<sup>10</sup> Read समाङ्.

<sup>11</sup> Read °सिंहदेवः.

<sup>12</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>13</sup> The reading of the *aksharas* in these and the following brackets is not quite certain, because some of them look as if they had been partly erased and recut. The intended reading may possibly be विप्रसासकनाचीभूद्<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Read संवत्.

<sup>15</sup> The *akshara* in these brackets is so peculiarly shaped that it is impossible to say what it is meant to represent. I adopt Dr. Hall's reading of it, but am not certain of its being correct.

<sup>16</sup> This line is on the proper left margin.



## TRANSLATION.

Om!

(Line 1.) Let us adore (*him*<sup>17</sup> *who is*) knowledge and bliss, the supreme Brahma, waited upon by Brahmā and the other gods,—Mahādeva, the god of gods, the parent of the world!

The son of the illustrious king Gayākarna, the illustrious lord of men Narasimhadeva, conquered the earth: may his younger brother, the sovereign lord, the illustrious Jayasimhadeva, long be victorious!

(5.) Keśava, the son of the late Brāhman Āladeva, named Astaka (?)<sup>18</sup>, caused that temple of Īsvara to be built.

The year 928, on Sunday the 6th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, (*the moon being*) in (*the nakshatra*) Hasta.

(8.) The *nāyaka* Keśava's *gotra* is that of Kātyāyana, his place of residence the village of Sīkhā in Mā[la?]vaka.

## IV.—THREE LAND-GRANTS FROM SANKHEDA.

BY H. H. DHURVA, B.A., LL.B.

The Subā of the Baroda or Central Division of the Gaikavād's State has sent me for decipherment three detached copper-plates, two of which belong to the Gurjaras of Bharoch, and one to an unknown line of kings. The two former are only second plates of the grants, and therefore do not contain genealogical and other personal details, while the last is a first plate and contains no information as to the date, donee, object of the grant, officers, &c.

No. I.—*A Gurjara grant of Samvat 346.*

This document is written on a plate, measuring about 8 inches by 3½, and is well preserved. It contains ten lines giving the usual injunctions and quotations from the *Smṛiti* regarding the inviolability of grants. The plate does not contain the name of the king or of the donee, nor a description of the object granted. But we have sufficient materials to identify the donor. The writer is the *sāmdhivigrahika* Āditya-Bhogika. *Bhogika*, Dr. Bühler informs me, is “a small man not more than a Thākur of one or a few villages; for *bhogika* occurs frequently in the list of the persons to whom commands are addressed, *e. g.* in the Kāvī grant of Jayabhāṭa (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 110). In the *Deśīkosha* its Prākṛit equivalent *bhoio* is explained by *grāma-pradhāna*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *I.e.*, Mahādeva or Śiva to whom all these epithets are applied.

<sup>18</sup> Or possibly: ‘The Brāhman, named Astaka, had (*a son*) Āladeva; his son Keśava.’ See note 13, above.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bühler's *Pāyatalachchhindāmālā*, v. 104 (*gāmaṇi bhoio ya gāmavai*, p. 32). Dr. Bühler translates it in the glossary as “headman or lord of a village,” and quotes *bhogika* from inscriptions. The Gujarātī for *bhogika* or *bhoio* is *bhīyo*, and *grāmapati* or *gāmavai* is *gāmetā*. The word *bhoga*, from which *bhogika* is derived, means *pālana* or “protection,”—see Amara, III, 23, and Maheśvara's commentary on it, also *Viśvakosha*, v. 268; *Medinikosha*, v. 15 of words ending in *ga*; and *Trikāṇḍaśeṣakosha*, III, 120 (पालने अथवा च निर्वेशे पण्ययोषिता । भोगः सुखे धने चार्द्धः शरीरकणयोश्च । Thus भोगिक according to these authorities would be an equivalent of पालक or “protector;” as an official term it may have subsequently acquired a technical meaning.



Of course such a man cannot be a great ruler." If there were nothing else to connect this grant with the Gurjaras, the title *bhogika* of the minister for war and peace Âditya would be sufficient; for this appellation of an officer is not known to have been employed by any other line of kings. Again, the characters of this grant so closely resemble those of No. II, an admitted Gurjara grant, and other published grants of the family, that there can be no doubt about it.

The date is given in words as well as figures. It is "three hundred years exceeded by forty-six" and 346. The figures are not written in the usual manner, with the symbols for three hundred, forty, and six, but as they would be now, *i.e.* with the symbols for three, four and six. As the later Gurjara kings used the Chedi era, Samvat 346 probably corresponds with A.D. 595-96. This date exactly agrees with that of Dadda III., circiter 580 A.D., as given by Dr. Bühler.<sup>2</sup> Hitherto we had no copper-plate grant or any other inscription of that monarch, which renders this plate an interesting find.

#### TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. आचन्द्रार्काणर्वर्जितस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यमुदकातिसर्गेण  
 2. प्रतिपादितं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिद्वये अतोस्य ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या 'क्रियत × करि-  
 3. षापयतो' वा न कैश्चिद्द्वेषे वैर्जितव्यमागामिराजभिरस्मद्वैर्वा<sup>3</sup> सामान्यं भूमि-  
 4. दानफलमवेत्यायमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च भगवता व्या-  
 5. सेन ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः 'सागरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य  
 6. तदा फलं ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-  
 7. व नरके वसे' ॥ विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः कृष्णसर्पा भिजायन्ते<sup>4</sup>  
 8. ब्रह्मदेयापहारका[:] ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्हीनानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि निर्मा-  
 9. ल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु × पुनराददीत ॥ लिखितं चात्र सान्धिविग्रहिकेना-  
 10. दित्यभोगिकेन संवत्सरशतत्रयं<sup>5</sup> षट्चत्वारिंशोत्तरके<sup>10</sup> ॥ ३४६

#### No. II.—A grant of Raṇagraha, dated Sam. 391.

The plate measures 9½ inches by 4½ and contains ten lines of well preserved Gurjara characters, resembling those of the Umetā, Ilāo and Bagumrā grants. There are two holes at the top, showing where the rings originally were. The language of the grant is faulty Sanskrit.

The donee of the grant (l. 1) is the Brāhmaṇa Adityaśarma (*sic*), the *dātaka* (l. 9) the *bhogika* Pālakaṭujñāna, and the writer (l. 10) the *samdhivigrahādhikṛita* Mātribhaṭa. According to ll. 9-10 the donor appears to be a son of Vitarāga, called Raṇagraha, who is characterised as a worshipper of the sun (*Dinakarakiraṇābhyar-chana-rata*) and as "the close relative of the illustrious Dadda" (*śrī-Dadda-pādāntar-jñāti*); for it is his sign-manual which was attached to the grant. The date is (l. 8) Sam. 391, *Vaiśākha bahula 15*, *i. e.* the new moon of Vaiśākha.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVII, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Read कृषतः.

<sup>4</sup> Correctly कर्षयती.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'श्वेरन्वैर्वा.

<sup>6</sup> Read सगरादिभिः.

<sup>7</sup> Read वसेत्.

<sup>8</sup> Read हि जायन्ते.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'वये.

<sup>10</sup> Read 'रिंशदुत्तरके.



Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a copperplate inscription. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. The script is highly stylized and dense, with many characters appearing to be in a different script or a highly abbreviated form of Devanagari. The text is written in a dark ink on a light background.

Size of original

From inscriptions by H. H. D. D. D.



*[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is mostly illegible due to extreme blurring and low contrast.]*



Though the details about the family of the donor have been lost, the last two statements permit us to recognise that the document was issued during the reign of Dadda IV.—Praśāntarāga II.<sup>11</sup> and that the donor was the brother of the latter; for, as the two Kheda grants of Dadda IV. were issued in Sam. 380 and 385,<sup>12</sup> it follows from the new date, Sam. 391, that the same person must be meant here by the expression “the illustrious Dadda.” Further, as Raṇagraha is called both a son of Vitarāga and a relative of Dadda, and as the latter was a son of Jayabhaṭa II.—Vitarāga II., Raṇagraha must have been Dadda’s brother or cousin. Our grant shows, therefore, that the reign of Dadda IV. lasted at least until Sam. 391, or, as the Gurjaras used the Chedi era of A.D. 249, until A.D. 640.

## TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. ब्राह्मणादित्यशर्माया<sup>13</sup> उदकातिसर्गेणोच्छ्रष्ट<sup>14</sup> यतोस्यास्मदङ्गीरन्येर्वागामिभोगपतिभि चय-<sup>15</sup>  
 2. <sup>16</sup>मस्मादायोनुमन्तव्य<sup>17</sup> पालयितव्यश्च यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला<sup>18</sup> त्रितराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिन्द्यमान<sup>19</sup> वा-  
 3. नुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्भद्रापातकैः<sup>20</sup> संयुक्तः<sup>21</sup> स्या<sup>22</sup> इत्युक्तश्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन षष्टिवरिष-  
 4. सहस्राणि<sup>23</sup> स्वर्गं मोदति भुमिदा<sup>24</sup> आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे<sup>25</sup> विन्ध्याटवीष्व-  
 तीयासु शुष्क-  
 5. कोटरवासिनः<sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup>क्रिष्णाद्वयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदानापहारकाः<sup>28</sup> यानीह दत्तानि पुरा  
 नरेन्द्रेर्दानानि  
 6. धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि निर्भुक्तमाख्यप्रतिमानि तानि को णाम<sup>29</sup> साधुः<sup>30</sup> पुनरादधीति<sup>31</sup> स्वदत्ता<sup>32</sup>  
 परदत्तां वा  
 7. यद्वाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर<sup>33</sup> मही<sup>34</sup> महिमता<sup>35</sup> अष्ट दातातुच्छेयोनुपालनमिति<sup>36</sup>  
 8. संवत्सरशतत्रये एकनवत्ये<sup>37</sup> वैशाखबहुलपक्षदश्यां सं ३९१ वैशाख व १५  
 9. दूतकोच भोगिकपालकटज्ञानः<sup>38</sup> दिनकरकिरणाभ्यर्चनरतस्य स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवीतरागसूनु  
 10. रणग्रहस्य श्रीदहपादान्तर्ज्ञाति<sup>39</sup> लिखितमिदं संन्धिविगहाधिकृत<sup>40</sup> मानिभटेन

## No. III.—A grant of Śāntilla, general of Nirihullaka.

The plate measures 8½ inches by 3½ inches, and contains 12 lines in characters closely resembling those of the early Chalukya plates and of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription edited by Mr. Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, pp. 7 ff. The plate is slightly damaged at the top and on both sides at the bottom. Two holes on the lower side show where the rings were originally placed. The language of the grant is slightly incorrect Sanskrit.

<sup>11</sup> *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVII, p. 191.

• <sup>12</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. VII, pp. 908 ff.; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. I, pp. 247 ff.; *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Read °शर्मा.

<sup>14</sup> Read °च्छ्रष्टः.

<sup>15</sup> Read °पतिभिर्य.

<sup>16</sup> Read °महापातकैः.

<sup>17</sup> Read °मन्तव्यः.

<sup>18</sup> Read °वृत्तमतिरा.

<sup>19</sup> Read °दाच्छिन्द्यमान.

<sup>20</sup> Read °पातकैः.

<sup>21</sup> Read °संयुक्तः.

<sup>22</sup> Read भूमिदः.

<sup>23</sup> Read वसेत्.

<sup>24</sup> Read °क्रिष्णा.

<sup>25</sup> Read नाम.

<sup>26</sup> Read °दधीत.

<sup>27</sup> Read °दत्ता.

<sup>28</sup> Read युधिष्ठिर.

<sup>29</sup> Read मही.

<sup>30</sup> Read महिमता.

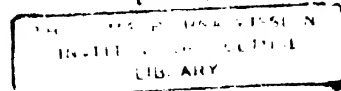
<sup>31</sup> Read °दानाच्छेयी.

<sup>32</sup> Read एकनवत्या.

<sup>33</sup> Read °ज्ञातिः.

<sup>34</sup> Read °विगहाधिकृत.

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Its contents are as follows. Writing from the victorious camp (*vijayakaṭaka*), located at Nirgundipadraka (l. 1), Śāntilla, the general (*balādhikṛita*, l. 5) of the *bhogikapāla* and *mahāpalapati* (*mahāpallapati*) Nirihullaka (l. 4), who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Śamkaragaṇa (*Śamkaragaṇa*, l. 3), son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja (whose feet were worshipped by the whole circle of the earth, ll. 1-2), grants to Bhajikanantasvāmi (*Bhajika*<sup>35</sup> *Anantasvāmin*, l. 7), an inhabitant of Pashāṇihrada (l. 6), a member of the Kautsa *gotra* and a student of the *Vājasaneyā* (*Samhitā*), a field requiring for seed-corn one *piṭaka* of rice (l. 10), and situated in the western *śīm* of Śrī-Parnākā, which belonged to (*the district of*) Taṇḍulapadraka (ll. 8-9). The purpose for which the grant was made is the usual one, the provision for the expenses of the five *mahāyajñas*. It is added that the donation was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun "for the increase of the spiritual merit and fame of the *Paramabhṭṭāraka*'s feet, i.e. probably of Śamkara[ga]ṇa.

As regards the persons named in the document, Śāntilla's position is sufficiently clear. His master Nirihullaka must have been a Bhīl chieftain; for the title *mahāpallapati* means "the great lord of a settlement or of settlements of an aboriginal tribe."<sup>36</sup> It agrees with this that his name is not Sanskrit, but a barbarous Deśī word. The phrase "who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Śamkara[ga]ṇa" means, therefore, here merely that he was a vassal or servant of the latter, not that he was his successor. *Pādānudhyāta* is frequently used in the former sense.<sup>37</sup> With respect to the question to which dynasty the two kings Kṛishṇarāja and Śamkara[ga]ṇa belonged, it is possible only to offer a conjecture. Dr. Bühler has suggested to me that, assuming the correction *Śamkaragaṇa* for *Śamkaragaṇa* to be certain, the two kings may be Haihayas or Kalachuris of Chedi. I am inclined to accept this, as the Chedi era was used by the Gurjaras, which is a certain sign of their power having extended to the province. Moreover, the Chalukya inscriptions<sup>38</sup> mention a Kalachuri king, Buddharāja, the son of Śamkaragaṇa, from whom Maṅgalīśa took his wealth. And it is not at all improbable that the Śamkaragaṇa of the Chalukya inscriptions is identical with that of our plate; for, as has been pointed out already, its characters closely agree with those of the earlier Chalukya inscriptions, and show also some affinity with those of Dadda's Khedā plates. They may well belong to the period of Maṅgalīśa's reign, which, as the latest researches of Mr. Fleet show, fell between Śaka Samvat 519 and 531, or A.D. 597-98 and 610-11. There is also another detail in our grant which, I think, may be adduced in favour of this view.

Professor R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, in his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency*, 1883-84, remarks (pp. 31-32) that "it is a remarkable circumstance that the names of most of the famous writers on the sacrificial rites should have the title *Śvāmin* attached to them. No writer later than the thirteenth century seems to have it. We have Bhaṭṭas, Achāryas, Yajvans, Dīkshitas and Yājñikas during the last six centuries, but no Svāmin. The title appears to have been in use at a

<sup>35</sup> *Bhajika* might be *bhajaka*, "a worshipper, votary, devotee;" V. S. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 807. Compare a similar use of the word *bhaṭṭa* in Bhaṭṭa Kumārila, Bhaṭṭotpala, Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, etc.

<sup>36</sup> See Dr. Böhtlingk's *Abridged Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v. *palla*. Mr. V. S. Apte (*Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 687) assigns to the same word the meaning "a large granary." On a local enquiry I find that the country about Sān-khedā goes by the name of Palla (Gujarātī *Pāla*). Thus, *mahāpallapati* would mean "the lord of the great Palla or Pāla."

<sup>37</sup> See e. g. l. 33 of Mr. Fleet's No. 1, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. III, pp. 10 and 17, note 2.

<sup>38</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIX, p. 16.



No. 3. SANKHEDA GRANT OF BALĀDHIKRITA ŚĀNTILLA. (plate 1).

From impressions by H. H. Diercke.

Size of original.







certain period and been given to Mīmāṃsakas or men conversant with the sacrificial lore." Then he cites the instances of Śābarasvāmin, the author of the *Bhāṣya* on Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra*; of Agnisvāmin, the commentator on Iātyāyana's *Śrauta Sūtra*; of Bhavasvāmin, the author of a *Bhāṣya* on Baudhāyana; of Keśavasvāmin, the writer of an introduction to the *Baudhāyana-prayoga-śāstra*; Devasvāmin, quoted in the *Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana* and author of a comprehensive *Bhāṣya* on Āśvalāyana; Dhūrtasvāmin, Kapardisvāmin and others. Kumārila is both a *Svāmin* and a *Bhaṭṭa*. The title *Svāmin* was used in some of the early Chalukya inscriptions and one of the Valabhī inscriptions, up to the seventh century. An undated grant of Vikramāditya I., who ceased to reign before A.D. 680, gives as donees Nandisvāmin, Lohasvāmin, and Bhallasvāmin (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 771). Another grant, dated 700 A.D., gives Dāsasvāmin, son of Janasvāmin and grandson of Revāsvāmin Dīkshita, and one of 705 A.D. gives Devasvāmin, Karkasvāmin, Yajñasvāmin, Rudrasvāmin and others (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, pp. 128 and 136), while a Valabhī grant, dated Samvat 326 (A.D. 645), has got Maṅkasvāmin (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 16). Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar assigns the seventh century to Agnisvāmin, Devasvāmin and Bhavasvāmin, and places Śābarasvāmin two or three centuries earlier (*vide* p. 32 of his *Report*). The general inclination is towards the seventh century for the age of names bearing such titles. The records above noted were of rulers or families that were perhaps close neighbours of the recorders of the present grant. The grant mentions Bhajikānantasvāmin, and with the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, it cannot be later than the seventh century.

With respect to the geographical names occurring in our grant, it may be noted that Nirguṇḍipadraka, the place from which it is dated, would be in modern Gujarātī Nāgaravādā or something like it. And the *Dehezāda of Gaikavādī Villages* (published at the Hitechchhu Press, Ahmadābād) does give a Nāgaravādā, 6 kos from Dabhoī. Further, the native place or home of the donee is Pāshāṇihrada, which would be Saṇīādari, 14 kos from Dabhoī (given in the *Dehezāda*, p. 5). *Hrada* would be masculine *dharo* and feminine *dharī*, changeable to *darī* in Gujarātī, and *Pāshāṇi* would drop its initial *Pā*, as Bagumrā has done with its *Ba* in having Gumrā, and give Saṇīā, and thus we get Saṇīādari. From the same Pāshāṇihrada we would get Sāṅkheḍā if *hrada* were replaced by *kheḍā* for *khetaka*, meaning 'town,' and *Pā* were dropt as in the other case. Taṇḍulapadraka is obviously Tāṇḍalajā, also 14 kos from Dabhoī (as given in the *Dehezāda*); and Śrī-Paṇākā is Panīu, now desolate (as noted in the same authority), 5 kos from Dabhoī. The map of the Baroda territory does give Tāṇḍalajā and Saṇīādari quite close to each other.

## TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. श्री स्वस्ति निर्गुण्डिपद्रकावस्थितविजयकटकात् स — — [चिति] — — —<sup>39</sup>  
 2. चितचरणकमलः श्रीक्रिष्णराजः<sup>40</sup> तत्सूनुरनेकस[म]रविजय — — —<sup>41</sup>  
 3. स्तिरहितवधूवदनपङ्कजज्ज्ञानिकरः श्रीशंकरः स्तत्पादानुध्यासकल-<sup>42</sup>  
 4. महीमण्डलतलप्रथितकोर्तिभूर्भोगिकपालमहापलुपतिनिरिह-<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Restore सकलचितिमण्डला°.

<sup>40</sup> Read °क्रिष्णराजः.

<sup>41</sup> Restore °लब्धको°.

<sup>42</sup> Read शंकरगणक°; °गुध्यातस्य°.

<sup>43</sup> Read °कोर्तिभूर्भोगिक°; महापलुपति.



- L. 5. कस्तुबलाधिकृतशान्तिज्ञ<sup>44</sup> सर्वानिव परमपादीयास्वांवावेदयति<sup>45</sup>  
 6. यथा पाषाणिहृद<sup>46</sup>वास्तव्यकौत्ससगोत्रवाजिसनेयसब्रह्मचारिणो<sup>47</sup>  
 7. भजिकनन्तस्वामिने पञ्चमहायज्ञधर्मक्रियोत्पर्षणाय<sup>48</sup> परमभट्टा-  
 8. रकपादानां पुण्ययशोभिद्विद्वये<sup>49</sup> तण्डुलपदकान्तर्भक्त<sup>50</sup> श्रीपक्षाका-  
 9. यां पश्चिमसीमनि अचाटभटप्रावेशं<sup>51</sup> पत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं चादि-<sup>52</sup>  
 10. — परागकालमुदकातिसर्गेण व्रीहिपिटकवापचेत्तं आश्चाहि-<sup>53</sup>  
 11. — — वक्षति[स्थि]तिसमकालीनं प्रतिपादिष्यत अतुस्या —<sup>54</sup>  
 12. — — ररानुर्व्याथा भतृनिपतिभिः<sup>55</sup>

## V.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM NORTHERN GUJARAT.

By J. KIRSTE, Ph.D., VIENNA.

The subjoined inscriptions collected by Mr. H. Cousens, in Gujarât, were entrusted to me for decipherment by Professor Bühler, who assisted me with his advice. They were found in the following places :—

- |                         |                           |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Bhilri (Nos. i—iii), | 6. Roho (xii—xvi),        |
| 2. Dilmal (iv—vii),     | 7. Sarotra (xvii—xxvi),   |
| 3. Mandal (viii),       | 8. Sonak (xxvii, xxviii), |
| 4. Munjpur (ix),        | 9. Taranga (xxix).        |
| 5. Palanpur (x, xi),    |                           |

All are written in Devanâgarî characters, with the exception of No. viii, where the first six lines are in Arabic and the last in Gujarâtî. They are mostly injured and defaced. The language is a crude mixture of Sanskrit and Gujarâtî. Hence the readings are not always certain, and I am not sure that I have succeeded in fully making out the sense of all.

The generally interesting information which they furnish may be arranged under the following heads :—

1.—They yield some notice of the political history of Gujarât. No. viii furnishes a date from the reign of Sultân Ahmad and the names of his father Sultân Muhammad, and of his grandfather Sultân Muzaffar Shâh. It also mentions a Malik Kâmachanda, who seems to have been the Musalman governor or minister in charge of Mamḍalî (the modern Mandal) in the Viramagâm Taluka, and that of a local chief called Raṇaka (?). No. xi records the death of a Rajput, possibly a local chief Vanarâja, of the Gedîâ family, in Samvat 1282. Nos. xvii—xix speak of two local

<sup>44</sup> Read °धिकृतशान्तिज्ञः.

<sup>45</sup> Read °यान्मुति°.

<sup>46</sup> Read °हृद°.

<sup>47</sup> Read °वाजिसनेयि°; °चारिणे.

<sup>48</sup> Read °उत्पर्षणाय.

<sup>49</sup> Read °भिद्विद्वये.

<sup>50</sup> Can °तर्भक्त° be for °तर्भक्ति°?

<sup>51</sup> Read पुत्र°.

<sup>52</sup> Restore °कीपरान°.

<sup>53</sup> Restore °आचन्द्रार्काशं°.

<sup>54</sup> Read प्रतिपादितं. The remaining words I am unable to restore.

<sup>55</sup> This line too is unintelligible. [Restore अतोस्तीक्ष्णतया-  
यचारस्थिता भद्रनपतिभिः ?—E. H.]



chiefs of Sarotra—(1) Arajunaṇṇi, who ruled in Saṁvat 1678, and (2) his son Haradā-  
aṇṇi, who ruled in Saṁvat 1685 and 1689. No. xxvii makes us acquainted with a  
Mahārāṇa Khetala (?) who held the village of Sūṇaka, the modern Sonak, in Saṁvat  
1356.

2.—We obtain the following information regarding the spiritual heads of the Tapāga-  
chchha:—No. xxix tells us that Hīravijaya was Bhaṭṭāraka in Saṁvat 1642. This  
inscription mentions also Vijayasena, who succeeded him (see Klatt, *Ind. Ant.*, vol.  
XI, p. 256). Vijayadeva, the successor of the latter, is alluded to six times in the  
inscriptions Nos. xx—xxiii, xxv, and xxvi, which are all dated in the year Saṁvat  
1689; while his appointed successor Vijayasimha is mentioned once (inscription xx).  
Inscription No. ii makes us acquainted with a Guru of the Mahideśvariya Maṭha  
called Jirāja, *i.e.* probably Jerāja or Jayarāja.

No. I.<sup>1</sup>

- L. 1. सं[व]त् १[३]५ [८] वर्षे [आ]श्विन व[दि] १५ सोमे  
2. ॥ प्र[ग्व]ाटज्ञातीय श्रे[ष्ठ] — — [ण]स्त  
3. समयकेन मूर्ति कारापि[त]<sup>2</sup> . . .

TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1358, on the 15th (*day*) of the dark half of Āśvina, a Monday, a  
figure was caused to be made by the Śreshṭhin Samayaka, son of . . . of the  
Prāgvāṭa gotra.

No. II.<sup>3</sup>

- L. 1. [श्री] महिदेखरीयमठाधिप-  
2. जिराजगुरु[श्रीध्यान]गणाचार्य-  
3. स्य ॥

TRANSLATION.

(*The image*) of the venerable Dhyānagaṇāchārya, the guru Jirāja, the lord of  
the Mahideśvariya monastery.

No. III.<sup>4</sup>

- L. 1. श्री ॥ आवण सुदि १५ चवण ज्येष्ठ वदि  
८ जम्मा । फागुण [श्री]  
2. सुदि १२ दिक्खा । फागुण वदि १३ नाणं ।  
ज्येष्ठ वदि ८ सुक्खो स्वामि

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! The conception (*chyavana*) on the 15th (*day*) of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa ;  
birth on the 8th (*day*) of the dark half of Jyeshṭha ; consecration (*dīkshā*) on the 12th

<sup>1</sup> At Bhilri : on the base of an image in the Jaina temple.

<sup>2</sup> Read मूर्ति; कारापिता.

<sup>3</sup> At Bhilri : on the base of an image in Mahadeva's temple.

<sup>4</sup> At Bhilri : in an old well outside the village.



(day) of the bright half of Phālguna; enlightenment (*jñāna*) on the 13th (day) of the dark half of Phālguna; liberation (*moksha*) on the 9th (day) of the dark half of Jyeshtha . . . . .

The stone bearing this must have been taken from a Jaina temple, and the inscription refers to the career of one of the Tirthamkaras.

No. IV.<sup>5</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १[२]८५ वर्षे पौषे वदि ८ गुरी गाभलायामे डीलविक-  
 2. भंगानंतरं श्रीपार्श्वनाथबिंब<sup>6</sup> मातृपितृमूर्तिश्च कारिता अः  
 3. सोहडसुतकुमारभदेन<sup>7</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1295 (?) on the 8th (day) of the dark half of Pausa, a Thursday, an image of the venerable Pārśvanātha and a figure of his parents were made by the Śreshṭhin Kumarabhadra (?), son of Sohaḍa, in the village of Gābhalā, in the district (?) of Dilavika.

No. V.<sup>8</sup>

- L. 1. [श्री] सिद्धिः । — — । सज — समु-  
 2. द्रो । याव [च] — — [त] डि[त]ी मे[कः] ।  
 3. यावत्त — — — — णे । ताव-  
 4. हि — — — — य — ॥ स्व-  
 5. ॥ स्ति [संवत् १५१२] वर्षे वै-  
 6. षाष शुदि १० उगौकेला  
 7. ॥ उत दा[गा] सुत वादाकेन हि  
 8. जेयकः करापितः ॥ नुत [भरव]  
 9. अस्मिन् — [शे] लके कते सति उ-  
 10. भय कुला नद्ये [भवत] मूटप दृ-  
 11. षद प्रतिसूत्र सागा कत [ट] क ४००  
 12. कशप<sup>9</sup> [डाहु] श्लो वशव

Nothing can be made out of this with certainty except the words :—“on the 10th (day) of the bright half of Vaiśākha . . . . . was caused to be made . . . . .”

No. VI.<sup>9</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १५३२ वैसाख वदि ११  
 2. रवी के<sup>10</sup> लषासुतदेवा-  
 3. केन स्थापितो नारायणः ।

## TRANSLATION.

In (the year) Sam. 1532, on the 11th (day) of the dark half of Vaiśākha, a Sunday, (an image) of Nārāyaṇa was placed by Ke. Devāka, son of Lakhā.

<sup>5</sup> At Dilmal: on the base of an image of Pārśvanātha.

<sup>6</sup> Read बिंब.

<sup>7</sup> May also be °बदेन.

<sup>8</sup> At Dilmal: on a pillar of the Kirtistambha to the west of the large temple of Limbu Mātā.

<sup>9</sup> At Dilmal: on the seat of an image in a small temple on the west of the large temple of Limbu Mātā.



No. VII.<sup>10</sup>

- L. 1. स्वस्ति संवत् १५३२ वर्षे वैशाख वदि ११  
 2. रवौ के° रा[घ]ासुत मा° सादाभांटा  
 3. [यए]तयी भार्या ठा° नरसिंग-  
 4. तनया बाई रूपाई मा° सादास[ह]  
 5. तथा ठा° गोपालतनया बाई मांई  
 6. मा° भांटासह अहर्निशि श्रीलक्ष्मी-  
 7. नारायणाभ्यां प्रणमतः ॥ प्रति-  
 8. मा पिंडी [तत]: कारापिता शिव-  
 9. मस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु शुभं भवतु ॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the year Sam. 1532, on the 11th (*day*) of the dark half of Vaiśākha, a Sunday, Bâi Rûpâi, daughter of Thâ(kura) Narasing (Narasimha), wife of Mâ (ṇḍa-  
 lika) Sâdâjhâmṭâ, son of Ke. Râghâ(?) (and) mother of Sâdâsaha (?)—likewise  
 Bâi Mâmî, daughter of Thâ(kura) Gopâla and mother of Jhâmṭâsaha, bow day and  
 night to Lakshmî and Nârâyaṇa. An image (*and*) then a base (*for it*) was caused to  
 be made.

No. VIII.<sup>11</sup>

- L. 1. بتاريخ پانزده يرم ماه ذى القعدة سنة عشرين و ثمانمائه  
 2. در عهد سلطان سلاطين احمد بن محمد بن مظفر شاه  
 3. السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان . . . عمل کامجد . . . اين کتابت<sup>12</sup>  
 4. . . . .  
 5. . . . .  
 6. . . . .  
 7. [स्व] स्ति संवत् १४७४ वर्षे पौष वदि  
 8. — क्रो<sup>13</sup> अद्येह मंडल्यां मलिक श्री [का]-  
 9. मचंदप्रतिपत्तौ राण श्रीरण[क]-  
 10. विजयराज्ये समस्तमांडलिनि[वा]-  
 11. [सी]ल्योक्विद्यमान मांडवी [हद] खप  
 12. [त]निचल कीधी ते पूर्वम[दनी] <sup>14</sup>को  
 13. ल[खद]निहरदिपू[छ]ीयाहिजेपा  
 14. पवर्त्तदाननिलाविलाय [दपं तप]

<sup>10</sup> At Dilmal : on the base of the image of Lakshmî Nârâyaṇa in a small shrine.

<sup>11</sup> At Mandal : on a stone in the Chauki.

<sup>12</sup> The transcription of the Persian text I owe to the kindness of Prof. Karabacek at Vienna. Lines 4 to 6 are illegible.

<sup>13</sup> L. 8. Probably शुक्रे is to be read.

<sup>14</sup> Corrected below the line to पुर्व [मह]—नो. The third letter may be म and the fifth seems to have been intentionally effaced.



## TRANSLATION.

*Persian Text.*—At the date on the 15th day of the month Dhu-l-Qa'de, in the year eight hundred and twenty (of the Hijra, *i.e.* the 24th December of 1417 A.D.), during the reign of the Sultân of Sultâns Ahmad, son of the Sultân Muhammad, son of the Sultân Muzaffar Shâh . . . business(?) of Kâmajand . . . this writing . . . . .

*Sanskrit Text.*—Hail! In the year Sam. 1474, in the dark half of Pausha, on a Friday (Friday, 24th December 1417 A. D.), to-day, here in Mamdali, during the administration of Malik, the illustrious Kâmachanda, in the victorious reign of Râna the illustrious Ranaka (?),—the business of the limits of the custom-house was settled in the presence of all the inhabitants of Mamdali . . . . .

No. IX.<sup>15</sup>

L. 1. । संवत् १२११ वर्षे वैशाखे शुदि ५ वर—

2. हडा [थानभ]मा — तथा माय — — [थरि]सी [क]स

3. मताल सा — — धव — श्रीत्रि[पुर] सदेव कारापित . . .

Much defaced and probably mutilated on the right side. Nothing can be made out except the date Samvat 1211, Vaisâkha śudi 5.

No. X.<sup>16</sup>

L. 1. संवत् १२१७ वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि १०

2. क्रै<sup>17</sup> खीवाणास्थाने श्रीमहावीर

3. त्वे<sup>18</sup> योसा पेदिकायां [स्र]गविका प

4. [थ]ी स्थजमेकं कारापित ॥ [ये]चि

This inscription seems to refer to a donation in the temple of Mahāvīra at Khīm-vāṇā, made in Samvat 1217, on the tenth day of the bright half of Kārttika, a Friday. Hence this stone, too, must have been removed from its original site.

No. XI.<sup>19</sup>

L. 1. । संवत् १२८२ वर्षे पौष शुदि ४ शुक्रे गेडीया

2. राउत्त [मे]घां [सुत्त] वणरां । [धा]रातीर्थे पतितः ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1282, on the fourth (*day*) of the bright half of Pausha, a Friday, fell the Geḍiâ Râutta (*Rājaputra*) Vaṇarâṁ (*Vanarāja*), the son of Meghām.

The stone must be a so-called Pāliâ.

No. XII.<sup>20</sup>

L. 1. संवत् १२५८

2. र्धे कार्तिक शुदि १

3. शुक्रे । [ज]सदेवसुत

<sup>15</sup> At Munjpur : in the Jâmi Masjid, on a beam.

<sup>16</sup> At Palanpur : on the side of a well.

<sup>17</sup> Read शुक्रे.

<sup>18</sup> Read चेत्ये.

<sup>19</sup> At Palanpur : on a loose stone lying near the railway.

<sup>20</sup> At Roho : on a pillar of the Chhatti of Pârāvanâtha ; much defaced.



L. 4. [तो]जो गा — — — अ

5. यं — पं — — — कुं

6. — — कारापिता ॥

TRANSLATION.

. . . . caused to be made by . . . . son of Jasadeva in Samvat 1250, Kārttika sudi 1, a Friday.

No. XIII.<sup>21</sup>

L. 1. संवत् १२६[९] — ती

2. — — — — वदि १४

3. — — — देव — अर्य सि

4. रीहा — — व — ता

5. — — — प्रदत्ता ॥

No. XIV.<sup>22</sup>

L. 1. संवत् १२८८ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि १३ सोमे ऋषभदेवीचैत्ये निर्वृतिगच्छे गौरदेविसुते[न वाला] केन मातानिमित्तं नेमिनाथबिम्बं कारा[पितं] शुभं भवतु ॥

TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1299, on the 13th (*day*) of the bright half of Vaiśākha, a Monday, an image of Neminātha was caused to be made, for his mother's sake, by Vālāka (?), son of Gauradevi of the Nirvṛiti-Gotra in the temple of Rishabhadevi (?).

No. XV.<sup>23</sup>

L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । संवत् १६[७४]

2. वर्षे । पोसमास । कृष्णपक्षे । पंचम्यां ति-

3. थी । गुरुवासरे । [डाभी]वंशे । भट्टेसरी [—]<sup>24</sup>

4. शाषायां । रांत श्रीमांडणजी । भार्या बाइ

5. श्रीचांपा वापी करापिता । प्र[र]साद द्वी सहि-

6. ता प्रतिष्ठा करापिता । बाई पुत्री श्रीसज्ज-

7. बाई सहितेना पीरोजी ५१००० एकावन्न

8. सहस्रथ्ययो कृता । आ चंद्रार्क नंद्यात्

9. मासं ११ कार्यं वी प्रासाद द्व सहिता कृता ।

10. वंशो विस्तरं बायातु । यातु पुण्यं मह-<sup>25</sup>

11. यश । आयुविपुलतां यातु । यस्यषा वा-<sup>26</sup>

12. पिका कृता ॥ ॥ — [धरमेना] ढाला कृतं ॥

13. पं° — — — — श्रीरस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

<sup>21</sup> At Roho : on a pillar in the third storey of an old well,—much defaced.

<sup>22</sup> At Roho : on the arch over the old well,—first storey.

<sup>23</sup> At Roho : on a pillar in the third storey of the old well.

<sup>24</sup> L. 3 : Probably [जी].

<sup>25</sup> L. 10. Read °तरना° । °महद्वय.

<sup>26</sup> L. 11. Read °विपु° । बल्लेषा.



## TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1674 (?), on the 5th lunar day of the dark half of Pausha, a Thursday, a well was caused to be made by Rāmta Māmdanajī, (*whose*) wife (*was*) Chāmpā, and together with two temples it was consecrated. He, together with his daughter Sajja Bāī, spent 51,000 *Pīrojt* (*Rupees*) (*for this purpose*). May it rejoice as long as sun and moon endure! In 11 months the work (*i.e. the well*), together with the two temples, was completed. May the race extend! May great merit and fame come (*to him*)! May the life of him be lengthened who built this well! The Dhālā was made by Pam(dita) . . . . 108015

No. XVI.<sup>27</sup>

- L. 1. श्री संवत् १६७६ वर्षे पौष शुदि ४ दने [वारगुरु आ]<sup>28</sup>  
 2. — मानक्षत्र रात श्रीमडणजी भारय श्रीचप बाइ पूतो सज्जनजे — पू — [प]ाल  
 3. सूत्र ना[बा] स — — — — श्रीगणेश न — — — —  
 4. स श्रीनराय[न] — — — — —

The same persons seem to be mentioned as in the preceding inscription.

No. XVII.<sup>29</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६७८ वर्षे फागुणमासे शु पक्षे नवम्यां तथी शनिवसरे रो [ह]<sup>-30</sup>  
 2. ॥ श्रीनक्षत्रे । धन्या अयोध्यादसरथनृपा साप माताप धान्या  
 3. ॥ धन्या वाणी कविवरमुखे रामनामपुत्रता । धन्या देसी ऋष-  
 4. पतिभवांन्<sup>31</sup> जत्र रामाभवतारा धन्यो लोको नीमातमगुणा राम  
 5. ॥ वाचं शृणोति ॥ १ ॥ रात श्रीअरजुणजीः । बाई श्रीपदमां बाई । बाई<sup>32</sup>  
 6. ॥ श्रीअमरी ॥ पुत्र श्रीहरदासजी वेजयराज्ये<sup>33</sup> । छत्री कारापिता

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1678, on the 9th lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna, a Saturday, under the Rohiṇī Nakshatra, during the reign of Arajunajī, whose wives were Padamām and Amarī, and whose son was Haradāsajī, a Chhatrī was caused to be erected.

No. XVIII.<sup>34</sup>

- L. 1. सं १६८५ वर्षे अषण सुदि ११ दने [हरदास लषणा]<sup>35</sup>

<sup>27</sup> At Roho: on the base of an image in a ruined shrine near the old well.

<sup>28</sup> Perhaps वारगुरु.

<sup>29</sup> At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>30</sup> L. 1. Read शु(क्र) । तिथी । रोहिणी°.

<sup>31</sup> Bhavān is meant for bhagavān.

<sup>32</sup> The metre of the verse in ll. 2—5 seems to be Mandākrāntā. It may be restored as follows:—

*Dhanyoyodhyādaśarathanṛpāh sāpi mātāpi dhanyā,  
 Dhanyā vānī kavivaramukhe rāmanāmaprārītā,  
 Dhanyo deśo raghuṣatibhavān yatra rāmavātāro,  
 Dhanyo loko nijatamaguṇām rāmavāccham śṛṇōti.*

<sup>33</sup> L. 6. Read विजयराज्ये.

<sup>34</sup> At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>35</sup> L. 1. Read आषण.



TRANSLATION.

In the year Samvat 1685, Śrāvaṇa Sudi 11, Haradāsa . . . . .

No. XIX.<sup>36</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६[८८] वर्षे आषाढमा[से] [ब]हुलप[क्षे] एकादीसी ११ तथ[ै]<sup>37</sup> रविवासरे — —  
 2. ॥ धान्या अयोध्यादसरथनप सा माताप धान्या धान्या वांणी कविवरमुखे  
 3. ॥ रामनामप्रवृत्ताः । धन्या देसो [चट्ट]पतिभवान् जित् रोमाश्रवतारा धन्या  
 4. ॥ [ली] का नीश्रतमगुणा रामवाच्य शृणोतीः ॥ १ ॥ रात श्रीहरदासजी । बा-  
 5. ई श्रीजिवंती ॥ बाई राजू ॥ सबक ॥ वषट्ठ नाम संवत्सरो । पूत श्रीतोग[बी] व-  
 6. ॥ जयराजे ॥ छत्री करापितः<sup>38</sup> ॥ २ ॥

ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 11th lunar day of the dark half of Āshāḍha, a Sunday, during the reign of Haradāsajî whose wives were Jivantî and Râjû and whose son was Togabî (?), a Chhatrî was caused to be erected. (Regarding the verse see inscription No. xvii.)

No. XX.<sup>39</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः आचार्य श्रीविजयसिंह-  
 2. सूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो<sup>40</sup> नमः ॥ सं० १६८९ वर्षे आवण व० ११ दिने देहरीनीपजतइं सं [घप]  
 3. लाडण भार्या नाथी सुत सं० हरदास । सं० सांपा । सं० तेजा । सं० देवकरणई रूपईय  
 [— —]<sup>41</sup> । आप्या छई [॥]

ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 11th day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa Sam . . . . . Lādāṇa, whose wife was Nāthî and his son Sam. Haradāsa, Sam. Sāmpā, Sam. Tejā, Sam. Devakarāṇaî, gave silver Thapas (?) on the completion of the temple, while Bhaṭṭāraka Vijayadevasûri and Vijayasimhasûri were [living].

No. XXI.<sup>42</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः<sup>43</sup> ॥ संवत् १६८८ वर्षे [वदि]  
 2. [ना] सं० लाडण भार्या ना[थ]सुत सं० हरदास सं० सांपा सं० तेजा सं० [देवकरण]  
 3. — — — — [सुत याव] — क — — — स्वपति[वुका] — दि[सर्वेषां] श्रेयो-  
 4. र्थ । श्रीमहावीरप्रासाद — ॥ देवकुलिका — रूप्येः [कारिता] ॥

ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, in the dark half of . . . . . Sam. Lādāṇa, whose wife was Nātha (?), and his son Sam. Haradāsa, Sam. Sāmpā, Sam. Tejā, Sam. Dev4-  
 karāṇa, erected a chapel in connection with the temple of Mahāvīra.

<sup>36</sup> At Sarotra : in an old chhattri.

<sup>37</sup> L. 1. Read एकादशीतिथी.

<sup>38</sup> L. 6. Read विजयराज्ये । कारापिता.

<sup>39</sup> At Sarotra : in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>40</sup> Read °गुरुभ्यो.

<sup>41</sup> Looks like घप.

<sup>42</sup> At Sarotra : in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple. Preserva-  
 tion bad and most letters indistinct,

<sup>43</sup> Read गुरुभ्यो.



No. XXII.<sup>44</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ “भटारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीखरगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥  
 2. सं० १६८८ व० सं लाडण [भा० वा०] “नाथी [त्य पूग] सं० हर-  
 3. दास सं० तेजादिकुटुंब श्रेपार्खदेहरी कारापिता ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, in the dark half of . . . a temple of Pârśva was caused to be made by Sam. Lâḍaṇa, whose wife was Nâthî, and his son (?) Sam. Hara-dâsa, and by the family of Sam. Tejâ.

No. XXIII.<sup>47</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ तपागच्छाधिराजभटारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुरुभ्यो न°  
 2. सं० १६८८ वर्षे फागु° शुदि १३ दिने ए देहरीनीपजतइ वुः हरदास—  
 3. वु[प]नावु माडण तथा भोज — देभइ रूपए [ — — ]<sup>48</sup> आप्या छ

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 13th day of the bright half of Phâlguna, on the completion of this temple, silver Thapas (?) were given by Haradâsa, whose father (?) was Mâḍaṇa (Lâḍaṇa ?)

No. XXIV.<sup>49</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ सं० १६८८ वर्षे फागुण शुदि १० दिने वु[प] — करणइ ए देहरी [नीपजतइ]  
 2. रूपइआ [— —] <sup>50</sup>आप्या छइ ॥ इति मंगलम् ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 10th day of the bright half of Phâlguna, on the completion of this temple, silver . . . were given by Karaṇa (?).

No. XXV.<sup>51</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुर[ि]भ्यो नमः ॥ सं० १६८८ वर्षे फागुण शु  
 2. दि १० दिने वुहरा-[वस्ता]कोकरे ए देहरीनीपजतइ रूपइआ — — आप्या छे — — — —  
 3. . . . .

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 10th day of the bright half of Phâlguna, on the completion of this temple, silver . . . were given by the son of . . . . .

<sup>44</sup> At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>46</sup> Read भटार°, °गुरु°.

<sup>48</sup> Possibly for भाया बाई.

<sup>47</sup> At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>49</sup> Looks like यवा.

<sup>48</sup> At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>50</sup> Looks like पप.

<sup>51</sup> At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.



No. XXVI.<sup>52</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुरु-  
 2. भ्यो नमः सं० १६८८ वर्षे फा० वदि ११ दिने ए  
 3. देहरीनीपजतद् बु मा[ता] ताना [रा]ज पालि रूप [य थव]  
 4. आप्या छद् ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 11th day of the dark half of Phā(lguna), on the completion of this temple, silver Thapas (?) were given by . . . .

No. XXVII.<sup>53</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १३५६ वर्षे चैत्र व ११  
 2. गन । यद्येह सूर्यकग्रामे म-  
 3. हाराण श्री[खे]तलप्रतिपत्ती  
 4. लीष ° महिपाकेन देवीश्री-  
 5. शिवलीयात्रायां नाट [पूजाय]  
 6. प्रदत्त पा[द्र] सं दि[न] पूमि—  
 7. [य]नं — — ना माता [त्रियो]—  
 8. पीलक [ब्रह्मपुरे] सहित [सक]  
 9. लमपि आ[मं] ॥ श्रीः ॥

## ABSTRACT.

The inscription refers to some gift made by one Līsha (?) Mahipāka in Sam. 1356, on the 11th day of the dark half of Chaitra, during the administration of the Mahārāṇa, the illustrious Khetala (?) in the village of Sūṇaka, on the occasion of the Yâtrâ of Devī Śrīśivalī.

No. XXVIII.<sup>54</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १५८६ वर्षे  
 2. आषण वदि १३ सोमे — — —

## TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1596, Śrāvaṇa vadi 13, a Monday . . . .

No. XXIX.<sup>55</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६४२ वरषे आसाढ शुदि १०  
 2. दने पातसा श्रीभक्तवर गहि  
 3. गढीआ° महेस गढी सजा  
 4. पगी श्री° गोवंद पगी श्रीरांम

<sup>52</sup> At Sarotra : over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja Temple.

<sup>53</sup> At Sonak : on a pillar in an old temple.

<sup>54</sup> At Sonak : on the base of an image in the same temple.

<sup>55</sup> At Taranga : on the side of the great temple.



- L. 5. जईननु पातया जंगमतोर-  
 6. थ श्रीहीरविजयसूरिः ॥  
 7. श्रीवजयसे । नसूरिः ॥  
 8. तेहना धरमं साचा जाणी  
 9. श्रीवीसलनगरि संचिमूषि  
 10. साहा° गणांपति आदर  
 11. करी गुरथ ठामठामथक  
 12. गरथ आणीनि प्रासादनु  
 13. नवो आचार कीथो छिः ॥  
 14. सो° सवसी कूरीआ  
 15. उपरि रही कबाडू करा छ  
 16. सूत्र° गोवाल वडनगर  
 17. सूत्र° भूपा वीसलनगर  
 18. कबाडूकरः ॥ सू° गो [पा]  
 19. रात° साहरूपासरठा

Seems to refer to the restoration of the temple in Samvat 1642.

## VI.—THE JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM ŚĀTRUMJAYA.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined editions and abstracts of 118 inscriptions, found in the Jaina temples on the hill of Śātrumjaya near Pālitāṇā, have been prepared according to the impressions, taken by Mr. Cousens during the working season of 1888-89, and made over to me by the Editor. They consist of two great series, the first comprising Nos. i-xxxii which range between Samvat 1587 and 1710, and the second, Nos. xxxiii-cxv, which run from Samvat 1783 to 1943 or 1887 A.D.<sup>1</sup> As the latter series of course possesses in general little historical interest, I have thought it inadvisable to publish them *in extenso*, and I believe the abstracts given below will satisfy all requirements. I have, however, made an exception with No. cv, because it contains a tolerably complete account of the heads of the Añchala *gachchha*, regarding which hitherto very little has become known. Moreover, it furnishes a good sample of the Sanskrit, written by the Yatis of our days, and it may be useful for settling the controversy regarding the origin of the "mixed" dialects found in older books and inscriptions, as well as that regarding the advisability of bringing, by conjectural emendations, the language of somewhat older Jaina authors such as Merutunga, Rājasekhara and Jinamaṇḍana, into harmony with the rules of Sanskrit grammar. The transcript of this document as well as those of Nos. i-xxxiii and No. cxviii have been prepared by Dr. J. Kirste, Privat-Docent in the Vienna University, and to him belong also the footnotes appended to the same.

As regards the historical information contained in the 118 inscriptions, it falls under the following heads :—(1) notes regarding the political history of Western India ;

<sup>1</sup> The dates of Nos. cxvi-cxvii are not certain. No. cxviii ought properly to stand after No. xii.



(2) notes regarding the schools of the Jaina monks; (3) notes regarding the subdivisions of the Jaina laymen.

As regards the first point, No. I is the most important document; for it names (l. 1) three Sultāns of Gujarāt: (1) Mahimūda, (2) Madâphara, and (3) Bâhadara, and states that the latter was alive in Vikrama Samvat 1587, and (l. 2) that his minister was Shâna (Khân) Majhâdashâna or Majhâdaka (l. 26). It further enumerates (ll. 8-10) four rulers of Chitrakûṭa—(1) Kumbharâja, (2) Râjamalla, (3) Samgrâmasimha, (4) Ratnasimha, which latter ruled in Samvat 1587, and adds (l. 23) that Karmasimha or Karmarâja, who made (l. 27) the seventh restoration (*saptama uddhâra*) and re-built the temple of Puṇḍarîka, was his prime minister. We are further told (l. 26) that he did so with the express permission of Sultân Bâhadara, and obtained from him a *sphuranmâna*, i.e. a *fermân*, for this purpose. The negotiations were conducted by a *mantri* Rava (*raoḍkhyā*) Narasimhaka, probably also a Jaina, who was in the employ of Sultân Bâhadara's prime minister.

With respect to the list of the sovereigns of Gujarāt, it deserves to be noticed that Sultāns Sikandar and Mahmūd, the two brothers of Sultân Bahâdur, who reigned each for a short period after Sultân Muzaffar II., have been left out. I am unable to identify Khân Majhâd or Majhâdaka, who, according to our inscription, was Bahâdur's vazîr in Samvat 1587. According to the *Mirât-i-Sikandari*,<sup>2</sup> that dignity was bestowed on Tâj Khân in A.D. 1526; nor is Karmarâja or Karmasimha mentioned in Tod's account of the history of Mevâḍ. But there is no reason for doubting the veracity of the document. The list of the four Râṇās agrees with Tod's. The statements of the *Mirât-i-Sikandari* (*op. cit.*, p. 350) prove that Ratnasimha really ruled in Samvat 1587, and that his relations with the Sultân of Gujarāt were of a friendly nature.

Next come the dates from the reigns of the third and fourth Mughal Emperors—

1. Jahângîr is mentioned as Nûradîna J. Savâi in Nos. xv, xvii—xx, xxiii, xxiv, which are all dated in Samvat 1675, as well as in No. xxvii of Samvat 1683. Nos. xvii—xx mention also prince Khosrû (*Shâhijâdâ Suratâṇa Shosaḍû*) and the governor (*sobaî*) of Ahmadâbâd (*Râjanagara*), Sultân Khurme (*Sahiyâna suratâṇa Shurame*).

2. Shâh Jihân (*Śâhajyâhâm*) occurs once in No. xxx, which is dated in Vikrama Samvat 1686 and Śaka Samvat 1551. The two dates agree perfectly with the facts. And it is also correct that Suratâṇa Khurme, i.e. Sultân Khurram or Shâh Jihân, was viceroy of Gujarât in Samvat 1675. For the Muhammadan historians inform us that the latter province was added to the other governments held by him in A.D. 1617. Of interest, too, is the mention of Shâhijâdâ Suratâṇa Shosaḍû, i.e. prince Khosrû, (Nos. xvii—xx), who no doubt was alive in Vikrama Samvat 1675, but had been a prisoner ever since the second year of his father's reign.

Among the local chiefs of Kâṭhiâvâḍ, the inscriptions mention—

(1) Jâm (*Yâma*) Śatruśalya and his son, Jasavanta, which latter, according to No. xxi (l. 4) ruled at Navînapura, i.e. Navânagar, in Hâllâra, i.e. the Halâr Prânt, in Vikrama Samvat 1675;

(2) Some of the Gohel chieftains of Pâlitânâ, viz.,—

(a) Khâmḍhuḷ and his son, Śivâḷi, in No. xxvii, ll. 38-9, of Vikrama Samvat 1683;



- (b) Unadāji in No. li, of V. S. 1861;
- (c) Khamdhāji; his son, Noghanaji, and his grandson, Pratāpasimghaji, in Nos. lxviii and lxix, dated V.S. 1891 and 1892;
- (d) Noghanaji and his son, Pratāpasimghaji, in No. xcvi, of V.S. 1910; and
- (e) Pratāpasimghaji, V.S. 1916 (No. ciii).
- (f) Sūrasimghaji, in No. cxi, of V.S. 1940.

The information of the inscriptions agrees perfectly with the notes on the history of Navānagar and Pālitānā, given in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. viii, p. 559). According to the latter work, Jām Jasoji, the son of Jām Satāji, ruled from A.D. 1608 to 1624. It is not difficult to recognise Jasavanta in Jasoji. Satāji is a very considerable abbreviation of Satrsāl, the more usual form for the Sanskrit Śatruśālya, “an arrow for his enemies.” As regards the Gohels, we read (*op. cit.* pp. 604f.) that Khāndoji II. was succeeded by Shavaji II. This is no doubt the pair of the inscription, as Shavaji is placed five generations before A.D. 1766. The other chiefs mentioned in the inscriptions are called in the *Gazetteer*, Unadji, A.D. 1766—1820, Khāndoji IV., 1820—1840, Noghanaji IV., A.D. 1840—1860, Pratāpsinghji, 1860, Sūrsinghji, since 1860. It is amusing to note that in No. xcvi, Noghanaji receives the proud titles *rājarājeśvara* and *mahārājadhirāja*, though the Pālitānā State pays tribute to several masters and ranks among the second class states of Kāthiāvad. Besides, Thakur Noghanaji was, according to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, by no means as well off as his successors, who have a gross revenue of five lakhs of rupees; for his state was held under Government guarantee in farm by Vakhatchand, the Nagarsheth of Ahmadābād, from A.D. 1821—1831, when prince Pratāpsinghji managed to get it out of the hands of the banker. None of the numerous donors from Ahmadābād, Bombay, and other towns in the British territory, has thought it necessary to mention the British Government. But Harashachamda, *i.e.* Harakhchand of Damaṇa-bandira or Daman, gratefully mentions, in No. xlv of V.S. 1860, that he was honoured by the *Phirangijāti Puratakāla pātasāhi*, *i.e.* by the king of Portugal. Compared with this, the forgetfulness of the family of the Nagarsheth of Ahmadābād is, to say the least, remarkable.

The next point which claims attention is the copious information which the inscriptions furnish regarding several schools of Jaina monks, the Kharatara, Tapā, Añchala, and Sāgara gachchhas. Lists of the spiritual heads of the former two sects have been published by Dr. Klatt in the *Indian Antiquary*; vol. XI, p. 245 ff, and a Kharatara *paṭṭāvali* from the *Prasasti* of the temple of Vādipura Pārśvanātha has been given, *ante*, vol. I, p. 319. The other two *paṭṭāvalis* have not, as far as I know, been made known before:—

*I.—Paṭṭāvali of the Kharatara gachchha.*

The following list is given in No. xvii—

1. Ud(d)yotanasūri,	<i>Narāṅgī vritti</i> , and discoverer of the Pārśva-
2. Vardhamānasūri, <i>vasatimārgapra-</i>	nātha of Stambhana,
<i>kāsaka</i> ,	6. Jinavallabhasūri,
3. Jineśvarasūri I.,	7. Jinadattasūri, to whom a <i>devatā</i>
4. Jinachandrasūri I.,	gave the title <i>yugapradhāna</i> , <sup>3</sup>
5. Abhayadevasūri, composer of the	8. Jinachandrasūri II.,

<sup>3</sup> The first seven Sūris are mentioned also in No. xviii.



- |                                |                                  |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 9. Jinapattisûri, <sup>4</sup> | 16. Jinachandrasuri IV.,         |
| 10. Jineśvarasûri II.,         | 17. Jinodayasûri,                |
| 11. Jinaprabodhasûri,          | 18. Jinarâjasûri,                |
| 12. Jinachandrasûri III.,      | 19. Jinabhadrasûri, <sup>5</sup> |
| 13. Jinakuśalasûri,            | 20. Jinachandrasûri V.,          |
| 14. Jinapadmasûri,             | 21. Jinasamudrasûri,             |
| 15. Jinalabdhisûri,            | 22. Jinahamsasûri,               |
| 23. Jinamāṇikyasûri,           |                                  |

24. Jinachandrasûri VI,<sup>6</sup> who awakene d the Pâtisâhi of Delhi, Akabara, received from him the title *yugapradhâna*, and obtained an edict not to kill during 8 days in all countries, who appeased the angry Jahâmgîra and protected the Sâdhus banished by him.

25. Jinasimhasûri, who caused the *mantrin* Karamachandra to institute<sup>7</sup> a *rûpa-nandi* festival at an expense of 12,500,000 (*sapâdakoti*), wandered through Kâthina, Kâsmîr and other countries, pleased Akabara-Sâhi, stopped for a year the slaying of aquatic animals, caused an edict of not killing to be proclaimed in Śrîpura,<sup>8</sup> Gola-kumḍâ (Golkonda), Gajjaṇâ (Ghazni), and other countries, and received the title of *yugapradhâna* from Jahâmgîra-Nûradî-Mahammada.

26. Jinarâja,<sup>9</sup> whose parents were Sâ Dharmasî and Dhâralade, who belonged to the Bohittha race, received a boon from the goddess Ambikâ, and in consequence deciphered the *prasasti* on an ancient image at Ghamghânîpura. In No. xxvi there is a second date, Samvat 1682 for him.

The later inscriptions mention : —

Jinachandrasûri, Samvat 1794,<sup>10</sup> (No. xxxix); Jinaharshasûri,<sup>11</sup> Samvat 1887 (No. lx), Samvat 1888, Samvat 1891 (No. lxxviii), Samvat 1892 (No. lxxix); Jinamahendrasûri, successor of the preceding, Samvat 1893 (No. lxxx), stated to belong to the Pippaliya branch (Nos. lxxxii-v),<sup>12</sup> Samvat 1903 (No. lxxxviii).

Jinasaubhâgyasûri, successor of Jinaharsha, Samvat 1910 (No. xvi).

Jinamuktisûri, Samvat 1922 (No. cvi). The statements of the latest inscriptions show that there were several heads of the Kharatara *gachchha*, which fact is known to everybody personally acquainted with the sect. I met Jinamuktisûri at Jesalmîr in 1874, and at Bikânîr another head of the Kharataras called Hemasûri. The pupils of a third Yugapradhâna of the same community visited me in 1876 at Surat, when he passed through the town.

## II.—*Paṭṭāvali of the Tapā gachchha.*

No. xii mentions first Vardhamâna (verse 2), Sudharma (verse 3), Susthita and Supratibuddha, the founders of the Koṭikagaṇa (verse 4), Vajra, the founder

<sup>4</sup> This form, which is found also in the Pâtan *Prasasti*, ante, vol. I, p. 319, seems to be preferable to Dr. Klatt's Jinapati, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI, pp. 245ff.

<sup>5</sup> Mentioned also in No. xviii.

<sup>6</sup> Mentioned also in Nos. xviii—xx, xxiii, xxxiv.

<sup>7</sup> Nos. xviii—xx, xxiii—xxiv, add "before Akabarasâhi."

<sup>8</sup> According to No. xviii Śrîkâstîpura, according to No. xix Śrîkâra-Śrîpura, according to No. xxiii Śrîpura.

<sup>9</sup> Mentioned in the same way in Nos. xiv—xx, xxiii-xxiv, xxvi.

<sup>10</sup> Klatt has a Jinachandra (No. 69) in S. 1834.

<sup>11</sup> This is the last on Klatt's list, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, pp. 245ff.

<sup>12</sup> Nos. lxxxii—lxxxv have a note speaking of a Jinachandrasûri, successor of Jinadeva, being alive. Regarding the Pippaliya Kharatara *gachchha*, see Klatt, *ut sup.*, under No. 56.



of the Vajrâ śākhâ (verse 5), Vajrasena and his pupils Nāga, Indra, Chandra, Nirvṛiti and Vidhyādhara, the third of whom founded the Chāndra kula (verses 6-7), Jagachchandra, who obtained in Samvat 1285 the *Tapābiruda* (verse 9), and then begins the enumeration with—

(1) Ānandavimāla (Klatt No. 56), who reformed the conduct of the Yatis in Samvat 1582 (verses 10-11).

(2) Vijayadāna (Klatt No. 57), verses 12-13.<sup>13</sup>

(3) Hīravijaya (Klatt No. 58), verses 14—24, who was called by Sāhi Akabbara to Mevāta, and persuaded the emperor in Samvat 1639 to issue an edict forbidding the slaughter of animals for six months, to abolish the confiscation of the property of deceased persons, the *Sujīja*-tax, and a *śulka*,<sup>14</sup> to set free many captives, snared birds and animals, to present Śatrumjaya to the Jains, to establish a Jaina library (*paustakam bhāṃḍāgāram*), and to become a saint-like king Śreṇika, who converted the head of the Lumpākas, Meghājī,<sup>15</sup> made many people adherents of the Tapā gachchha, caused many temples to be built in Gujarāt and other countries, and made many natives of that country, of Mālava and so forth, undertake pilgrimages to Śatrumjaya. No. cxviii commemorates one of these pilgrimages, which was undertaken by Vimalaharsha and 200 others. The same inscription states that Hīravijaya belonged to the *Sāpha* race. He died, according to No. xiii, by starvation, at Unnatadurga, in Samvat 1652, Bhādrapada śukla 10, and his *pādukās* were erected in the same year, on Mārga vadi 9, Monday, by Udayakaraṇa of Stambhatīrtha (Cambay) and consecrated by Vijayasena.

(4) Vijayasena (Klatt No. 59), (verses 25—34), who was called by Akabbara to Lābhapura (Lahor), received from him great honours, and a *phuramāṇa*, forbidding the slaughter of cows, bulls and buffalo-cows, to confiscate the property of deceased persons and to make captives in war, who, honoured by the king, the son of Choli-be-gam (*Choli Vegama*), adorned Gujarāt. Latest date Samvat 1650.

(5) Vijayadeva (Klatt No. 60) is mentioned in No. xxv, Samvat 1676, No. xxxi of Samvat 1696, Nos. xxxii and xxxiii of Samvat 1710. According to the same he received from Pātisāhi Jihāmgīra the title *mahātāpa*. His appointed successor, Vijaya-simhasūri, who, according to Klatt (*op. cit.*) died before him (Samvat 1709), occurs in No. xxxii, which is dated Samvat 1710. It is stated there that the Sahasrakūṭa tīrtha had been dedicated at his request.

(6) Vijayaprabha (Klatt No. 61) is mentioned in No. xxxiii, dated Samvat 1710. He receives the titles *āchārya* and *sūri*, and seems, therefore, not yet to have been the actual head. Vijayadeva, on the other hand, is there called *bhaṭṭāraka*. This goes against Klatt's *Paṭṭāvali*, which places Vijayadeva's death in Samvat 1709.

In the later inscriptions are named—

Vijayakshamāsūri, No. xxxviii.

Vijayadayāsūri, No. xxxvii, *bhaṭṭāraka*, in Samvat 1788 (Sumatisāgara, *ibid.*, also *bhaṭṭāraka*), and in No. xxxviii, Samvat 1791.

Vijayajinendrasūri, No. xlv, Samvat 1843, Nos. xlvi—xlix, Samvat 1860.

Vijayadhaneśvarasūri, No. lxxviii, Samvat 1893.

<sup>13</sup> Mentioned as head of the gachchha in Nos. iv, vi—x, all dated in Samvat 1620.

<sup>14</sup> Possibly a tax on Jaina pilgrims, visiting their holy places, may be meant,—see also Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 339 (6th edition). The *Sujīja* tax is, of course, the *jizya*, or capitation tax on infidels.

<sup>15</sup> Regarding the Lumpākas see Bhāṇḍārkar, *Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84*, p. 153.



Vijayadevendrasûri,<sup>16</sup> No. lxxxvi, Samvat 1897, No. lxxxix, Samvat 1905, No. xlii, Samvat 1908, No. xcvi, Samvat 1911, No. civ, Samvat 1916, No. cvii, Samvat 1924.

Vidyânandasûri, successor of Dhaneśvara, No. ciii, Samvat 1916.

A Samvijñayamârgiṇya Tapâ gachchha, belonging to the line of Vijayasîhasûri, is mentioned in No. lxxvi of Samvat 1893 and in No. cxiii of Samvat 1940.

### III.—*Paṭṭāvali of the Añchala or Vidhipaksha gachchha.*<sup>17</sup>

The first seventeen teachers are named in Nos. xxi of Samvat 1675 and xxvii of Samvat 1683, the remainder mostly in No. cv of Samvat 1921 :

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) Âryarakshita, <sup>18</sup>           | (16) Dharmamûrti,   |
| (2) Jayasimha,                            | (17) Kalyâṇasâgara or Kalyâṇasamudra, Samvat 1675 and 1683, |
| (3) Dharmaghosha,                         | (18) Amarodadhi,  |
| (4) Mahendrasimha,                        | (19) Vidyâsûri (Vidyâbdhi), <sup>19</sup>                   |
| (5) Simhaprabha,                          | (20) Udayârṇava, or Udayasâgara, <sup>20</sup>              |
| (6) Devendra or Devendrasimha,            | (21) Kîrtisindhu or Kîrtisâgara, No. li, Samvat 1861,       |
| (7) Dharmaprabha,                         | (22) Puṇyodadhi or Puṇyasâgara, (No. li, of S. 1861),       |
| (8) Simhatilaka,                          | (23) Muktisâgara, Samvat 1905, <sup>21</sup>                |
| (9) Mahendra,                             | (24) Ratnodadhi, Samvat 1921;                               |
| (10) Merutuṅga,                           | (25) Vivekasâgara, Samvat 1940, No. cxi.                    |
| (11) Jayakîrti,                           |   |
| (12) Jayakeśari,                          |   |
| (13) Siddhântasamudra or Siddhântasâgara, |   |
| (14) Bhâvasâgara,                         |   |
| (15) Guṇanidhâna or Suguṇasêvadhi,        |   |

### IV.—*Paṭṭāvali of the Sâgara-gachchha.*

This list is given chiefly in No. xci, where the latest date is Samvat 1905 :

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| (1) Râjasâgara,    | (7) Âṇandasâgara,  |
| (2) Vṛiddhisâgara, | (8) Śântisâgara, Samvat 1886, No. lv, No. lix; Samvat 1889, No. lxii, No. lxv; Samvat 1893, No. lxx, No. lxxi, No. lxxii, No. lxxix. |
| (3) Lakshmîsâgara, |  |
| (4) Kalyâṇasâgara, |  |
| (5) Puṇyasâgara,   |  |
| (6) Udayasâgara,   |  |

Teachers of two other *gachchhas* are named :—

(1) Râjasâmasûri of the Laghuposâla *gachchha* in No. xlii, dated Samvat 1815.

(2) Paṇḍit Anandakuśala of the Pâyachanda *gachchha* in No. xcv, dated Samvat 1908. One is tempted to conjecture that *Pâyachanda* is a

<sup>16</sup> Spelt also Vijayadevindra and Vijayadevidra.

<sup>17</sup> The name Vidhipaksha *gachchha* occurs in No. xxvii, verse 6, and in No. cv.

<sup>18</sup> Regarding this Âryarakshita, see Bhāṇḍārkar, *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* of 1883-84, p. 152. The *Paṭṭāvali* described by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar (*op. cit.*, pp. 14, and 319ff.) is that of the

Âñchala-*gachchha*, and in the main agrees with the earlier part of the above text.

<sup>19</sup> This form is required according to the metre.

<sup>20</sup> No. li.

<sup>21</sup> No. xc. Before him appears Râjendrasâgara, Samvat 1886, in No. lvi.



mistake for *Pāsachanda* or *Pāsachanda*, regarding which sect see Bhāṇḍārkar's "Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, p. 135".

V.—*Digambara Paṭṭāvali*.

No. xxx, dated Samvat 1686, gives (ll. 2 *et seq.*) the list of the spiritual heads in the line of Kumḍakunda (*read Kundakunda*) Âchârya in the Balâtkâragana, the Sarasvatî *gachchha* and the Mûlasamgha, i.e. the community of the Digambaras, as follows :

- |                    |                                     |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1) Sakalakîrti,   | (7) Guṇakîrti,                      |
| (2) Bhuvanakîrti,  | (8) Vâdibhûshana,                   |
| (3) Jñânabhûshana, | (9) Râmakîrti,                      |
| (4) Vijayakîrti,   | (10) Padmanandi, the actual head of |
| (5) Śubhachandra,  | the sect in Samvat 1686.            |
| (6) Sumatikîrti,   |                                     |

The list is, of course, a mere fragment of the *Paṭṭāvali* of the Kundakundânava, which dates from much earlier times.

Next to the subdivisions of the Jaina monks, those of the laymen deserve notice, and it is interesting that our inscriptions furnish a good deal of valuable information on this point, regarding which hitherto little has become known. Among the various tribal names of the laymen which are mentioned in the great majority of the documents, that of the Osvâls occurs most frequently, as might be expected from the fact that this section of the Jaina community is not only generally considered the most noble, but possesses also the greatest wealth. The name appears in various forms, (1) Upakeśa *jñāti*, No. xxi; *vamsa*, No. xxvi; (2) Ūkeśa or Ukeśa, Nos. xxxiii and lx; (3) Oiśa *vamsa*, No. xxxix; (4) Ośa or Osa, mostly with the addition of the termination *vāla* in a great many inscriptions; and (5) Uśa, Nos. i—iii, or Usa, No. cii.

It is not in the least doubtful that *Upakeśa* is the original Sanskrit word from which the other forms have been derived.<sup>22</sup> The processes by which the forms *Ūkeśa*, *Ukeśa*, *Uśa* and *Usa* were obtained, will be clear to everybody. With respect to *Oiśa*, *Ośa* and *Osa*, it may be noted that, according to the rules of the Jaina and Mahârâshṭrî Prakrits, the preposition *upa* may be represented by *o* (see Hemachandra, *Prâkṛita vyākaraṇa*, i, 173).

In addition to the correct form of the name of this famous tribe, the Pālītāṇā inscriptions furnish also a traditional account of its origin. We read in No. i—

(Verse 8). "Further—on the hill called Gopa, there was born a most worshipful (*ruler*) called the illustrious Âmarâja, whom glorious Bappabhaṭṭi awakened. His wife was some daughter of a trader."

(Verse 9). "In her womb were born the following men belonging to the Râjakoshṭhâgâra family, the sole vessel of piety, and the pure illustrious Uśa race."

The meaning seems to be that both the Uśa tribe and the Râjakoshṭhâgâra family, which latter is evidently a subdivision of the former, owe their origin to the king Âma and his consort of the Vaiśya caste. According to the *Paṭṭāvalis* and the *Prabandhas*, Ama, whose existence is not proved by really historical documents, is said to have lived about Vikrama Samvat 800.<sup>23</sup> I may add that the genealogy of Karmarâja, which is

<sup>22</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, pp. 233ff.

<sup>23</sup> See S. P. Pandit, *Gauḍavaḥo*, pp. cxxxviii.



given in verses 10—20, cannot be complete. It names only ten ancestors who cannot possibly fill the seven centuries and a half which intervene between the traditional date of king Âma and that of the inscription, Vikrama Samvat 1587.

The inscriptions mention also a good many other subdivisions of the Osvâl tribe, viz.—

I.—A Vṛiddhaśâkhâ, which is subdivided into the following *gotras* or families, —(1) Ūhâḍa, No. xxxiii; (2) Châjeda, No. cvi; (3) Nâḍûla, Nos. xxxviii, xxxix; (4) Nâhaṭâ, No. lxxx; (5) Mummiyâ, No. xcvi; (6) Râjakoshṭhâgâra, Nos. i, ii, iii; (7) Yadugaḍa, No. lxviii; (8) Lâlaṇa, No. xxi; (9) Luṇṇiyâ, No. lx; (10) Loḍhâ, No. xvi.

II.—A Laghuśâkhâ, to which belongs (1) the Nâgaḍâ *gotra*, No. xc; (2) the Shota *gotra*, No. xi.

III.—An Addaiśâkhâ, to which belongs the Kumkumalola *gotra*, Nos. xci, xcvi-xcix. The members of this *śâkhâ* and *gotra*, as represented by the family of the Nagarsheṭh of Ahmadâbâd, besides claim kinship with the Sîsodiâ Rajputs of Mevâḍ, —see No. xci. Visâ Osavâlas are mentioned in No. cxv.

The tribe next in importance is that of the Śrîmâlîs, called after the town of Śrîmâla or Bhillamâla, the modern Bhînmâl in the extreme south of Marvâḍ. It includes—

I.—A Vṛiddhaśâkhâ, Nos. xxxvii, cxii, of which no subdivisions are given;

II.—A Laghuśâkhâ, Nos. xxix, xxxiv, lxxvi, to which belongs, according to No. xlv, the Kâśyapa *gotra*, the members of which claim kinship with the Paramâra Rajputs.

A Visâ Śrîmâlî occurs in No. xc.

About the same importance belongs to the Prâgvâṭa tribe, called also Prâgavamṣa, Nos. iv, vi and viii, or by its modern name Poravâḍa or Poravâla, (pronounce Porvâḍ and Porvâl). It seems, too, to have an elder and a junior branch, as Nos. xv, xvii, xxv, and xli mention its Laghuśâkhâ. Visâ Poravâḍas or Poravâlas are named in Nos. l and xcvi; Dasâ-Porvâḍas in cvii. A few other tribes occur each in single inscriptions, viz. Gûrjara *jñâti*, No. x; Dîsâvâla *jñâti*, No. vii; Dûgaḍa *gotra*, No. liv; Nimma *jñâti*, No. ciii; Mohotâ *gotra*, No. cv; Samghavâla *gotra*, and Kâchâra *samtâna*, No. xiv.

The native places of the donors are:—

- (1) Ajamera, i.e. Ajmîr in Râjputânâ,
- (2) Anahillapura, also called Pattana,
- (3) Antarapura in Vâgvaradesa or Duṅgarpur,
- (4) Ahmadâbâd, called eleven times by its Sanskrit name, Râjanagara, 'the capital,'
- (5) Ugrasenapura,
- (6) Kapadavaṇaja in the Khedâ Collectorate,
- (7) Kâśî, or Benares,
- (8) Koṭhârâ in Kachh,
- (9) Khambanayara, i.e. probably Cambay,
- (10) Ghandhâra in the Bharoch Collectorate,
- (11) Chitrakûṭa, or Chitor in Mevâḍ,



- (12) Cheula, probably Chaul, near Bombay,
- (13) Jesalamera, i.e. Jesalmîr in Marvâd,
- (14) Damaṇa bandira, i.e. Daman in Gujarât.
- (15) Dîvabamdira or Diu in Kâthiâvâd,
- (16) Devagiri or Daulatâbâd in the Dekhan,
- (17) Dhanapura,
- (18) Nabhînpura, in Kachh,
- (19) Nalinapura, in Kachh,
- (20) Navânagara, in Kâthiâvâd,
- (21) Pâlanapura, in Northern Gujarât,
- (22) Bâluchara,
- (23) Bhâvanagara, in Kâthiâvâd,
- (24) Makasudâvâda—Bâluchara or Makśudâvâda,
- (25) Mumbâi, or Bombay,
- (26) Mesâna, in Gujarât,
- (27) Râdhanapura, in Northern Gujarât,
- (28) Vîkaṇera, or Bîkâner, in Northern Râjputânâ,
- (29) Vîsalanagara, in Northern Gujarât,
- (30) Sirohi, in Southern Râjputânâ,
- (31) Surata bamdira, in Gujarât.

The name of Ahmadâbâd or Râjanagara occurs most frequently.

For those who care to verify Hindu dates the Pâlitânâ inscriptions will be a perfect mine; for every single date can be calculated, as the weekdays are invariably mentioned.

#### No. I.<sup>24</sup>

- L. 1.      ॥ श्रीं ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीगूर्जरधरित्रयां पातसाहश्रीमहिमूदपट्टप्रभाकरपातसाहश्रीमदाफरसाह-  
पट्टोद्योतकारक ॥
2. पातसाहश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीबाहदरसाहविजयराज्ये ॥ संवत् १५८७ वर्षे राज्यव्यापारधुरंधरषान-  
श्रीमभादषानव्या-
3. पारे श्रीशत्रुंजयगिरौ श्रीचित्रकूटवास्तव्य । दो० करमास्ततसप्तमोद्धारसत्ता प्रशस्तिर्लिख्यते ॥  
स्वस्ति श्रीसौख्य-
4.                      दो जीयात युगादिजिननायकः ।  
केवलज्ञानविमलो विमलाचलमंडनः ॥ १<sup>25</sup>  
श्रीमेदपाटे प्रगटप्रभावे [1]  
भावेन भ-
5.                      व्ये भुवनप्रसिद्धे ।  
श्रीचित्रकूटो मुकुटोपमानो [1]  
विराजमानोस्ति समस्तलक्ष्मणः ॥ २<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> In the porch of the east or main entrance of the great temple of Âdiśvara Bhagavân;—see *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency, &c.* (Bombay, 1885) p. 188.—J. B.

<sup>25</sup> Metre of verse 1, Anuṣṭubh. Read °जीयात्. A good many of my corrections have been given between brackets in the text.—J. K.

<sup>26</sup> Metre of verses 2—4, Upajâti. Read °अग्रा.



सब्रंदनो दातृसुरद्रुमश्च [1]

तुं-

L. 6. गः सुवर्षोऽपि विहारसारः ।

जिनेश्वरस्त्राचपविचभूमिः [1]

श्रीचित्रकूटः सुरशैलतुल्यः ॥ ३

विशालसालक्षिति-

7. लोचनाभो [1]

रम्यो नृणां लोचनचित्रकारी [1]

विचित्रकूटो गिरिचित्रकूटो [1]

लोकस्तु यत्राखिलकूटमुक्तः ॥ ४

तत्र श्रीकुं-

8. भराजो ऽभूत् कुंभोज्ज्वनिभो नृपः ।

वैरिवर्गः समुद्रो हि येन पीतः क्षणात् क्षितौ ॥ ५<sup>27</sup>

[त] त्पुत्रो राजमल्लोभूद्राज्ञां म-

9. क्ष इवोत्कटः ।

सुतः संग्रामसिंहो ऽस्य संग्रामविजयी नृपः ॥ ६

तत्पट्टभूषणमणिः सिंहैर्द्रवत्पराक्रमी ।

रत्नसिंहा ऽ<sup>28</sup>

10. धुना राजा राजलक्ष्म्या विराजते ॥ ७

इतश्च गोपाङ्गगिरौ गरिष्ठः [1]

श्रीवप्यभट्टिप्रतिवोधितश्च ।

श्रीग्रामराजो ऽजनि तस्य

11. पत्नी [1]

काचिहभूव व्यवहारिपुत्री ॥ ८<sup>29</sup>

तत्कुक्षिजाता[ः] किल राजकोष्ठा [1]

गाराङ्गगोत्रे सुकृतैकपात्रे ।

श्रीउशवंशे विशदे

12. विशाले [1]

तस्यान्वये ऽमी पुरुषा प्रसिद्धाः ॥ ९<sup>30</sup>

श्रीसरणदेवनामा तत्पुत्रो रामदेवनामाभूत् ।

लक्ष्मीसिंहः पुत्रो[ः] तत्पु-

13. श्रीभुवनपालाख्यः ॥ १०<sup>31</sup>

श्रीभोजराजपुत्रो — —<sup>32</sup> रसिंहाख्य एव तत्पुत्रः ।

षेताकुस्तत्पुत्रो नरसिंहः तत्पु-

<sup>27</sup> Metre of verses 5—7, Anushṭubh.

<sup>28</sup> Read °हीऽ.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Upajāti. Read गरिष्ठः.

<sup>30</sup> Metre: Indravajrā. Read °कोष्ठा । श्रीश्री पुरुषाः.

<sup>31</sup> Metre of verses 10—19, Āryā.

<sup>32</sup> Looks like वड



- I. 14. [— — —]<sup>33</sup> ॥ ११  
तत्पुत्रस्तोलाख्यः पत्नी तस्याः[स्य]प्रभूतकुलजाता ।  
तारादे परनाम्नी लीलू पुण्यप्रभापूर्णा ॥ १२  
तत्कुक्षिसमुद्भताः ष[ट्]
15. पुत्रा<sup>34</sup> कल्पपादपाकाराः [।]  
[धर्मा]नुष्ठानपराः श्रीवंतः श्रीकृतो ऽन्येषां ॥ १३  
प्रथमो र[त्ना]ख्यसुतः सम्यक्नोद्योतकारकः कामं ।
16. श्रीचित्रकूटनगरे प्रासादः [कारितो]येन ॥ १४  
तस्या ऽस्ति कोमला पाल्पवल्लीव<sup>35</sup> विशदात्सदा ।<sup>36</sup>  
भार्या रजमलदेवी पुत्रः[ः]श्रीरंगना-
17. मासौ ॥ १५  
भ्राता ऽन्यः पोमाह्वः पतिभक्ता दानशीलगुणयुक्ता ।  
पद्मापाटमदेव्यौ पुत्रौ माणिक्यहीराक्षौ ॥ १६  
बंधुर्गणस्तु-
18. तीयभार्या<sup>37</sup>गुणरत्नराशिविख्याता [।]  
गडरागारतदेव्यौ पुत्रो देवाभिधो ज्ञेयः ॥ १७  
तुर्यो दशरथनामा । भार्या तस्यास्ति देवगु-
19. रुभक्ता ।  
देवल[दू]रमदेव्यौ पुत्रः केल्लाभिधो ज्ञेयः ॥ १८  
भ्राता ऽन्यो भोजाख्यः भार्या तस्यास्ति सकलगुणयुक्ता ।
20. भावलहर्षमदेव्यौ पुत्रः श्रीमंडणो जीयात् ॥ १९  
सदा सदाचारविचारचारुचातुर्यधैर्यादिगुणैः प्रयुक्तः  
श्रीकर्मराजो
21. भगिनी च तेषां जीयात्सदा सृहविनामधे[या] ॥ २०<sup>38</sup>  
कर्माख्यभार्या प्रथमा कपूर [।]-  
देवो पुनः कामलदे द्वितीया ।  
श्रीभीषजी-
22. कस्त्रकुलोदयाद्रि-<sup>39</sup>  
सूर्यप्रभः कामलदेविपुत्रः ॥ २१  
श्रीतीर्थयात्राजिनबिंबपूजा-  
पदप्रतिष्ठादिकवर्मधुर्याः ।  
सुपात्रदानेन प-
23. विचित्रमात्राः  
सर्वेदृशाः सत्पुरुषाः पतिष्ठाः ॥ २२<sup>40</sup>  
श्रीरत्नसिंहराज्ये राज्यव्यापारभारधौरेयः ।  
श्रीकर्मसिंहदत्तो मुख्यो

<sup>33</sup> Read °ती जातः .

<sup>34</sup> Read पुत्राः .

<sup>35</sup> Read कल्पवल्लीव. Above पा there is a mark,

<sup>36</sup> Read विशदा सदा.

<sup>37</sup> Read °तीर्थी.

<sup>38</sup> Metre : Upajāti.

<sup>39</sup> Metre : Indravajrā. Read °जीकः .

<sup>40</sup> Metre : Upajāti. Read °तिष्ठा°. सर्वे° stands for सर्वं दृ°.



- L. 24. व्यवहारिणां मध्ये ॥ २३<sup>41</sup>  
 श्रीशत्रुंजयमाहात्म्यं शु[त्वा]सङ्गुसंनिधी ।  
 तस्योद्धारकते भावः कर्मराजस्य — व्यभूत् ॥ २४<sup>42</sup>  
 आग-
25. त्व गौर्जरे देशे विवेकेन नरायणे ।  
 वसन्ति विबुधा लोकाः पुण्यस्त्रोका इवाऽऽहुताः ॥ २५  
 तच्चास्ति श्रीधराधीशश्रीमत् ॥ ॥ ॥
26. बाहदरो नृपः ।  
 तस्य प्राप्य स्फुरन्मानं पुंडरीके समाययौ ॥ २६  
 राज्यव्यापारधौरेयः पानः श्रीमान् मभादकः ।  
 तस्य गेहे म-
27. हामन्त्री रवाख्यो नरसिंहकः ॥ २७  
 तस्य सम्मानमुत्प्राप्य बहुवित्तव्ययेन च ।  
 उद्धारः सप्तमस्तेन चक्रे शत्रुंजये गिरौ
28. ॥ २८  
 श्रीपादलिप्तललनासरशुद्धदेशे  
 सद्वाद्यमंगलमनोहरगीतना[दैः] ।  
 श्रीकर्मराजसुधिया जलया[त्रि]कायां  
 चक्रे महोत्स-
29. ववरः सुगुरूपदेशात् ॥ २९<sup>43</sup>  
 चंचच्चंगमृदंगरंगरचनाभेरीनफेरीरवा-  
 वीणा[वंश]विशुद्धनालविभवासाधर्मि[वात्सल्य]
30. कं ।  
 वस्त्रालंक्रति[हेम]तुंगतुरगादीनां च स[ह]र्षण-  
 मेवं विस्तरपूर्वकं गिरवरे बिंबप्रतिष्ठापनं ॥ ३०<sup>44</sup>  
 विक्रमसमयातीते ति-
31. यिमितसंवत्सरेऽश्वसुवर्षे । १५८७ ।  
 शाके जगन्निवाणे ५३ वैशाखे कृष्णाषष्ठ्यां च ॥ ३१<sup>45</sup>  
 मिलिताः सूरयः संघा मार्गणसु-
32. निपुंगवाः ।  
 वहमाने धनुर्लग्ने प्रतिष्ठा कारिता वराः ॥ ३२<sup>46</sup>  
 क्षावण्यसमयाख्येन पंडितेन महात्मना ।  
 स[प्त]मोद्धारसत्ता
33. च प्रशस्तिः प्रकटीकृता ॥ ३३  
 श्रीमहा[हदर]क्षितीशवचनादागत्य शत्रुंजये [।]  
 प्रासादं विदधाप्य येन ह — १ — बिंबमा-

<sup>41</sup> Metre: Āryā.<sup>42</sup> Metre of verses 24—28, Anushtubh.<sup>43</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>44</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Tead गिरि०, •डा० The context is not clear.<sup>45</sup> Metre: Āryā. Read •डा०.<sup>46</sup> Metre of verses 32, 33, Anushtubh. Read •डा० वरा.



L. 34.

रीप्य च ।

उद्धारः किल सप्तमः कलियुगे चक्रेथ ना — — —  
जीयादेष सदोशवंशमुकुटः श्रीकर्मराजश्चिरं ॥ ३४<sup>47</sup>  
य-

35. त्कर्मराजेन कृतं सुकार्य-  
मन्येन केनापि कृतं हि तन्नो ।  
यन्मोक्षराज्ये[पि नृपा]न्नयैवो-  
द्धारः कृतः सप्तम एष येन ॥ ३५<sup>48</sup>

36. स — — —<sup>49</sup>र्याणि बह्वनि संघे  
कुर्वति भव्याः परम[त्र] काले ।  
कर्माभिधानव्यवहारिणैवो-  
द्धारः कृतः श्रीवि-

37. मलाद्रिशृंगे । ३६<sup>50</sup>  
श्रीचित्रकूटोदयशैलशृंगे ।  
कर्माख्यभानोरुदयान्वितस्य ।  
शत्रुञ्जये विंबविहारकृत्य-  
[कर्मा-

38. व]लीयं स्फुरतीति चित्रं ॥ ३७<sup>51</sup>  
श्रीमेदपाटे विषये निवासिनः  
श्रीकर्मराजस्य च कीर्तिरु[ज्ज्वला] ।  
देशेष्वनेकेष्वपि [संचरत्य]-

39. ह्री  
ज्योत्स्नेव चन्द्रस्य नभोविहारिणः ॥ ३८<sup>52</sup>  
दत्तं येन पुरा धनं बहु सुरचाणाय तन्मानतो  
यात्रा येन [नृ]-

40. णां च संघपतिना शत्रुञ्जये कारिता ।  
साधूनां सुगमैव सा च विहिता चक्रे प्रतिष्ठा ऽर्हता-  
मित्यं वर्णनमुच्यते किय-

41. दहो श्रीकर्मराजस्य तु ॥ ३९<sup>53</sup>  
येनोद्धारः शुभवति नगे कारितः पुंडरीके ।  
स्वात्मोद्धारो विशदमतिना दुर्ग-

42. तस्तेन चक्रे ।  
येनाकारि प्रवरविधिना तीर्थनाथप्रतिष्ठा प्राप्ता  
स्तेन त्रिभुवनतले सर्वदैवप्रतिष्ठा ॥ ४०<sup>54</sup>  
सौम्यत्वे-

<sup>47</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>48</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps सत्युष्णकार्याणि.<sup>50</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>51</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>52</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>53</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Read °डा.<sup>54</sup> Metre: Mandākrāntā. Read °डा, तेन, °डा.



L. 43.

न निशामणिर्दिनमस्मिन्प्रतापेन च  
वशीहीपनकारणात् गृहमणिचिंतामणिदानतः ।  
धर्मात् आशशिरोम-

44.

णिर्मदविषध्वस्तमणिभोगिनः  
एकानिकमयो गुह्यैर्नवनवैः श्रीकर्मराजः सुधीः ॥ ४१<sup>65</sup>  
तोलासुतः सुतन[यी]

45.

विनयोऽवलम्ब  
लीलसुकुचिनलिनीशचिराजहंसः ।  
सम्मानदानविदुरो मुनिपुंगवानां  
सहृद्वर्धयुतो

46.

— — कमराजः ॥ ४२<sup>66</sup>  
कर्मा श्रीकर्मराजोयं कर्मणा केन निर्ममे ।  
तेषां शुभानि कर्माणि यैर्दृष्टः पुण्यवानसौ ॥ ४३<sup>67</sup>

47.

अधीशः पुंडरीकस्तु मरुदेवा[वः]कपर्दिराट् ।  
आज्जश्रीकर्मराजस्य सुप्रसन्ना भवन्त्वमी ॥ ४४ ॥  
श्रीशत्रुजयतीर्थोच्चारि ।

48.

कमठा[य] सनिध्यकारक सां जज्ञता भां बाई चांपू पुत्र नाथा भ्रातृ कीता ॥ अहमदा-  
वादवास्तव्य सूत्रधार कीला

49.

पुत्र सूत्रधार विरु[पा]सूं भीमा ठं वेला ठं वळा ॥ श्रीचिचकूटादागतं सूं टीला सू  
पोमा सूं गांगा सूं गोरा सूं ठाला

50.

सूचं देवा ॥ सूचं नाकर सूं नाईया सूं गोविंद सूं विणायग सूं टीला सूं वळा सू  
भाणा सू० का[हा] सूचं

51.

देवदास सूं टीका सूं ठाकर — — पं काला वा० विणायग ठां छाम ठां हीरा सूं  
दमोदर वा० हंराज सू० धान

52.

॥ मंगलं आदिदेवस्य मंगलं विमलाचले । मंगलं <sup>68</sup>सर्कलसंघस्य मंगलं लिखकस्य च । पं०  
विवेकधीरगणिना लिखि

53.

[ता प्र]शस्ति ॥ <sup>69</sup>पूण्य पं समयरत्नशिष्य पं लावण्यसमयस्त्रिसंध्यं श्रीआदिदेवस्य प्रणमतीति  
भद्रं ॥ श्रीः

54.

— ० हरपति ॥ ठां हांसा ठं मूला ठां लण्णा ठा का[हा] ठां हया सूं माधव सूं बाइ ॥ लो  
सहज

No. II.<sup>61</sup>

L. 1.

श्री ॥ <sup>62</sup>संवत्[व] १५८७ वर्षे शके १४५३ प्रवर्त्तमाने [विशा]ख वदि ६ । रवी ॥ श्रीचिच [कूट]

2.

वास्तव्यश्रीवशा[स] ज्ञातीय <sup>63</sup>हृदयभाषाया <sup>64</sup>दो नरसिंह सुत दो [वि]जा भार्या बाई लील  
पुत्र ६ दो

<sup>61</sup> Not on the base of the image. Read "जाण".

<sup>62</sup> Not on the base of the image.

<sup>63</sup> Not on the base of the image. Read "44. Anushakti".

<sup>64</sup> Not on the base of the image. Read "दो".

<sup>65</sup> Not on the base of the image. Read "दो".

<sup>61</sup> On the base of the image of Ādinātha in the great temple.—J. B.

<sup>62</sup> Looks like एव.

<sup>63</sup> Read "बाइ".

<sup>64</sup> Read "दो".



3. रत्ना भार्या रजमलदे पुत्र श्रीरंग दो° पोमा भा° पंथादे हि° पटमादे पुत्र मा° श्रीहीर दो° गणा भा° गुराद [हि°] गारवदे पु° दवा
4. दो° दशरथ भा° देवलदे हि° टूरमदे पुत्र कीहला दो° सोसा भा° भावलदे हि° [सु] वम[दे पु]  
— — — भगिनी [सुह] विदे [— वं] धव श्रीमद्राजसभाशृंगारहारश्रीशृंगारसप्तमोहार-
5. कारक दो° करमा भा° कपूरादे हि° कामलदे पुत्र भीषजी भा° बाई सीमा वा° सोना वा° मन वा° प्रता प्रमुषसमस्तकुटुंबयेयो<sup>65</sup> शृंगारसुखप्रसादा [सु] र श्रीचादिनायबिंब प्रति-  
ष्ठापित<sup>66</sup> । मं° रवी मं° नरसिंगसानिध्यात् । प्रतिष्ठित<sup>67</sup> श्रीसुविभिः ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. III.<sup>68</sup>

1. श्री ॥ संवत् [तु] १५८७ वर्षे वैशाख दि
2. श्रीउशवंशे हृदयशाखायां दो° तोला भा° बाई लीलू सुत दो° रत्ना दो° पोमा
3. दो° गणा दो° दशरथ दो° भोजा दो° करमा भा° कपूरादे । कामलदे पु° भीषजी सहि-  
तेन श्रीपंडरीकबिंबं कारितं श्रीः ॥

No. IV.<sup>69</sup>

- L. 1. श्री ॥ श्री नमः ॥ संवत् [१६] २० वर्षे आषाढ शुदि २ रवी ।
2. गंधारवास्तव्य । प्राग[वंश]दोसी । श्रीगोईणा सुत दी ।
3. नेजपाल भार्या बोई<sup>71</sup> [भोड]की सुत दी । पंचारण ।
4. भ्रातृ दी । भीम दी । नने दी । देवराजप्रमुख ।
5. [ख]कुटुंबेन युतः । श्रीमहावीरदेवकुलिका ।
6. कारापिता हर्षेण । तपागच्छेविबुधिमणि<sup>72</sup> श्री-
7. विजयदानसूरिः श्रीहीरविजयसूरिप्रसादा[तु]
8. शुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. V.<sup>73</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि २ दने
2. गंधारवास्तवं श्रीश्रीमालज्ञातीय सा । श्री [पा]स[वीर] ।
3. भार्या बाई [पू]तल शुत सा । श्रीवर्धमान भार्या बाई
4. वमलादे चमरादे शुत सा । श्रीरामजी भाई सा<sup>75</sup> । श्री-
5. लडुजी सा । हंस[रा]ज सा । मनजी प्रमुषस्वकुट-
6. बेन युतः श्रीसिचंजयोपरि श्रीशान्तिनायप्रसा-
7. दं चोमष कारापित । श्रीतपागच्छेविबुधशरी [शिरो-]
8. सविश्रीहीरविजयसूरिप्रसादात् शुभं भ-
9. वतु[॥]

<sup>65</sup> Read "सुख".<sup>66</sup> Read "दा".<sup>67</sup> Read "ह".<sup>68</sup> On the base of the image of: Pundarik in the temple facing Ādivara Bhagavan's temple. *Lists*, u. s. p. 198, No. 82.—J. B.<sup>69</sup> In a temple on the south of the enclosure round the temple of Ādivara: conf. *Lists*, p. 194, Nos. 82—83.—J. B.<sup>70</sup> At the beginning of each line stands a symbol like ए.<sup>71</sup> Read बाई.<sup>72</sup> Read "सुखीरिका".<sup>73</sup> In the Gandhara Chaumbhān temple, in the north-east of the enclosure of the great Ādivara temple. *Lists*, p. 195, No. 73.—J. B.<sup>74</sup> Looks like ए.<sup>75</sup> The middle of the line is wanting.



No. VI.<sup>76</sup>

1. ॥ श्री ॥ उं नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५
2. ॥ गुरी । श्रीगंधारवास्तव्यप्रागवंग्रज्ञातीय । संव-
3. ॥ वी श्रीजावडा सुत सं° श्री[सीपा] भार्या वार्द ॥
4. ॥ गिर [सुसुआ सुत । सं ।] जिवंत भ्रातृ । सं । काड-
5. ॥ जी । सं । अ[ठू]जी । प्रमुख[स्व]कुटुंबेन युतः ॥
6. ॥ श्रीपार्श्वनाथदेवकुलिका । कारापितु ॥
7. ॥ श्रीतपागच्छे । श्रीविजयदानसूरि[ः] श्री-
8. ॥ हीरविसूरिप्रसादात् [त्] ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

No. VII.<sup>77</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५ गुरु
2. ॥ श्रीअज्ञादावादास्तव्यदीसावालज्ञा-
3. ॥ तीय महं श्रीवणाङ्ग सुत महं । श्रीगस्ता
4. ॥ भार्या वार्द° मंगार्द सुत । महं । वीरदास
5. ॥ स्वकुटुंबेन युतः । श्रीसेतंजयोपरि श्री-
6. ॥ आदिनाथदेवकुलिका कारापिता । श्री-
7. ॥ तपागच्छे श्रीविजयदानसूरि श्रीहीरवि-
8. ॥ जयसूरिप्रसादात् ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

No. VIII.<sup>78</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि
2. ॥ २ दिने गंधारवास्तव्यप्रागवाश[वांश]व्यो । श्री
3. ॥ परवत सुत व्यो° फोका सु° व्यो । व[—]
4. ॥ आ स्वकुटुंबेन युतः श्रीसेतंजयो-
5. ॥ परि देवकुलिका कारापिता । श्रीत-
6. ॥ पागच्छे विबुधशिरोमणि श्रीविजय-
7. ॥ दानसूरिप्रसादात् ॥ ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. IX.<sup>79</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उं नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शु-
2. ॥ दि ५ दिने गंधारवास्तव्यप्रागवांशज्ञातीय ।
3. ॥ व्यो° समरीया भार्या वार्द । भोलु पुत्री वा-
4. ॥ ई वेरयार्द । वार्द । कीवार्द स्वकुटुंबेन यु-
5. ॥ तः । श्रीमांतिनाथदेवकुलिका कारा-
6. ॥ पिता । श्रीतपागच्छे विबुधशिरोमणि°

<sup>76</sup> In a cell against the wall of the Âdîsvara temple, at the north-east corner.

<sup>77</sup> In a cell to the right of that containing the preceding.—J. B.

<sup>78</sup> In a small shrine, or cell, to the left of the north entrance to, and against the wall of, the Âdîsvara temple.—J. B.

<sup>79</sup> In the cell to the right, or west, of the north door of the Âdîsvara temple.—J. B.

<sup>80</sup> Read "विबुधशिरोमणि".



- L. 7. ॥ श्रीविजयदानसूरि । श्रीहीरविजय ।  
8. ॥ सूरिप्रसादात् ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ श्री

No. X.<sup>84</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उँ नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशा-  
2. ॥ ष शुदि ५ गुरुदिने श्रीगंधारवास्तव्य-  
3. ॥ श्रीश्रीमालीयज्ञातीय परी । देवा भा-  
4. ॥ री बाई<sup>85</sup> कमलाई सुत परी । मंथी १ तथा  
5. ॥ गूजरज्ञातीय दोसी । श्रीकर्ण भा<sup>86</sup> बा  
6. ॥ अमरी सुत । दोसी । हंसराज उभयौ ।  
7. ॥ मीलने श्रीसेतुंजयोपरि श्रीआदिना-  
8. ॥ यदेवकुलिका कारापिता श्रीतपागछे-  
9. ॥ श्रीविजयदानसूरिप्रसादात् [त्]॥

No. XI.<sup>87</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६४० वर्षे फागुण<sup>88</sup> शुदि १३ दने<sup>89</sup>  
2. ठाकर करमसी भार्जा बाई मली ठाकर  
3. दामा भार्जा बाई चडी ठाकर माहव ठा-  
4. कर जसू ठाकर षोम ठाकर जसूजी भा-  
5. र्जा बाई जीवादे ठाकर माहव सुत ते-  
6. जपाल भार्जा बाई तेजलदे संघवी  
7. जसू सुत तेजपाल प्रसूद<sup>90</sup> करा-  
8. पितं शुभ भवतू<sup>91</sup> ॥ दो<sup>92</sup> नाकर सेठ नावाणे  
9. ७४ ॥ चडी सावाल ।

No. XII.<sup>93</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उँ नमः ॥  
श्रेयस्वी प्रथमः प्रभुः प्रथिमभाग् नैपुण्यपुण्यात्मना ।-  
मस्तु स्वस्तिकरः सुखाब्धिमकरः श्री — —  
2. देवः स वः  
पद्मोल्लासकरः करैरिव रविव्योम्नि क्रमांभोदह ।-  
न्यासैर्यस्तिलकीबभूव भगवाञ् शतंजयेनेक-  
3. अः ॥ ११<sup>94</sup>  
श्रीसिद्धार्थनरेशवंशसरसीजन्माभिनीवल्लभः ॥

<sup>84</sup> In the left end of the verandah to some small chapels or cells on the west of the preceding, and against the north wall of the great temple. — J. B.

<sup>85</sup> On the Śirṇāsana of the image in a temple to the south-east of the great Ādiśvara temple. — J. B.

<sup>86</sup> Read: फागुण.

<sup>87</sup> Read: दिने.

<sup>88</sup> Read: प्रासा<sup>89</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> Read: शुभं भवतु.

<sup>90</sup> In the porch of the east, or front, entrance of the Ādiśvara temple, on the south or left hand, facing No. 1. A transcript is given in the *Lists*, pp. 123. After this inscription No. xvii should follow. — J. B.

<sup>91</sup> Means of verses 1—3; Śardūlavijayita. Read: श्री बाईदेवः.



पायाहः परमप्रभावभवनं श्रीवर्द्धमानः प्रभुः ।  
उत्पत्तिस्थिति[सं-]

L. 4. हृतिप्रकृतिवाग् यद् गौर्जगत्पावनी ।

स्वर्वापीव महाव्रतिप्रणयभूरासीद् रसोक्तासिनो ॥ २  
आसीद्वासवहृद्वंदितपदहृद-

5. पद सपदा ।

तत्पट्टांबुधिचंद्रमा गणधरः श्रीमान् सुधर्माभिधः ।  
यस्यौदार्ययुता प्रहृष्टसुमना अद्यापि विद्यावती ॥  
धत्ते

6. संततिरुन्नतिं भगवतो वीरप्रभोर्गौरिव ॥ ३<sup>89</sup>

श्रीसुस्थितः सुप्रतिबुद्ध एतौ ।

सूरी अभूता तदनुक्रमेण ।

याभ्या गणो ऽ भू-

7. दिह कोटिकाह ।-

खंद्रायमभ्यामिव सुप्रकाशः । ४।<sup>90</sup>

तत्राभूद्वज्रिणां वंद्यः । श्रीवज्रर्षिगणाधिपः ।

मूलं श्रीवज्रशाखाया । गं-

8. गाया हिमवानिव । ५<sup>91</sup>

तत्पट्टांबरदिनमणि । रुदितः श्रीवज्रसेनगुरुरासीत् ।

नागेन्द्रचंद्रनिर्वृति । विद्याधरसंज्ञकाश्च तच्छिष्याः

9. । ६ ।<sup>92</sup>

स्वस्वनामसमानानि । येभ्यस्त्वारि जजिरे ।

कुलानि काममेतेषु कुलं चांद्रं तु दिद्युते ॥ ७ [॥]<sup>93</sup>

भास्करा इव तिमिरं । हरंतः ख्याति-

10. भाजनं ।

भूरयः सूरयस्तत्र । जज्ञिरे जगतां मताः । ८ ।

बभूवुः क्रमतस्तत्र श्रीजगच्चंद्रसूरयः ।

यैस्तपाबिरुदं लेभे । बाणसिद्धा ऽ क्व

11. १२८५ वत्सरे ॥ ९

क्रमेणास्मिन् गणे हेम । विमलाः सूरयोभवन् ।

तत्पट्टे सूरयोभूव । ज्ञानंदविमलाभिधाः ॥ १० [॥]

साध्वाचारविधिः प-

12. थः शिथिलतः सम्यक् श्रियां धाम ये ।-

रुद्धे स्तनसिद्धिसायकसुधारोचिर्निभे १५८२ नेहसि ।

जोमूतैरिव यैर्जगत्पुनरिदं तापं

<sup>89</sup> Read वंद्यः पदं सपदा.

<sup>90</sup> Metre : Indravajrā.—Read अभूता. याभ्या.

<sup>91</sup> Metre : Anushtubh.

<sup>92</sup> Metre : Giti.

<sup>93</sup> Metre of verses 7—10 : Anushtubh.—Read जज्ञिरे.



L. 13.

हरद्विभृशं ।

सन्धीकं विदधे गवां शुचितमैः स्तोमै रसोक्तासिभिः ॥ ११ <sup>94</sup>

पद्माश्रयैरलमलंक्रियते स्म तेषां ।

प्रीणन्नाना-

14.

सि जगतां कमलोदयेन ।

पट्टः प्रवाह इव निर्जरनिर्करिण्याः ।

शुद्धात्मभिर्विजयदानमुनीशहंसैः ॥ १२ <sup>95</sup>

सौभाग्यहरिसर्व[प]-

15.

वर्हरणं<sup>96</sup> रूपं च रंभापति ।-

ओजैत्रं शतपत्रमित्रमहसां चौरं प्रतापं पुनः ।

येषां वीर्य सनातनं मधुरिपुच्छस्त्रामिघर्मांशवो ।

जाताः

16.

काममपत्रपाभरभृतो गोपत्वमाप्तास्त्रयः ॥ १३ <sup>97</sup>

तत्पट्टः प्रकटः प्रकामकलितोद्योतस्तथा सौधव[त्] ।

सस्नेहैर्या[त]राज-

17.

ह्रीरविजयस्नेहप्रियैर्निर्ममे ।

सौभाग्यं महसां भरेण महतामत्यर्थमुक्तासिनां ।

बिभ्राणः स यथाजनिष्ट सुदृशां कामप्र-

18.

मोदास्पदं ॥ १४

देशाद् गूर्जरतोय सूरिहृषभा आकारिताः सादर[रं] ।

श्रीमत्साहिअकब्बरेण विषय<sup>98</sup> मेवातसंज्ञं शुभम् ।

शा-

19.

— — — जपाणयोवतमसं सर्वं हरंतो गवां ।

स्तोमैः सूत्रितविश्वविश्वकमलोक्तासैर्नभोर्का इव ॥ १५ ।

चक्रुः फतेपुरम-

20.

— — — — [र्न]भौम ।

दृग् युग्मकोककुलमाप्तसुखं सृजंतः ।

अर्द्धेकपावकनृपप्रमिते १६३८ स्वगोभिः ।

सोक्ता-

21.

— — — — — बुजकाननम् ये ॥ १६ <sup>99</sup>

दामेवाखिलभूपमूर्धसु निजामाज्ञां सदा धारयन् ।

श्रीमान् शाहिअकब्बरो नरवरो[देशेव]

22.

शेषेष्वपि ।

षण्मासाभयदानपुष्टपटहोद्घोषानघध्वसिनः ।

कामं कारयति स्म हृष्टहृदयो यहाकलारजितः <sup>100</sup><sup>94</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Read °द्विभृशं.<sup>95</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā.—Read °निर्करिण्याः<sup>96</sup> Read सौभाग्यं.<sup>97</sup> Metre of verses 13—15 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>98</sup> Read विषयं.<sup>99</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā<sup>100</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Read °अस्मितः । °रजितः







तत्पट्टमब्धिमिव रम्यतमं सृजंतः ।  
स्तोमैर्गवां सकलसंतमसं हरंतः [1]

[क]-

- L. 34. तमोक्षसत्कुवलयप्रणया जयंति [1]  
स्फूर्जत्कला विजयसेनमुनीन्द्रचंद्राः । २५[॥]<sup>६</sup>  
यत्प्रतापस्य माहात्म्यं वर्ण्यते किमतः परं ।  
अस्वप्राश्चक्रिरे येन जीवं[तो]-

35. पि हि वादिनः । २६[॥]<sup>७</sup>  
सौभाग्यं विषमायुधात्कमलिनीकांताश्च तेजस्विना ।-  
मैश्वर्यं गिरिजापतेः कुमुदिनीकांतात्कलामालिनां ।  
माहात्म्यं ध-

36. रणीधराश्चक्षुभुजां गांभीर्यमंभोनिधे ।-  
रादायांबुजभूः प्रभुः प्रविदधे यन्मूर्तिमेतन्मयी । २७[॥]<sup>८</sup>  
ये च श्रीमदकब्बरेण विनयादाकारिताः

37. सादरं ।  
श्रीमल्लभपुरं पुरंदरपुरं व्यक्तं सुपर्वोत्करैः ।  
भूयोभिर्व्रतिभिर्बुधैः परिहृतो [१]वेगादलंचक्रिरे ।  
सामोदं सरसं सरोरुहवनं लीलामराला

38. इव । २८[॥]  
अर्हंतं परमेश्वरत्वकलितं संस्थाप्य विश्वोत्तमं ।  
साक्षात्साहिअकब्बरस्य सदसि स्तोमैर्गवासुद्यतैः ।  
यैः संमीलिवलोचना<sup>९</sup> विदधिरै

39. इत्यक्षशूरैः<sup>१०</sup> श्रिया ।  
वादोन्मादभृतो द्विजातिपतयो भट्टा निशाटा इव ॥ २९[॥]  
श्रीमत्साहिअकब्बरस्य सदसि प्रोत्सर्पिभिर्भूरिभि- [1]  
र्वादैर्वादि-

40. वरान् विजित्य समदान्निर्हैर्हिपेंद्रानिव ।  
सर्वज्ञाशयतुष्टिहेतुरनघो दिश्युत्तरस्यां स्फुरन् ।  
यैः कैलास इवोज्वलो निजयशःस्तंभो

41. निचखे महान् । ३०<sup>१०</sup>[॥]  
दत्तसाहसधीरहीरविजयश्रीसूरिराजां पुरा ।  
यच्छ्रीशाहिअकब्बरेण धरणीशक्रेण तत्प्रीतये ।  
तच्चक्रेखिलमप्यबालम-

42. तिना यत्साज्जगत्साक्षिकं [1]  
तत्पत्रं पुरमाणसंज्ञमनघसर्वा<sup>११</sup> दिशो व्यानशे ॥ ३१[॥]

<sup>६</sup> Vasantatilakā.

<sup>७</sup> Anushṭubh.

<sup>८</sup> Metre of vv. 27—31, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>९</sup> Read °लितकी°.

<sup>१०</sup> Perhaps meant for प्रत्यक्ष°.

<sup>११</sup> Read दत्तं, °नघं सः°.



किं च गीहषभकासरकांता ।-  
कासरा यमगृहं न हि नेयाः ।  
मोक्ष-

L. 43. मेव मृतवित्तमशेषं [।]

बन्दिनोपि हि न च ग्रहणीयाः ॥ ३२ ॥<sup>12</sup>  
यत्कलासलिलवाहविलासप्रीतचित्ततरुणाजनतुष्टौ ।  
स्वीकृतं स्वयमकब्बरधात्रीस्वामि-

44. ना सकलमेतदपीह ॥ ३३ ॥

चोलीवेगमनन्दनेन वसुधाधीशेन सम्मानिता ।  
गूर्वीं गूर्जरमेदिनीमनुदिनं स्वर्लोकबिम्बोकिनी ।

45. सदृत्ता महसां भरेण सुभगा गाढं गुणोक्तासिनो ।  
ये हारा इव कंठमंबुजदृशां कुर्वन्ति शोभास्यदं ॥ ३४ ॥<sup>3</sup>  
इतश्च ॥

आभूरान्वय[प]-

46. द्यपद्मसवया उकेशवंशेभव ।-

च्छेष्टी<sup>14</sup> श्रीशिवराज इत्यभिधया सौवर्णिकः पुण्यधीः ।  
तत्पुत्रोजनि सीधरश्च तनयस्तस्याभवत्पर्वतः ।  
[क]-

47. ालाह्वोजनि तत्सुतश्च तनुजस्तस्यापि वाघाभिधः । ३५[॥]

तस्याभूद्वह्निर्वाभिधश्च तनुजः ख्यातो रजार्हभव ।-  
स्तस्याभूच्च सुहासिणी [ति]

48. गृहिणी पद्मेव पद्मापतेः ।

इन्द्राणीसुरराजयोरिव जयः पुत्रस्तयोश्चाभव ।-  
क्षेजःपाल इति प्रहृष्टसुमनाः पित्रोर्मनःप्रीतिकृत् । ३६[॥]  
[का]-

49. मस्येव रतिर्हरिव रमा गौरीव गौरीपते ।-

रासीक्षेजलदे इति प्रियतमा तस्याकृतिः [ — — — ] ।  
भोगश्रीसुभगो गुरौ प्रणयिनी शश्वत्सुपर्वादरी ।  
पौलो-

50. मोत्रिदशेखराविव सुखं तौ दंपती भेजतुः ॥ ३७ ।

वैराग्यवारिनिधिपूर्वनिशाकराणां ।  
तेषां च हीरविजयव्रतिसिंधुराणां ।  
सौभाग्य [भा]-

51. ग्यपरभागविभासुराणां ।

तेषां पुनर्विजयसेनमुनीश्वराणां ॥ ३८ ॥<sup>15</sup>  
वाग्भिर्मुधाकृतसुधाभिरुदंचिचेताः ।  
आद्यः स शोभनमना भज-

<sup>12</sup> Metre of vv. 32 and 33, Svāgatā.

<sup>13</sup> Metre of vv. 34—36, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>14</sup> Read °च्छेष्टी.

<sup>15</sup> Metre of vv. 38, 39: Vasantatīlā kā.



L. 52.

ति स्म भावं [I]

श्रीसं[घभ]क्तिघनदानजिनंद्रचैत्यो-[I]

द्वारादिकर्मसु भृश सुकृतिप्रियेषु ॥३९॥<sup>16</sup>

विशेषकं ।

ग्रहैः प्रशस्तोऽहि सुपाश्र्वभर्तु-

53. [र]नंतभर्तुश्च शुभां प्रतिष्ठां ।

सो ऽ चीकरत्पड्युगभूष १६४६ वर्षे ।

हर्षेण सौवर्षिकतेजपालः । ४० [II]<sup>17</sup>

आदावार्षभिरत्र तीर्थतिलके शत्रुं[ज]-

54.

ये ऽ चीकर ।

सैत्यं<sup>18</sup> शैत्यकरं दृशोर्मणिगणस्वर्षादिभिर्भासुरं ।

अत्रान्येपि भुजार्जितां फलवतीमुच्चैः सृजंतः श्रियं ।

[प्रा]-

55.

सादतदनुक्रमेण बह्ववसाकारयन् भूभुजः ॥ ४२[II]<sup>19</sup>तीर्थेऽत्र साधुकरमाभिधो धनो सिद्धिसिद्धितिर्यि<sup>20</sup> १५८८ संख्ये ।

चैत्यम[ची]-

56.

करदुक्तेरानंदविमलमुनिराजां ॥४३॥<sup>20</sup>

तं वीक्ष्य जीर्णं भगवद्दिहारं ।

स तेजपालः स्वहृदोति दध्यौ ।

भावी कदा सो ऽवस-

57.

रो वरीयान् ।

यत्रा ऽत्र चैत्यं भविता नवीनं ॥ ४४ ॥<sup>21</sup>

अन्येद्युः स्वगुरूपदेशशरदा कामं वलचीकृत ।-

स्वातांभाः स वणिग् व[र] पु-

58.

रवरे श्रीस्तंभतीर्थे वसन् ।

तीर्थे श्रीमति तुंगतीर्थतिलके शत्रुंजयेऽहृद्गुहो [I]-

द्वारं कर्तुमना अजायततमां साफल्यमिच्छन् श्रियः । ४५[II]<sup>22</sup>

59.

अत्र स्यात् सुकृतं कृतं तनुमतां श्रेयः श्रियां कारणं ।

मत्ववं निजपूर्वजव्रजमहानंदप्रमोदाप्तये ।

तीर्थे श्रीविमलाचलेतिविमले [I]

60.

मौलिर्हतो मंदिरे ।

जीर्णद्वारमकारयत्स सुकृती कुंतीतनूजभवत् ॥ ४६ ॥

शृंगेण भिन्नगगनांगणमेतदुच्चै ।-

चैत्यं चकास्ति शि-

<sup>16</sup> Read °जिनेद्र°, भृशं.<sup>17</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>18</sup> Read ऽचीकरचैत्यं.<sup>19</sup> Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The figure 89 is missing: Read प्रासादं<sup>20</sup> Metre: Āryā.—Read °नंद.<sup>21</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>22</sup> Metre of vv. 45, 46: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.



- L. 61. खरस्थितहेमकुंभं ।  
 हस्तोषु ५२ हस्तमितमुच्चमुपैति नाक ।-  
 लक्ष्मी विजेतुमिव काममखर्वगर्वा । ४७[॥]<sup>23</sup>  
 यच्चाहदोकसि जितागरकुम्-
62. भिकुंभाः ।  
 कुंभा विभांति शरवेदकरेन्दु १२४५ संख्याः ।  
 किं सेवितुं प्रभुमयुः<sup>24</sup> प्रचुरप्रताप ।-  
 पूरैर्जिता दिनकराः कृतनैकरूपाः । ४८[॥]
63. उन्मूलितप्रमदभूमिरुहानशेषान् ।  
 विश्वेषु विघ्नकरिणो युगपन्निहतुं ।  
 सज्जाः स्म इत्यमभिधातुमिवेन्दुनेत्राः २१ ।  
 सिंहा विभांत्युप-
64. गता जिनधान्नि यच्च ॥ ४९ ॥  
 योगिन्यो यच्च शोभन्ते चतस्रो जिनवेश्मनि ।  
 निषेवितुमिवाक्रांताः प्रतापैरागतः दिशः । ५०[॥]<sup>25</sup>  
 राजन्ते च दि-
65. शां पाला [ — १ ] यच्चाऽहं दालये ।  
 मूर्त्तिमंत × किमायाता धर्मास्त्रयमिनाममी । ५१[॥]  
 हाससतिः श्रियमयन्ति जिनेन्द्रचंद्र ।-  
 बिंबानि देवकुलि-
66. कासु च तावतीषु ।  
 हाससतेः श्रितजनालिकलालतानां ।  
 किं कुट्मला × परिमलैर्भुवनं भरन्तः । ५२ ॥<sup>26</sup>  
 राजन्ते यच्च चत्वारो गवाक्षा जिनवे-
67. श्मनि ।  
 विरंचेरिव वक्त्राणि विश्वाकारणहेतवे ॥ ५३ ॥<sup>27</sup>  
 यच्च चैत्ये विराजन्ते । चत्वारश्च तपोधनाः ।  
 अमी धर्माः किमाया-
68. ताः । प्रभूपाख्यै वपुर्भृतः ॥ ५४ ॥  
 पंचालिकाः श्रियमयन्ति जिनेन्द्रधान्नि ।  
 हाचिंशदिन्द्रमणीभरजैरूपाः ।  
 ज्ञात्वा पतीनि-
69. ह जिने किमु लक्षणक्ष्मा ।-  
 राजां प्रिया निजनिजेशनिभालनीत्वाः ॥ ५५ ॥<sup>28</sup>  
 हाचिंशदुत्तमतमानि च तोरणानि ॥  
 राजन्ति य-

<sup>23</sup> Metre of vs. 47—49 : Vasantatilakā.<sup>24</sup> युः visible on the reverse.<sup>25</sup> Metre of vs. 60 : 51: Anushtubh.<sup>26</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā.<sup>27</sup> Metre of vs. 53, 54 : Anushtubh.<sup>28</sup> Metre of vs. 55, 56 : Vasantatilakā.



L. 70. च जिमधान्नि मनोहराणि ।

किं तोर्यकदृश्यनलक्ष्मिस्तृगीक्षणाना ।-  
मंदोलनानि सरलानि सुखासनानि ॥ ५६ ॥

गजासु-

71. विंशतिर ऽ द्रितुगा ।

विभांति यस्ता जिमधान्नि यच ।

देवास्तुर्विंशतिरीशभक्त्यै ।

किमागताः कुस्तरूपभाजः ॥ ५७ ॥<sup>29</sup>

स्तं-

72. भास्तुस्ततिर ऽ द्विराजो ।-

तुंगा विभांतीह जिनेंद्रचैत्ये ।

दिशाम ऽ धीशैः सह सर्व्व इन्द्रा ।-

× किमाप्तभक्त्यै समुपेयिवांसः ॥ छ

73. ॥ ५८ ॥

रम्यं नंदपयोधिभूपति १६४८ मिते वर्षे सुखीत्कर्षकत् ।

साहाय्याद् जसुठकुरस्य सुकतारामिकपाथोमुचः ॥

प्राप्ता (।)-

74. दं वक्षिआसुतेन सुधिया शत्रुजये कारितं ॥

दृष्ट्वा ऽ टापदतीर्थचैत्यतुलितं केषां न चित्ते रतिः ॥ ५९ ॥<sup>30</sup>

चैत्यं चतुर्षामिव धर्म-

75. मेदिनी ॥-

भुजां गृहं प्रोणितविश्वविष्टपम् ॥

शत्रुजयोर्व्वीभृति नदिं वर्धना ।-

ऽ भिधं सदा यच्छतु वांछितानि वः ॥ ६० ॥<sup>31</sup>

[ — ]

76. यः प्रभाभरविनिर्मितनेत्रशैत्ये ।

चैत्ये ऽ च भूरिर ऽ भवद् विभवव्ययो यः ।

ज्ञात्वा वदंति मनुजा इति तेजपालं ॥

क-

77. ल्पद्रुमत्ययमनेन धनव्ययेन । ६१ ॥<sup>32</sup>

शत्रुजये गगनवाणकला १६५० मिते ऽ वदे ।

यात्रां चकार सुकताय स तेजपा ।-

78. लः ॥

चैत्यस्य तस्य सुदिने गुरुभिः प्रतिष्ठा ॥

चक्रे च हीरविजया ऽभिधसूरिसिंहैः ॥ ६२ ॥

मार्त्तण्डमंडलमिवांबुदहं

<sup>29</sup> Metre of vs. 57, 58 : Upajāti.

<sup>30</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>31</sup> Metre : Upajāti of Indravarnā and Varnāstha.

<sup>32</sup> Metre of vs. 61, 62 : Vasantatilakā.



- L. 79. समूहः ॥  
 पीयूषरश्मिमिव नीरनिधेः प्रवाहः ।  
 केकिप्रजः सलिलवाहमिवाऽ तितुंगं ।  
 चैत्यं निरीक्ष्य मुदमेति जनः
80. समस्तः ॥ ६३ ॥ छ  
 चैत्यं चारु चतुर्मुखं कृतसुखं श्रीरामजीकारितं ।  
 प्रोत्तुंगं जसुठकुरेण विहितं चैत्यं द्वितीयं शुभं ।  
 रम्यं कुंभ-
81. रजीविनिर्मितम् ॥ भूचैत्यं तृतीयं पुन ।-  
 मूलश्रेष्ठिकृतं निकामसुभग चैत्यं चतुर्थं तथा ॥ ६४ ॥<sup>32</sup>  
 एभिर्विश्वविसारिभिर्व्युतिभरैर-
82. त्वर्थसंस्मृतितोद ।-  
 द्योतो दिव्यऽ खिलासु निर्जरपतिः स्वर्लोकपालैरिव ।  
 श्रीशङ्खजयशैलमौलिमुकुटं चैत्यैश्चतुर्भिर्यु-
83. तः ॥  
 प्रासादोऽ गिमनोवि ॥ नोदकमलाचैत्यं चिरं नन्दतु ॥ ६५ ॥  
 वस्ताभिधस्य वरसूत्रधरस्य शिल्पं ॥  
 चैत्यं चिरादिदमुदीक्ष्य
84. निरीक्षणीयं ।  
 शिष्यत्वमिच्छति ॥ कलाकलितोपि विश्व ।-  
 कर्मास्य शिल्पिपटले भवितुं प्रसिद्धः ॥ ६६ ॥<sup>33</sup>  
 सदाचाराब्धिनां कमलविज-
85. याज्ञानसुधियां ।  
 पदद्वंदांभोजभ्रमरसदृशो हेमविजयः ।  
 अलंकारैराख्यां स्त्रियमिव शुभां यां विहितवान् ।  
 प्रशस्तिः श[स्ते-]
86. पा जगति चिरकालं विजयतां ॥ ६७ ॥<sup>34</sup>  
 इति सौवर्णिकसाहस्रश्रेतेजःपालोद्भूतविमलाचल-  
 [पट] मश्रीभादीशमूलप्रासादप्रशस्तिः [अ]य-<sup>35</sup>
87. बुधसहजसागराणां । विनेयजयसागरोऽ लिखद्वर्णैः ।  
 शिल्पिभ्यामुत्कीर्णा । माधवनानाभिधानाभ्यां ॥ ६८ ॥<sup>36</sup>

No. XIII.<sup>38</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसंवत् १६५२ वर्षे मार्गे वदि २ सोमवासरे पुष्यनक्षत्रे निष्प्रतिमसं-  
 वेगवेरा-
2. निःस्पृहतादिगुणरंजितेन सहस्रश्रीभक्तवरनरेन्द्रेण प्रतिवर्षं पाण्मासिकसकलजंतुजाता-

<sup>32</sup> Metre of vs. 64, 65 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Read 'अष्टि'.<sup>33</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā.<sup>34</sup> Metre : Śikharinī.<sup>35</sup> Read 'वेग'.<sup>36</sup> Metre : Āryā beginning with बुध°.<sup>38</sup> Round a pair of Pādukas in a small temple to the west of Ādīśvara Bhagavāna temple:—*Lists of Ant. Rem.*, p. 198, No. 119.—J. B.



3. भयदानप्रवर्त्तनसर्वकालीनगवादिवधनिवर्त्तनजीजिष्ठादिकरमोचनमुंडका-
4. भिधानकरमोचनपूर्वकश्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थसमर्पणादिपुरस्सरं प्रदत्तबहु २ मानानां नानादे-
5. श्रीयसंघसमुदायेन सह श्रीशत्रुंजये कृतयात्राणां जगद्विख्यातमहिमपात्राणां सं<sup>०</sup> १६५२ व-
6. र्षे भाद्र सितैकादश्यां उन्नतदुर्गे अनशनपूर्वकं महोत्सवेन साधितोत्तमार्थानां तपागच्छा-  
धिराजभट्ट
7. श्रीहीरविजयसूरीणां पादुकाः कारि<sup>०</sup> स्तंभतीर्थीय सं<sup>०</sup> उदयकरणेन प्र<sup>०</sup>भ<sup>०</sup>
8. श्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः ॥ महोपाध्याय श्रीकल्याणविजयगणयः पं<sup>०</sup> धनविजय-
9. — णिभ्यां स[ठ]प्रणमंति ॥ एताश्च भ[वा]
10. [ — — रा ] राध्यमानाश्चिरं
11. [ नंद ] तु ॥ ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. XIV.<sup>39</sup>

- L. 1. १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ शुक्ले संघवालगो-
2. श्री<sup>४०</sup> काचरसंताने सा<sup>०</sup> केल्हा पुत्र सा<sup>०</sup> यन्ना
3. पु<sup>०</sup> नरसिंघ पु<sup>०</sup> कुंभरा पु<sup>०</sup> नच्छा भार्या नव-
4. रंगदे पु<sup>०</sup> सुरताण भार्या सैदूरदे पुत्र श्रीशत्रुं-
5. यतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतितिलक<sup>४१</sup>-
6. सप्तक्षेत्रोत्सववित्त सा<sup>०</sup> घेतसी भा<sup>०</sup> सोभागदे
7. पु<sup>०</sup> पदमसी भार्या प्रेमलदे पु<sup>०</sup> इंद्रजी भार्या [भा]
8. ° वीरमदे द्वितीयपुत्र सोमसी खलघुपुत्र सा<sup>०</sup>
9. विमलसी भार्या लाडिमदे पुत्र पोमसी द्वितीय-
10. भार्या विमलादे पुत्र दूजणसी पोमसी भार्या
11. केसरदे पुत्र वि<sup>०</sup> डूंगरसी प्रमुखपुत्रपौत्रप्र-
12. पौत्रपरिवारसहितेन चतुर्मुखविहारपूर्वा-
13. भिमुखस्थाने — — — — देवगृहिका कुटुंब-
14. श्रेयोर्थ<sup>४२</sup> कारिता श्रीवृहत्खरतरगच्छाधिराज-
15. युगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरिपट्टालंकारक[°]
16. शत्रुंजयाष्टमोक्षारप्रतिष्ठाकारकश्रीजिनराज-
17. सूरिसूरि[समाजराजायि]राजैः <sup>४३</sup>[॥]

No. XV.<sup>४४</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ सं<sup>०</sup> १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ तिथौ शुक्लवारि सुरताणनूरदीनजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये ॥ श्रीः
2. अहमदावास्तव्यप्राग्य टन्नातीयलघुशाखाप्रदीपक सं<sup>०</sup> मारिभा भार्या नाकू पुत्र सं<sup>०</sup> जोगी भार्या  
जसमादे
3. पुत्ररत्न सकलसुश्रवककर्त्तव्यताकरणविहितयत्न सं<sup>०</sup> सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्र संघपति  
रूपजीकेन भाया

<sup>39</sup> On the shrine door of the temple of Pundarika in front of the Chaumukha temple in the Kharataravasi Tunk; *Lists*, p. 205, No. 312.—J. B.

<sup>40</sup> Read °जीचे.

<sup>41</sup> Read °शत्रुंजय°.

<sup>42</sup> Read कुटुंब°.

<sup>43</sup> Read °राजाधि°.

<sup>44</sup> Round *pādukas* in a small temple in the north-west of the Kharataravasi Tunk; Lines 1, 2 and 3, are on the south, west and north sides respectively, and 4—6 on the east. *Lists*, p. 206, No. 320.—J. B.



- L. 4. जेठी पुत्र चि° उदयवंत बार्दे कीडिकुंभरिप्रमुखसारपरिवारसहितेन स्वयंकारितसप्राकारश्री-  
 5. विमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्वारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारकश्रीयुगादिदेवप्रतिष्ठायां श्रीआदिनाथ-  
 पादुके परमप्रमोदाय  
 6. कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते च श्रीवृहत्स्वरतरगच्छाधिराजश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिशिरस्त्रिलकैः ॥ प्रणमति  
 भुवनकीर्त्तिगणिः ॥

No. XVI.<sup>45</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ शुक्ले ॥ श्रीसवालज्ञातीयलोढागोत्रीय सा° रायमल्ल भार्या  
 2. रंगादे पुत्र सा° जयवंत भार्या जयवंतदे पुत्र विविधपुण्यकर्मकारकश्रीशत्रुंजययात्रा  
 3. विधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतितिलक सं° राजसीकेन° भार्या कसुंभदेव तुरंगदे पु° अषयराज भार्या अह-  
 4. कारदे  
 5. पु° अजयराज स्वभ्रातृ सं° अमीपाल भार्या गूजरदे पु° वीरधवल भा° [जु]गतादे स्वलघुभ्रा-  
 6. तृ सं° वीरपाल भार्या लीलादे प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन श्रीआदिनाथपादुके कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते  
 युगप्रधानश्रीजि[न]  
 7. सिंहसूरिपट्टोद्योतकश्रीजिनराजसूरिभिः श्रीशत्रुंजयोद्वारप्रतिष्ठायां [i] श्रीवृहत्स्वरतरगच्छाधि-  
 राजै [: ॥]

No. XVII.<sup>46</sup>

- L. 1. सं° १६७५ मिते सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये साहिजादासुरताणघोस[डू] प्रवरे  
 श्रीराजी  
 2. नगरे सोवइसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले श्रीअहमदावास्तव्यलघुशाखाप्रकट-  
 प्राग्वाटज्ञातीय सं° देवराज भार्या  
 3. [डू]डी पुत्र सं° गोपाल भार्या राजू पुत्र सं° राजा पुत्र सं° साईआ भार्या नाकू पुत्र सं° जोग  
 भार्या जसमादे पुत्ररत्न श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तश्रीसंघपतितिलकनवीनजिनभ-  
 वनबिंबप्रतिष्ठासाधर्मिकवात्सल्यादिधर्मक्षेत्रो-  
 4. मस्त्वित्त सं° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे कुन्दिरत्न राजसभाशृंगार सं° [डू]पजीकेन पितृव्य सं° शिवा  
 स्ववृद्धभ्रातृ रत्नजी पुत्र सुंदर[दास] सपर लघुभ्रातृ श्रीमजी पुत्र रविजी स्वभार्या जेठी पु° उदय-  
 वंत पितामह भ्रातृ सं° नाथा पुत्र सं° सूरजी प्रमुखसारपरिवारसहितेन  
 5. स्वयंसमुद्धारितसप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्वारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारहारश्रीआदिना-  
 थबिंबं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीमहावीरदेवपट्टानुपट्टाविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीउद्योतनसूरि-  
 श्रीवर्षमानसूरि वसतिमार्गप्रकाशकश्रीजिनेश्वरसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्र-  
 6. [सू] रि नवांगवृत्तिकारकश्रीस्तंभनकपार्श्वनाथप्रकटकश्रीअभयदेवसूरि श्रीजिनवल्लभसूरि देव-  
 ताप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदश्रीजिनदत्तसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनपत्तिसूरि श्रीजिनेश्वरसूरि  
 श्रीजिनप्रबोधसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनकुशलसूरि श्रीजिनपद्मसूरि श्री-  
 7. जिनलब्धिसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनोदयसूरि श्रीजिनराजसूरि श्रीजिनभद्रसूरि श्रीजिन-  
 चंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनसमुद्रसूरि श्रीजिनहंससूरि श्रीजिनमाणिक्यसूरि दिल्लीपतिपातसाहि-  
 श्रीअकबरप्रतिबोधकतत्पदयुगप्रधानबिम्बधारकसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिका-

<sup>45</sup> Round a second pair of feet in the same temple; Line 1 on the south, 2 on the west, 3 and 4 on the south, and -7 on the east.

<sup>46</sup> In the Gaumukha shrine, at the entrance of the great temple in the Kharataravasi Tunk,—*Lists*, p. 205, No. 310.  
 J. B.



L. 8. मारिप्रवर्त्तावककुंयित<sup>47</sup> जहांगीरसाहिरंजकतस्मंडलबहिःकृतसाधुरक्षकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्र-  
सूरि मंत्रिकर्मचंद्रकारितसपादकोटिविस्तव्यरूपनंदिमहोत्सवप्रकारकठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारकारकश्रीश-  
कबरसाहिमनःकमलभ्रमरानुकारकवर्षावधिजल-<sup>48</sup>

9. जलजंतुजातघातनिर्वर्त्तक<sup>49</sup> श्रीपुरगोलकुंडागज्जणाप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तकसकलविद्याप्रधानजहांगी-  
रनूरदीमहम्मदपातिसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टालंकारकश्रीशंभिकावरधारकतद्वलवाचित-  
घंघाणिपुरप्रकटितचिरंतनप्रतिभाप्रशस्ति [व -].

10. तरबोहित्यवंशोय सा° धर्मसीधारलदेदारकचतुःशास्त्रपारीणधुरीणशृंगारकभट्टारकहंदारकश्रीजिन-  
राजसूरिसूरिशिरो[मुकुटैः] ॥ आचार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि श्रीजयसोम महोपाध्याय श्रीगुणविनयोपाध्याय  
श्रीधर्मनिधानोपाध्याय पं° आनंदकीर्त्ति खलघुसहोदर वा° [भद्र]

11. [सेनादिसत्परिकरैः ॥]

No. XVIII.<sup>50</sup>

L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६७५ प्रमिते सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये

2. साहिजादासुरताणषोस[रू]प्रवरे राजनगरे सोवइसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे ॥ वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले । श्री

3. अहम्मदावादवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय से° देवराज भार्या [रू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भा° राजू पु° से°  
राजा पु° साईआ भा° नाकू पु° से° जोगी भार्या जसमादे पुत्ररत्न श्रीशंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंघप-  
तितिल-

4. कनवीनजिनभवनबिंबप्रतिष्ठासाधर्मिकवात्सल्यादिधर्मक्षेत्रोत्सवविस्त सं° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे  
कुच्चिरत्न संघपति [रू]पजीकेन पितृव्य सं° शिवा स्वहृदभ्रातृ रत्नजी सुत सुंदरदास सपर लघुभ्रातृ भीमजी  
पुत्र रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ सं° नाथा पुत्र सू-

5. रजी स्वपुत्र उदयवंत प्रमुखपरिहृतेन स्वयंसमुद्धृतसप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसार-  
चतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारश्रीभादिनाथबिंब कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीमहावीरदेवाविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीउद्यो-  
तनसूरि श्रीवर्द्धमानसूरि वसतिमार्गप्रकाशकश्रीजिनेश्वर-

6. सूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि नवांगवृत्तिकारकश्रीस्तंभनकपार्श्वप्रकटकश्रीअभयदेवसूरि श्रीजिनवल्लभसूरि  
युगप्रधानश्रीजिनदत्तसूरिया[पा]द श्रीजिनभद्रसूरिया[पा]द श्रीअकबरप्रतिषोधकतत्पदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधार-  
कसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिकामारिपालकषाण्मासिकाभय-

7. दानदायकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि मंत्रिकर्मचंद्रकारितश्रीअकबरसाहिसमक्षसपादशतलक्षवित्तव्यय-  
रूपनंदिमहोत्सववि [स्तार] विहितकठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारमधुरतरातिशायिस्ववचनचातुरीरंजिनाने<sup>51</sup>  
कहिंदूकतुरष्काधिपतिश्रीअकबरसाहिश्रीका-

8. स्त्रीपुरगोलकुंडागज्जणाप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तावकवर्षावधिजलधिजलजंतुजातघातनिवर्त्तावकसुरता-  
णनूरदीजहांगीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविद्वदप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टप्रभाकरसमुपलब्धश्रीशंभिकावरवीहि-  
त्यथशीय<sup>52</sup> सा° धर्मसीधारलदेनंदनभट्टारकचक्र-<sup>53</sup>

9. चक्रवर्त्तिभट्टारकशिरस्त्रिलोकश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिराजैः श्रीवृहत्स्वरतरंगछाधिराजैः ॥ आचार्य  
श्रीजिनसागरसूरि पं° आनंदकीर्त्ति खलघुभ्रातृ वा° भद्रसेनादिसत्परिकरैः [॥]

<sup>47</sup> Probably °कुंयित.

<sup>48</sup> Read °जलधि°.

<sup>49</sup> Read °निव°.

<sup>50</sup> In the shrine of the great Chaumukha temple (No. 310)

on the south image.—J. B.

<sup>51</sup> Read रंजिता°.

<sup>52</sup> Read वंशीय°.

<sup>53</sup> Dele चक्र°.



No. XIX.<sup>64</sup>

L. 1. संवत् १६७५ मिते सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये साहियादासुरताणपोस[डू]प्र-

2. वरे राजनगरे सोबइसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले श्रीअहमदावादवास्तव्यप्राग्वा-  
टज्ञातीय से° देवराज सा°

3. [डू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजू पुत्र से° राजा पुत्र सं° सार्इआ भार्या नाकू पुत्र सं° जोगी  
भार्या जसमादे पु° श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतितिलकनवीनजिनभवनबिंबसाधार्मिकवात्स-  
ल्यादिधर्मक्षेत्रो-

4. मस्खवित्त सं° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्ररत्न संघपति [डू]पजीतेन [°केन] पितृव्य शिवालालजी  
खलधुभ्रातृरत्न रत्नजी सुं [दरदास] खलधुभ्रातृ घीमजी सुत रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ सं° नाथा पुत्र सूरज  
खपुत्र उदयवंत प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन स्वयंसमुद्धारित-

5. संप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारहारश्रीआदिनाथबिंबं कारितं प्रति-  
ष्ठितं च श्रीमहावीरदेवाविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीवृहत्खरतरगच्छाधिराजश्रीअकबरसाहिप्रतिबोधकतत्प्रदत्त-  
युगप्रधानबिरुद्धधारकषाण्मासिकाभय-

6. दानदायकसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिकामारिप्रवर्त्तावकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि मंत्रिमुख्यकर्मचंद्रकारितश्री-  
अकबरसाहिसमक्षसपादशतलक्षवित्तव्ययरूपनंदिपदमहोत्सवविस्तारविहितकठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारमधु-  
रतरातिशायिस्ववचनचातुरीरंजिताने-

7. कश्चिद्रूपकतुरष्कराधिपश्रीअकबरसाहिश्रीकारश्रीपुरगोलकुंडागज्जणाप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तावकवधाव-  
धिजलधिजलजंतुजातघातनिर्व<sup>65</sup>र्त्तावकसुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधारकसकलविद्याप्रधा-  
नयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टप्रभाक<sup>66</sup>

8. श्रीअंबिकावरप्रवाचितघंघाणीपुरप्रकटितचिरंतनप्रतिमाप्रशस्तिवर्ष्णीतरबोहित्य[वं]शीय सा° धर्म-  
सीधारलदेनंदनभट्टारकशिरोमणिश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिपुरंदरैः ॥ आचार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि श्रीजयसोममहो-  
पाध्याय श्रीगुणविनयोपाध्याय श्रीधर्मनिधानोपाध्याय पं° आनंद-

9. कीर्त्ति खलधुभ्रातृ वा° भद्रसेन पं° राजधीर पं° भुवनराजादिसत्परिकरैः [॥]

No. XX.<sup>67</sup>

L. 1. संवत् १६७५ प्रमिते ॥ सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये साहियादा-

2. सुरताणपोस[रू] प्रवरे श्रीराजनगरे सोबइसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले श्रीअह-

3. अदावादवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय से° देवराज भार्या [डू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजू पुत्र से-  
राजा पु° सं° सार्इआ भार्या नाकू

4. पुत्र सं° जोगी भार्या जसमादे पुत्र श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतिपदवीकनवीन-  
जिनभवनबिंबप्रतिष्ठासाधार्मिकवात्सल्यादिसत्कर्मधर्मकारक सं° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्ररत्न संघपति  
[डू]पजीकेन भार्या जेठी पुत्र

5. उदयवंत पितृव्य सं° शिवा खलधुभ्रातृ रत्नजी पुत्र सुंदरदास सधर खलधुभ्रातृ घीमजी सुत  
रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ सं° नाथा पुत्र [सं]° सूरजी प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन स्वयंकारितसंप्राकारश्रीविम-  
लाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारकश्रीआदि-

<sup>64</sup> In the same on the west image.—J. B.

<sup>65</sup> Read निर°.

<sup>66</sup> Read °भाकर.

<sup>67</sup> In the same, on the north image.—J. B.



6. नाथविंशं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीवीरतीर्थकराविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीवृहत्सुरतरगच्छाधिप-  
श्रीभक्तवरसाहिप्रतिबोधकतत्त्वयुगप्रधानबिहदधारकसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिकामारिप्रवर्त्तावकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिन-  
चंद्रसूरि श्रीभक्तवर-

7. साहिरंजकविविधजीवदयालाभग्राहकसुरताणनरदोजहांगीरसवार्द्धप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानबिहदधारकयुग-  
प्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टविभूषणबोहित्यवंसीय<sup>59</sup>सा<sup>60</sup> धर्मसीधारलदेनंदनभट्टारकचक्रचूडामणिश्रीजिनराज-  
सूरिसूरिदिनमणिभिः ॥ आ-

8. चार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि पं० आनंदकीर्त्ति खलघुसहोदर वा० भद्रसेनादिसत्परिकरैः ॥

No. XXI.<sup>60</sup>

L. 1. श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीवत्सभर्त्तापि न विष्णुस्तुराननः ।

न ब्रह्मा यो वृषांकोपि न रुद्रः स जिनः श्रिये ॥ १ ॥<sup>60</sup>

संवत्

2. १६७५ वर्षे शाके १५४१ प्रवर्त्तमाने ।

समग्रदेशशृंगार । ह्यक्षारतिलकोपमम् ।

अनेकेभ्यगृहाकीर्त्ति । नवीनपुरमु-

3. त्तमं ॥ २ ।

अभ्रंलिहविहाराय । ध्वजांशुकहतातपम् ।

रूप्यस्वर्णमणिव्यास । चतुष्पथविराजितम् । ३ । युग्मम्

तत्र राजा

4. [प्र] शास्ति श्रीजसवंताभिधो नृपः ।

यामश्रीशत्रुशल्याङ्गकुलांबरनभोमणिः । ४ ।

यत्प्रतापाग्निसंतपसंतप्त इव ताप-

5. नः ।

निर्माति जलधौ नित्यमुष्मज्जननिमज्जने । ५ । युग्मम् ।

बभूवुः श्रीमहावीरपट्टानुकमभूषणाः ।

श्रीभंचलगणा-

6. तीशा आर्य्यरक्षितसूरयः । ६ ।

तत्पट्टपंकजादित्याः सूरिश्रीजयसिंहकाः ।

श्रीधर्मघोषसूरीन्द्रा महेंद्रास्त्रिहसूरयः<sup>61</sup>

7. । ७ ।

श्रीसिंहप्रभसूरीशाः सूरयो ऽजितसिंहकाः ।

श्रीमहेंद्रसूरीशाः श्रीधर्मप्रभसूरयः । ८ ।

श्रीसिंहतिलकाङ्गाश्च श्रीम-

8. [हे]द्रप्रभाभिधाः ।

श्रीमंतो मेरुतुंगाख्या बभूवुः सूरयस्ततः ॥ ९ ॥

<sup>59</sup> Read श्रीय.

<sup>60</sup> On the north wall of a temple near the Hāthipola, in the Vimalavasi Tūnk: *Lists*, p. 201, No. 234.—J. B.

<sup>60</sup> Metre: Anushtubh.

<sup>61</sup> Probably महेंद्रसिंह.



समग्रगुणसंपूर्णाः सूरिश्चैवकीर्त्तयः ।

तत्पदेय सुसाधुश्चै-

- L. 9. जयकेशरिसूरयः । १० ।  
 श्रीसिद्धांतसमुद्राख्यसूरयो भूरिकीर्त्तयः ।  
 भावसागरसूरीन्द्रास्ततो ऽभूवन् गणाधिपाः ॥ ११ [॥]  
 श्री-
10. मङ्गुणनिधानाख्यसूरयस्तत्पदेभवन् ।  
 युगप्रधानाः श्रीमंतः सूरिश्चैवकीर्त्तयः । १२ ।  
 तत्पद्मोदयशैलाग्रप्रोद्यत्तरणिमं-
11. निभाः ।  
 जयन्ति सूरिराजः श्री । युजः कल्याणसागराः । १३ ।  
 श्रीनव्यनगरे वास्यु । पकेशज्ञातिभूषणः ।  
 इभ्यः श्रीह-
12. रपालाङ्ग आसीत्तालणगोत्रकः । १४ ।  
 हरीयाख्यो ऽथ तत्पुत्रः सिंहनामा तदंगजः ।  
 उदेसीत्यथ तत्पुत्रः पर्वताङ्गस्त-
13. तो ऽभवत् । १५ ।  
 वच्छ्रुनामा ऽथ तत्पत्नी चाभूद्वाङ्मलदेविका ।  
 तत्कुक्षिमानसे हंसतुल्यो ऽथा ऽमरसंज्ञकः । १६ ।  
 लिंग-
14. देवीति तत्पत्नी तदौरस्यास्त्रयो वराः ।  
 जयन्ति श्रीवर्षमानचांपसीपद्मसिंहकाः । १७ ।  
 अतः परं विशेषतः साहिवर्षमान-
15. साहिवर्षमानसिंहयोर्वर्षनम् ।  
 गांभीर्येण समुद्राभौ दानेन धनदोपमौ ।  
 अङ्गालुगुणसंपूर्णौ बोधिना श्रेणिको-
16. पमौ । १८ ।  
 प्राप्तश्रीयामभूपालसमाजबहुलादरौ ।  
 मन्त्रिश्रीवर्षमानश्रीपद्मसिंहौ सहोदरौ । १९ ।  
 महेला वर्ष-
17. मानस्य । वन्नादेवीति विश्रुता ।  
 तदंगजावभौ ख्याती । वीराख्यविजपालकौ । २० ।  
 वर्षिणी पद्मसिंहस्य । रत्नगर्भा
18. सुजाणदे ।  
 श्रीपालकंरपालाङ्गरणमल्लास्तदंगजाः । २१ ।  
 एवं स्वतंत्रयुक्ताभ्या । मनलोत्सवपूर्वकम् ।  
 साहिश्रीवमादनश्री-



- L. 19. पद्मसीभ्यां प्रयादरात् । २२  
 प्रागुक्तवत्सरे रम्ये । माधवार्जुनपक्षके ।  
 रोहिणीभृतृतीयायां बुधवासरसंयुजि
20. । २३ ।  
 श्रीशान्तिनाथमुख्यानां । जिनानां चतुस्तरा ।  
 द्विशती प्रतिमा ह्यद्या । भारिताश्च प्रतिष्ठिताः । २४ ।  
 युग्मम् ।
21. पुनर्निजबहुद्रव्य । सफलीकरणकृते ।  
 श्रीनव्यनगरे ऽकारि । प्रासादः शैलसंनिभः । २५ ।  
 हाससतिजिनौ-
22. कोभि । ख्येष्टितश्च चतुर्भुजैः ।  
 कैलाशपर्वतोत्तुंगैर । दृष्टाभिः शोभितो ऽभितः । २६ ।  
 युग्मम् ॥  
 साहित्री-
23. पद्ममिहना ऽकारि शङ्खजयोपरि ।  
 उत्तुंगतोरणः श्रीमान् । प्रासादः शिखरोन्नतः । २७ ।  
 यं दृष्ट्वा भविष्याः स-
24. वै । चिंतयन्ति स्वचेतसि ।  
 उच्चैर्भूतः किमेषोद्वि । दृश्यते ऽभ्रंलिहो यतः । २८ ।  
 येन श्रीतीर्थराजोयं राजते सा-
25. वतंसकः ।  
 प्रतिमाः स्थापितास्तत्र श्रीश्रेयांसमुखा ऽर्जिताम् । २९ ॥  
 तथा च । संवत् १६७६ वर्षे फाल्गुन सित द्वि-
26. तीयायां तिथौ दैत्यगुक्त्वासरे रेवतीनक्षत्रे श्रीमती नव्यनगरात् साहित्रीपद्मसीकेन श्रीभरतचक्र-
27. वर्त्तिनिर्मितसंघसदृशं महासंघं कृत्वा श्रीभंचलगणाधीश्वरभट्टारकपुरंदरयुगप्रधानपूज्यराज-
28. श्री ५ श्रीकल्याणसागरसूरीश्वरैः सार्धं श्रीविमलगिरितोर्थवरे समेत्य स्वयंकारितश्रीशङ्खजय-  
 गिरिशि-
29. रःप्रासादे समहोत्सवं श्रीश्रेयांसप्रमुखजिनेश्वराणां संति बिंबानि स्थापितानि ॥  
 सन्निः पूज्यमानानि
30. चिरं नंदंतु ।  
 यावद्विभाकरनिशाकरभूधरार्य्यरत्नाकरधुवधराः किल जाग्रतीह ।  
 श्रेयांसनाथजिनमंदिरमप ता-
31. वसंदत्तनेकभविष्योपनिषेध्यमानम् [म्] । १ ।<sup>९२</sup>  
 वाचकश्रीविनयचंद्रगणीनां शिष्यमुदेव सागरेण विहिता प्रशस्तिः [॥]



No. XXII.<sup>63</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६७५ वर्षे वैशाख सुदि  
 2. १३ तिथौ शुक्रवारे श्रीमदंचलग-  
 3. ष्ठाधिराजपूज्यश्रीधर्ममूर्तिसूरि-  
 4. तत्पट्टालंकारसूरिप्रधाने युगप्र-  
 5. धानपूज्यश्रीकल्याणसागरसू-  
 6. रिविजयिराज्ये श्रीश्रीमालोच्चा ।-  
 7. तीयभ्रमदावादवास्तव्य साह  
 8. भवान भार्या राजलदे पुत्र साह ।  
 9. श्रीमजी सूपजी द्वाभ्यामेका देह ।-  
 10. री कारापिता विमलाचले चतुर्मुखे [॥]

No. XXIII.<sup>64</sup>

- L. 1. [सं]° १६७५ वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये ॥ श्रीराजनगर  
 वास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञा-  
 2. तीय से° देवराज भार्या [रू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजू सुत राजा पुत्र से° साईया भार्या नाकू  
 पुत्र से° नाथा भार्या ना-  
 3. रिंगदे पुत्ररत्न से° सूरजीकेन भार्या सुषमादे पुत्रायित इंद्रजी सहितेन श्रीशान्तिनाथबिंबं कारितं  
 प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीवृहत्खरतर[ग]-  
 4. ष्ठाधिराजश्रीभक्तबरपातसाहिभूपालप्रदत्तपाण्मासिकाभयदानतत्प्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धधारकसक-  
 लदेशाष्टाङ्गिकामा<sup>65</sup> — — — — —  
 5. युगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि पट्टोद्दीपककठिनकाश्रीरादिदेशविहारकारकश्रीभक्तबरसाहिचित्तरंज-  
 नप्रपालितश्रीपुरगे — — — — —  
 6. प्रमुखदेशामारिजहांगीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधारिश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टोदयकारकभट्टारकशि-  
 रोरत्नश्रीजिनरा[जसूरि] — — —

No. XXIV.<sup>66</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६७५ वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये श्रीराजनगरवास्तव्य  
 2. प्राग्वाटज्ञातीय से° साईया भार्या नाकू पुत्र से° जोगी भार्या जसमादे पुत्र विविधपुण्यकर्मोपा-  
 र्जक से° सोमजी ।  
 3. भार्या राजलदे पुं से° रतनजी भार्या सृजाणदे पुत्र २ सुंदरदाससषराभ्यां पितृनाम्ना श्रीशान्ति-  
 नाथबिंबं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्री-  
 4. वृहत्खरतरगच्छे युगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि जहांगीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धधारकश्रीभक्तबर-  
 साहिचित्तरंजककठिनक[र]-  
 5. [र]मीरादिदेशविहारकारकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टालंकारकबोहित्यवंशशृंगारकभट्टारक-  
 हंदाकरकश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिमृगराजैः [॥]

<sup>63</sup> In a cell or chapel attached to the north-east corner of the great Âdîśvara temple, close to that in which are Nos. vi and vii.—J.B.

<sup>64</sup> In the Khartaravaśī Tūnk, immediately to the north-east of the great Chaumukha temple, on the base of the image ; *Lists*, p. 206, No. 333.—J. B.

<sup>65</sup> Probably °मारि°.

<sup>66</sup> In the Khartaravaśī Tūnk in a temple fronting that containing No. xxiii, to the south-east of the great Chaumukha on the base of the image ; *Lists*, p. 206, No. 316.—J. B.



No. XXV.<sup>67</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ संवत् १६७६ वर्षे वैशाखासित ६ शुक्ले लघुशाखीयश्री ।-  
 2. श्रीमालिङ्गातीय मञ्जिजीवा भार्या वार्द्ध रंगार्द्ध सुत मञ्जिख[व]।-  
 3. [स]वाङ्काकेन भार्या वार्द्ध गंगार्द्ध प्रसुखकुटुंबयुतेन श्री[ष्ठ] ।  
 4. [भ]णसालोशिवजीप्रसादात् स्वयंप्रतिष्ठापितश्रीविमलना-  
 5. थदेवकुलं कारितं ॥ श्रीमत्तपागणगगनांगणगगनमणि[स]-  
 6. [मा] नभद्वारकश्रीविजयसेनसूरीश्वरपट्टालंकारभद्वारक ।  
 7. [श्री] विजयदेवसूरीश्वरविजयिराज्ये ॥  
 यावद्देवगिरिर्भाति  
 8. ॥ यावत् शत्रुंजयाचलः ॥  
 तावद्देवकुलं जीयात् । श्रीवाङ्काकेन  
 9. कारितं ॥ १ ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. XXVI.<sup>68</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ नमः श्रीमारुदेवादिवर्द्धमानांततीर्थकरिणी श्रीपुंडरीकाद्यगौतम-  
 2. स्वामिपर्य्यतेभ्यो गणधरेभ्यः सभ्यजनैः पूज्यमानेभ्यः सेव्यमानेभ्यश्च संवत् ।  
 3. १६८२ ज्येष्ठ वदि १० शुक्ले श्रीजिसलमेरुवास्तव्योपकेशवंशीयभांडशालिके  
 4. सुश्रावककर्त्तव्यताप्रवीणधुरीण सा° श्रीमन्न भार्या चापलदे पुत्र पवित्र चरित्र ।  
 5. लोद्ववापत्तनकारितजीर्णोद्धारविहारमंडनश्रीचिंतामणिनामपार्श्वनाथाभिराम-  
 6. प्रतिष्ठाविधायकप्रतिष्ठासमयाहसुवर्णलभनिकाप्रदायकसंघनयककरणीय-  
 7. देवगुरुसाधर्मिकव्रात्सव्यविधानप्रभासितसितसम्यक्शुद्धिप्रसिद्धस[द्धि] व्ययविहि-  
 8. तश्रीशत्रुंजयसंघलब्धसंघाधिपतिलक सं° याद [डूनामको]हिपंचाशदुत्तरचतुर्दश-  
 9. शत १४५२ मितगणधराणां श्रीपुंडरीकादिगौतमानानां पादुकास्थानमजातपूर्वम-  
 10. चीकरत् स्वपुत्रहरराजमेघराजसहितः समेधमानपुण्योदयाय प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीवृह-  
 11. त्स्वरतरगङ्गाधिराजश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिराजैः पूज्यमानं चिरं नंदनात् ॥

No. XXVII.<sup>69</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६८३ वर्षे ॥ पातिसाहजिह्वांगीरश्रीसलेमसाहभूमंडलाखंडलविजयरा[ज्ये] ॥  
 2. ॥ श्रीचक्रेश्वरी नमः ॥ श्रीं ॥ महोपाध्यायश्री ५ श्रीहेममूर्त्तिगणिसद्गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्री ॥  
 3. ॥ श्रीं ॥ उं नमः ॥  
 स्वस्ति श्रीः शिवशंकरोपि गणमान् सर्वज्ञशत्रुंजयः [।]  
 शर्व्यः शंभुरधीश्वरश्च भग[वा]-  
 4. न गौरो वृषांको मृडः ।  
 गंगोमापतिरस्तकामविक्रान्तिः सिद्धैः कृता ऽतिस्तुती [।]  
 रुद्रो यो न परं त्रियै स

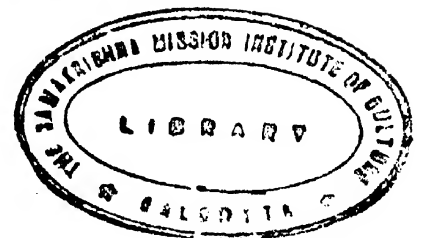
<sup>67</sup> In a temple in the Vimalavasi Tūṅk, near Ādiśvara's.—J. B.

<sup>68</sup> Round the margin of *pādukas* or foot-prints, No. 3, north side, in a temple in the west of the Khartaravasi Tūṅk *Lists*, p. 205, No. 317.—J. B.

<sup>69</sup> In a niche in a temple in the Vimalavasi Tūṅk, on the left hand between the Vāghana-pola and Hāthē-pola; *Lists*, p. 204, No. 138.—J. B.



- L. 5. जिनपः श्रीनाभिभूरस्तु मे ॥ १ ॥<sup>70</sup>  
 उद्यद्गोरजडः कलंकरहितः संतापदोषा ऽपहः [I]  
 सौम्यः प्राप्तस[७]-
6. या ऽमितकलः सुश्रीर्गंगाकोऽब्धयः ।  
 गौरानोमृतसूरपास्तकलुषो जैवातृकः प्राणिनां ।  
 चंद्रः [कर्म]
7. जयत्यहो जिनपतिः श्रीवैश्वसेनिर्महान् । २ ॥  
 त्यक्त्वा राजीमतीं यः स्वनिहितद्वयानेकपत्नीः ७ -
8. पां ।  
 सिद्धिस्त्रीं भूरिरक्तामपि बहु चकमेऽनेकपत्नीमपीशः ।  
 लोके ख्यातस्तथापि स्फुरदतिशय[वान्]
9. ब्रह्मचारीति नाम्ना [I]  
 स श्रीनेमिजिनेन्द्रो दिशतु शिवसुखं सात्वतां योगिनाथः ॥ ३ ॥<sup>71</sup>  
 चंचच्छारं चंद्रचा [७ ७]<sup>72</sup>
10. दनश्रेयसेऽभिनिर्व्यहचः [I]-  
 पेयूषीवनिषेकतो विषधरेणापि प्रपेदे द्रुतं ।  
 देवत्वं सुकृतैकलभ्य[म]-
11. तुलं यस्यानुकंपानिधेः ।  
 स श्रीपार्श्वजिनेशितास्तु सततं विघ्नच्छिदे सात्वतां । ४ ॥<sup>73</sup>  
 यस्य श्रीवरशास[नं]
12. क्षितितले मार्संडबिंबायते [I]  
 यद्वाक्यं भवसिंधुतारणविधौ पोतायते देहिनां ।  
 यद्धानं [भ-]
13. विपापपंकदलने गंगाबुधारायते ।<sup>74</sup>  
 श्रीसिद्धार्यनरेन्द्रनंदनजिनः सोऽस्तु श्रिये सर्वदा ॥ ५ ॥ [II]
14. अथ पट्टावली ॥  
 श्रीवर्धमानजिनराजपदक्रमेण ।  
 श्रीभार्य्यरक्षितमुनीश्वरसूरिराजाः ।  
 वि-
15. स्थापगाजलधयो विधिपक्षगच्छ ।-  
 संस्थापका यतिवरा गुरुवो बभूवुः । ६ ॥<sup>75</sup>  
 तच्चारुपट्टकमला[ज]-
16. सराजहंसा ।-  
 स्मारिचमंजुकमलाश्रवणावतंसाः [I]  
 गच्छाधिपा बुधवरा जयसिंहसूरि ।-  
 नामा[न]

<sup>70</sup> Metre of verses 1-2 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>71</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.<sup>72</sup> Read °छारदचंद्रचाव°.<sup>73</sup> Metre of verses 4-5 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>74</sup> Read गंगाव°.<sup>75</sup> Metre of verses 6-7 : Vasantatilakā. Read गुरुवो.



- L. 17. <sup>76</sup>[उ]द्यदमलोरुगुणावदाताः । ७ ॥  
 श्रीधर्मघोषगुरवो वरकीर्त्तिभाजः [1]  
 सूरेश्वरास्तदनु पूज्यमहं-
18. द्रसिंहाः ।  
 आसंस्ततः सकलसूरिशिरोवतंसाः [1]  
 सिंहप्रभाभिधसुसाधुगुणप्रसिद्धाः ॥ ८ ॥<sup>77</sup>  
 तेभ्यः क्र-
19. मेण गुरवो जिनसिंहसूरि ।<sup>78</sup>  
 गोचा बभूवुरथ पूज्यतमा गणेशाः [1]  
 देवेन्द्रसिंहगुरवोऽखिललो-
20. कामान्या [1]  
 धर्मप्रभा सुनिवरा विधिपक्षनाथाः ॥ ९ ॥  
 पूज्याश्च सिंहतिलकास्तदनु प्रभूत [1]-  
 भाग्या
21. महेंद्रविभवो गुरवो<sup>79</sup> बभूवुः [1]  
 वक्रेश्वरीभगवतीविहितप्रसादाः [1]<sup>80</sup>  
 श्रीमेरुतुंगसूरवो नरदेवव[द्य]-
22. T: ॥ १० ॥<sup>81</sup>  
 तेभ्योऽभवन् गणधरा जयकीर्त्तिसूरि [1]-  
 मुख्यास्ततश्च जयकेसरिसूराजः ।<sup>82</sup>  
 सिद्धांतसाग-
23. रगणाधिभुवस्ततोऽनु [1]  
 श्रीभावसागरगुरुगुणा<sup>83</sup> अभूवन् ॥ ११ ॥  
 तदंशपुष्करविभासन्<sup>84</sup> भा-
24. नुरुपाः<sup>85</sup>  
 सूरेश्वराः सुगुण[शे]वधयो बभूवुः । षट्पदो ॥  
 तत्पट्टोदयशैलशृंगकिरणाः
25. शास्त्रांबुधेः पारगा [1]  
 भव्यस्त्रांतचकोरलासनसलत्पुष्पाभचंद्राननाः [1]<sup>86</sup>  
 श्रीमंतो विधिपक्षगच्छ[च्छ]-
26. तिलका वादींद्रपंचानना ।  
 आसन् श्रीगुरुधर्ममूर्तिगुरवः सूरिद्रवंध्याङ्गयः ॥ १२ ॥<sup>87</sup>  
 त-

<sup>76</sup> द stands above the line.

<sup>77</sup> Metre of verses 8—11: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>78</sup> Read गुरवो । °सिंह°.

<sup>79</sup> Read गुरवी.

<sup>80</sup> Read चक्र°.

<sup>81</sup> Read री.

<sup>82</sup> Read °सूरिराजः. सू stands above the line.

<sup>83</sup> Read °गुरुव°.

<sup>84</sup> Read °भासन्°.

<sup>85</sup> Read °रुपाः.

<sup>86</sup> Read °सनसत्पु°.

<sup>87</sup> Metre of verses 12-13: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Read °गुरवः.



L. 27. त्वहेऽद्य जयंति मन्मथभटाङ्कारशर्वीपमाः ।

श्रीकल्याणसमुद्रसूरिगुरवः कल्याण —

28. कदांबुदाः ।

भव्यांभोजविबोधनैककिरणाः सदृशानपायोधियः ।<sup>88</sup>

श्रीमंतोच जयंति सूरिवि-

29. भुभि ।<sup>89</sup> सेव्याः प्रभावोद्यताः । १३ ॥

श्रीश्रीमालज्ञातीयमंचीखरश्रीभंडारी तत्पुत्र महं श्रीश-

30. मरसी सुत महं श्रीकरण तत्पुत्र सा

श्रीधन्वा तत्पुत्र साह श्रीसोपा तत्पुत्र सा<sup>०</sup> श्रीवंत त-

31. झार्या उभयकुलानंददायिनी बाई श्रीसोभागदे तत्कुक्षिसरोराजहंस साह श्रीरूप—

32. तद्गिनी उभयकुलानंददायिनी परमश्रीविका हीरबाई पुत्र पारीक्ष श्रीसोमचं<sup>90</sup>

33. प्रभृतिपरिकरयुतया । संवत् १६८३ वर्षे । माघ सुदि त्रयोदशी तिथौ सोमवासरे [श्री]-

34. चंद्रप्रभस्वामिजिनमंदिरजीर्णोद्धारः कारितः । श्रीराजनगरवास्व<sup>91</sup> महं भंडारी प्र-

35. साद कराविउ हुतु तेहनइ वठी पेठी [इं] बाई श्रीहीर बाई हुई तेणीइ प — — — उद्धार  
कराविउ ॥

संघसहित ९९ वा-

36. रयात्रा कीधी ॥ खसुरपक्षे पारिष श्रीगंगदास भार्या बाई गुरदे पुत्र पारिष श्रीकुंवरजी भार्या  
बाई कमल्यदे-

37. कुक्षिसरोराजहंसोपमौ पारिषश्रीवीरजीपारिषश्रीरहीयाभिधानौ । पारिष वीरजी भार्या बाई  
हीरादे पुत्र पं

38. सोमचंद्रस्तनान्ना श्रीचंद्रप्रभस्वामिजिनविंबं कारितं प्रतिष्ठतं<sup>92</sup> च ॥ देशाधीश्वरस्वभापतपनप्रभो-  
ज्ञासिताखि-<sup>93</sup>

39. लभूमंडल — — — — श्रीकांधुजी तत्पुत्र राज्य श्रीसिवाजी — — — — श्रीविका  
श्रीहीर बाई पुत्री बाई कीई बा-

40. ई कल्याणी भ्राता पारिष रूपजी तत्पुत्र पारिष गुडीदासयुतेन ॥ संवत् १६८२ वर्षे माघ शुदि  
त्रयोदसी [श्री] सोमव-

41. तसरे श्रीचंद्रप्रभस्वामिप्रतिष्ठा<sup>94</sup> कारिता ॥ भट्टारकश्रीकल्याणसागरसूरिभिः प्रतिष्ठतं<sup>95</sup> ॥ षाचक-  
श्रीदेवसागरग[र] -

42. [श्री]नां कृतिरियं ॥ पंडितश्रीविजयमूर्तिगणीनालेखि ॥ पं<sup>०</sup> श्रीविनयशेषरगणीनां शिष्य मुं  
श्रीरविशेषरगणीना लि-

43. कृतिरियं ॥ श्रीशेजुंजय नमः यावत् चंद्रार्कं चिर मंदतात् श्रीकवडयक्षप्रसादात् ॥ गजधररामजो  
लघुभार्ता कुच-

44. — — — शेजरतनकल्याणकृतायां चतुर्भद्रं ॥

<sup>88</sup> Read °पाधीषयः.

<sup>89</sup> Read °भुभिः.

<sup>90</sup> Read °चद्र.

<sup>91</sup> Read °वास्व.

<sup>92</sup> Read प्रतिष्ठितं.

<sup>93</sup> Probably for प्रतिपन्नं.

<sup>94</sup> Read °प्रतिष्ठा.

<sup>95</sup> Read °प्रतिष्ठितं.



No. XXVIII.<sup>96</sup>

- L. 1. श्री ॥ सं १ [६] ८४ माघ वदि ५ शुक्ले श्रीमत्पत्तनवास्तव्यश्रीमालज्ञातीय ठ° जसपालपीचेण पि-  
2. तृ ठ° राजा मातृ ठ° सी [बुधेयो इक्ष्वा] ठ° धाधाकेन श्रीभादिनायविंवं खत्तकसहितं कारितं ॥

No. XXIX.<sup>97</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६८६ वर्षे चैत्रे शुदि १५ दिने दक्षिणदेशे देवगीरीनगर-  
2. वास्तव्यश्रीमालीज्ञातीयलघुशाषीय साहा तुकजी भार्या बा° तेजलदे  
3. सूत सा° हासुजी भार्या बाइ हासलदे लघुभाता सा° वडुजी सा° देवजी  
4. भार्या बाइ चछादे देराणी बाइ देवलदे पू [पु] त्र सा° धर्मदास भगी[गि]नो बा°  
5. कुम्हारि प्रमुखसमस्तकुटुंब श्रीविमलाचलनी यात्रा करीनि  
6. श्रीअदबुद आ — — — [या] सादनो मंडमनो की ३ सहित फे-  
7. रो उद्धार कराव्यु — — — — — चारक [ओ] — — — — — [रा] ज्ये  
8. तत्पट्टालंकारे [श्री] — — — — — [श्री] — — — — — [भ्य] ॥  
9. पंडितोत्तम श्रीह — — — — सुपदेशात् शुभं भवतु ॥

No. XXX.<sup>98</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६८६ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५ बुधे शाके १५५१ प्रवर्त्तमाने श्रीमूलसंघे सरस्वतीगङ्गे  
2. बला[त्का]रगणे श्रीकुंडकुंदाचार्यान्वये भट्टारक श्रीसकलकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीभुवनकीर्त्तिदेवा-  
स्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीज्ञानभूषणदेवा-  
3. स्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीविजयकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीशुभचंद्रदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीसुमतिकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे  
भ° श्रीगुणकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीवादिभूषणदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीरामकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीपद्मनंदिगुरु-  
पदेशात् पातसाहाश्रीशाहा-  
4. ज्याहांविजयराज्ये श्रीगूर्जरदेशे श्रीअहमदावादवास्तव्यहुंबडज्ञातीयवृहच्छाखीयवाग्वरदेशस्थांतरी-  
यनगरनौतनभद्रप्रासादोद्धारणधार जाडा सं° भोजा भा° सं° लकु सु° संवस्ता भा° सं° रत्नादे तयोः  
5. सुत ब्रह्मचर्यव्रतप्रतिपालनेन पवित्रीकृतनिजांगसप्तचेन्नारोपितस्वकीयवित्त सं° लटकण भा° सं°  
ललतादे तयोः सुत निजकुलकमलविकाशनैकसूर्यावतारः दानगुणेन नृपतिश्रेयांससमः श्रीजिनबिंबप्रति-  
6. षातीर्थयात्रादिधर्मकर्मकरणोत्सुकचित्तसंघप्रति श्रीरत्नसी भा° सं° रूपादे द्वितीयभा° सं°  
मोहणदे तृतीयभा° सं° न[थ]रंगदे द्वितीयसुत संघवी श्रीरामजी भा° सं° केशरदे तयोः सुत संघवी  
7. डुगरसी भार्या सं° डाडमदे द्वितीयसुत संघवी [रायव]जी भा° सं° गमतादे [एते सर्वे] महासि-  
द्धोश्च श्रीश[चंजयनाम्नि] गिरौ श्रीजिनप्रासादे श्रीशांतिनाथबिंबं कारयित्वा नित्यं प्रणमन्ति । शुभं भवतु [॥]

No. XXXI.<sup>99</sup>

- L. 1. । श्री ॥ भट्टारकपुरंदरभट्टारकश्रीहीर-  
2. । विजयसूरोद्धारगुरुभ्यो तमो नमः तत्-  
3. । पट्टप्रभाकरभट्टारकश्रीविजयसेन-

<sup>96</sup> On the base of a Chaumukha image in a small temple, west of the great Âdiśvara Bhagavân; *Lists*, p. 198; No. 114.—J. B.

<sup>97</sup> In the shrine of "Bhîmadeva,"—the great rock-cut image,—on the wall beside the doorway.—J. B.

<sup>98</sup> In the Digambara temple, in a small court to the north-east of the great Âdiśvara temple; *Lists*, p. 202, No. 237.—J. B.

<sup>99</sup> Beside the doorway of the Śeshakoṭa temple, facing the south door of the great Âdiśvara temple.; *Lists*, p. 137, No. 97.—J. B.



- L. 4. । सूरिगुरुभ्यो नमः संवत् [त] १६९६ वर्षे वै-  
 5. । श्राव सुदि ५ रवौ श्रीदीवबंदिरवास्तव्य सं-  
 6. । चवी सचा भार्या बाइ वेज बाइ तयो<sup>100</sup> सुपुत्र  
 7. ॥ संघवी गोविंदजी भार्या बाइ वयज बाइ  
 8. । प्रमुखकुटुंबयुतेन<sup>1</sup> स्वश्रेयसे श्रीशत्रुज-<sup>2</sup>  
 9. । ये उत्तम<sup>3</sup> प्रासाद [:] कारापित [:] श्रीपार्श्वनाथ-  
 10. । बिंबं स्थापितं प्रतिष्ठितं<sup>4</sup> च श्रीतपागच्छनाय-  
 11. । कभट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिभिः तत्प-  
 12. । शालंकारयुवराजश्रीविजयसिंहसूरि चिरं जीय<sup>5</sup>

No. XXXII—(610).<sup>6</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ उं नमः  
 2. प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदि-दं खलु तीर्थं ।  
 4. रायसिंह इह वर्धमानभूः [।]  
 6. शासनाद्विज-यदेवगुरोः स-  
 8. हाचकेन वि-नयाद्विजये-न ॥ १ ॥<sup>7</sup>  
 श्री- विजयसिंहसूरिः । स जयतु तपगच्छमौ- लमाणिक्यं ।  
 15. अजनिष्ट यदु । पदेशात् । स- हस्रकूटाभि- धं तीर्थम् ॥ २ ॥<sup>8</sup>  
 19. दिक्शशिज-लधिमितेन्द्रे १७१० सित ष-ष्ठ्यां ज्येष्ठमासि<sup>9</sup> तीर्थेस्मिन् ।  
 24. अर्द्धचंद्रसह-स्रं । स्थापितम-ष्टोत्तरं वंदे ॥ ३  
 27. यावज्जयति सुमेरु । स्ताव-जीयात्प्रकृष्ट-सौभाग्यः ।<sup>10</sup>  
 श्री शत्रुजयमूर्ध-नि । सहस्र-कूटः किरी-टोयम् ॥ ४ ॥

No. XXXIII.<sup>11</sup>

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| <p>L. 1. अर्द्धम्<br/>         2. ॥ श्रीं ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसं-<br/>         3. वत् १७१० वर्षे ज्येष्ठ<sup>12</sup><br/>         4. शुक्ल षष्ठी<sup>13</sup> तिथौ गु-<br/>         5. रवारि श्रीउग्रसेनपु-<br/>         6. रवास्तव्यजकोशप्रा-<br/>         7. तीयहृदशाखीयकु-<br/>         8. हाडगोत्र सा । वर्धमा-</p> | <p>9. न भा । वाल्हादे पु । स<br/>         10. मानसिंहथानसिंह-<br/>         11. रायसिंहकनकसिंह-<br/>         12. उग्रसेनऋषभदासैः<br/>         13. सा । जगत्सिंहजीवण-<br/>         14. दासप्रमुखपरिवार-<br/>         15. युतैः स्वपितृवचनात्त-<br/>         16. त्पुण्यार्थं श्रीसहस्रकू-</p> |
|--|---|

<sup>100</sup> Read तयोः.

Read कुटुंब°.

<sup>1</sup> Read शत्रुज-<sup>2</sup> Read शत्रुज-<sup>3</sup> Read उत्तम.<sup>4</sup> Read प्रतिष्ठितं.<sup>5</sup> Read जीयात्.<sup>6</sup> In the temple of Śeṣhakoṭa, on the left hand column.

—Liste, p. 147, No. 97.—J. B.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Svāgata. The penultima of the second pāda ought to be long.<sup>8</sup> Metre of verses 2—4: Āryā.<sup>9</sup> Read ज्येष्ठमासि.<sup>10</sup> Read शावक्यी°.<sup>11</sup> On a column in the Śeṣhakoṭa temple, in the Vimalavasi Tunk.—J. B.<sup>12</sup> Read ज्येष्ठ.<sup>13</sup> Read षष्ठी.



- L. 17. टतीथं कारितं स्वप्रति-  
 18. छायां प्रतिष्ठापितं<sup>14</sup> । त-  
 19. पागच्छे भ । श्रीहीरवि-  
 20. जयसूरिपट्टप्रभाकर  
 21. भ । श्रीविजयसेनसूरि-  
 22. पट्टालंकारपातिशा-  
 23. हिश्रीजिहंगीरप्रदत्त-  
 24. महातपाविदधारि-  
 25. अनेकराजाधिराजप्र-  
 26. तिबोधकारिभट्टारक  
 27. श्री ७ श्रीविजयदेवसू-  
 28. रीश्वरपाचार्यश्रीविज-  
 29. यप्रभसूरिनिर्देशात्

30. श्रीहीरविजयसूरि-  
 31. शिथरत्नमहोपाध्या-  
 32. य श्री ५ कीर्त्तिविज-  
 33. य ग । शिथोपाध्या-  
 34. यश्रीविनयविज-  
 35. यगणिभिः प्रतिष्ठि-  
 36. तं श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्रीशत्रुंज-  
 37. यमहातीर्थकार्यक-  
 38. रपंडित श्री ५ शान्ति-  
 39. विजय ग । देवविजय  
 40. ग । मेघविजय ग । सा-  
 41. हाय्यतः सिद्धमिदम्  
 42. सूत्रधार मनजीः ॥

No. CV.<sup>15</sup>

L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ .

2. ॥ श्री नमः ॥

बभूवुः श्रीमहावीरः पट्टानुक्रमभूषणाः [I]

श्रीअंचलगणाधीशाः आयरिचितसूरयः<sup>16</sup> [II] १ [II]

3. तत्पट्टपंकजादित्या सूरिश्रीजयसिंहकाः [I]

श्रीधर्मगोषसूरीन्द्रा । महिंद्रसिंहसूरयः<sup>17</sup> [II] २ [II]  
 श्री ।

4. सिंहप्रभसूरीशः<sup>18</sup> सूरयो जिनसिंहकाः [I]

श्रीमहेवेंद्रसूरीशाः श्रीधर्मप्रभसूरयः [II] ३ [II]

श्रीसिंहतिलकाह्वाय

5. श्रीमहेंद्रप्रभाभिधाः [I]

श्रीमंतो मेरुतुंग्याख्याः<sup>19</sup> बभूवुः सूरयस्ततः [II] ४ [II]

समग्रगुणसंपूर्णाः सूरिश्रीजयकी-

6. र्तयः [I]

तत्पदेय सुसाधुश्रीजयकेसरसूरयः [II] ५ [II]

श्रीसिद्धांतसमुद्राख्यः सूरया<sup>20</sup> भूरिकीर्त्तयः [I]

भावसागरसू-

7. रीद्रा ततोभूवन् गणाधिपाः [II] ६ [II]

श्रीमहंणनिधानाख्यः सूरयस्तत्पदेभवन् [I]

युगप्रधाना<sup>21</sup> श्रीमंतः सूरिश्री-

<sup>14</sup> Read प्रतिष्ठापितं.

<sup>15</sup> In the Khartaravasi Tunk, on the south wall in the hall outside the shrine door of Narsi Keshavji's temple.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 342.—J. B.

<sup>16</sup> Read श्रीराः । आयरिचितं,

<sup>17</sup> Read L. 3: °दित्याः । °धीष° । महेंद्र°.

<sup>18</sup> Read °रीशाः .

<sup>19</sup> Read L. 5: °तुंगा° । बभूवुः .

<sup>20</sup> Read L. 6: °दिय । °ख्याः सूरजी.

<sup>21</sup> Read L. 7: °रीद्राका° । °दृष° °ख्याः । °धानाः .



- L. 8. धर्ममूर्त्तय [॥] ७ [॥]  
तत्पद्मोदयशैलाग्रः प्रोद्यत्तरणिसन्निभा<sup>22</sup> [॥]  
अभवन्सूरिराजश्रीयुजः कल्याणसागराः  
9. [॥] ८ [॥]  
श्रीअमरोदधिसूरीन्द्रा ततो विद्यासूरयः [॥]  
उदयार्णवसूरिश्च कीर्त्तिसिंधुमुनिपतिः [॥] ९ [॥]<sup>23</sup>  
ततो पु-  
10. श्योदधिसूरिराजेंद्रार्णवसूरयः [॥]  
मुक्तिसागरसूरीन्द्रा बभूवुः गुणशालिनः [॥] १० [॥]  
तत<sup>24</sup> रत्नो-  
11. दधिसूरिर्जयंति विचरद्भुवि [॥]  
शातदातक्षयायुक्त भव्यान्<sup>25</sup> धर्मोपदेशकः [॥] ११ [॥]  
इति प-  
12. द्वावलि ॥  
अथ कच्छसुराष्ट्रे च कीठारानगरे वरे [॥]  
बभूवु लघुशाखायामर्णसी-<sup>26</sup>  
13. ति गुणीज्वल [॥] १२ [॥]  
तत्पुत्रो नायकी जज्ञे हीरबाई च तन्त्रिया [॥]  
पुत्रो<sup>27</sup> कौसवजी तस्य  
14. रूपवान्पुंन्यमूर्त्तय[॥] १३ [॥]  
मातुलेन समं मूढैर्बंदरे तिलकोपमे<sup>28</sup> [॥]  
अगात्पुंन्यप्रभावेन  
15. बहु स्व समुपार्जितं [॥] १४ [॥]  
देवभक्तिगुरुरागी<sup>29</sup> धर्मश्रद्धाविवेकिनः [॥]  
दाता भोक्ता यश्च  
16. कीर्त्तिं स्वर्गे विस्मृतो बहु [॥] १५ [॥]  
पावेति तस्य पत्नी च नरसिंहसुतोजनि<sup>30</sup> [॥]  
रत्नबाई त-  
17. स्य भार्या पतिभक्तिसुशीलवान् [॥] १६ [॥]  
कौशवजीकस्य भार्या द्वितिया<sup>31</sup> मांकबाई चः [॥]  
18. नाम्ना त्रीकमजी तस्य पुत्रोभुत्<sup>32</sup> स्वल्पजीवोनः [॥] १७ [॥]  
नरसिंहस्य पुत्रोभुत् रूपवान्

<sup>22</sup> Read L. 8.: °र्त्तयः । °षाःप्रो°.

<sup>23</sup> Read द्वावलि । ततः .

<sup>24</sup> Read L. 10: °स्त्री° । °श्रीन्द्रा । ततो.

<sup>25</sup> Read L. 11: °जयंति विचरद्भुवि शातदात° । युक्ती भवान्.

<sup>26</sup> Read °लिः । °लंघु°.

<sup>27</sup> Read °ज्वलः । पुनः .

<sup>28</sup> Read L. 14: रूपवान्पुण्य° । मुंभे° । °त्युख° ।

<sup>29</sup> Read °स्व । °गुंभ°.

<sup>30</sup> Read L. 16: विस्मृती । Perhaps °सिंहः .

<sup>31</sup> Read द्वितीया । च.

<sup>32</sup> Read °भुत् । °भूत्°.



L. 19.

सुंदराकृति [I]

चिरंजय सदा ऋषि षड्विर्भवतु<sup>39</sup> धर्मत [II] १८ [II]:

इति वंशावलि: ॥

20. गांधी मोहोतागीत्रे सा केसवजी निजभूजोपार्जितविस्तेन<sup>34</sup> धर्मकार्याणि कुर्वते स्म  
 21. तद्यथा निजपरिकरयुतो संघसाध्वं<sup>35</sup> विमलाब्दितीर्थे समेत्य कच्छसौराष्ट्रगुर्जर: म-<sup>36</sup>  
 22. रुधरमेवाडुकुण्ठादिदेशादागता: बहुसंघलोका: मिलिता: अंजनशलाका-  
 23. प्रतिष्ठा<sup>37</sup>दिमहोत्सवार्थं विशालमंडपं कारयति स्म तन्मध्ये नवीनजिनविंबा-  
 24. नां रुप्यपाषाणधातूनां बहुसहस्रसंख्यानां सुसुहृत् सुलम्ने पीठोपरि संस्था-<sup>37</sup>  
 25. प्य तस्य विधिना क्रयाकरणार्थं<sup>38</sup> श्रीरत्नसागरसूरिविधिपक्षगच्छपतेरादे-  
 26. शत: सुनिश्रीदेवचद्रगाणना तथा क्रियाकुशलश्राद्धै: सह शास्त्रोक्तारित्या<sup>39</sup>  
 27. शुद्धक्रीया कुर्वन् श्रीवीरविक्रमार्कत: संवत् १९२१ ना वर्षे तस्मिन्<sup>40</sup> श्रीशा-  
 28. लीवाहनभूपालकृतशाके १७८६ प्रवर्तमान्ये मासीतम<sup>41</sup> श्रीमाघमासे शुक्ल-  
 29. पक्षे तिथि सप्तम्या: गुरुवासरे मार्तण्डोदयवेलायां सुसुहृत् सुलम्ने स्वर्णशि-<sup>42</sup>  
 30. लाकया जिनमुद्राणां श्रीगुरुभिश्च साधुभिरंजनक्रियां कुर्वते स्म: सघलोका-<sup>43</sup>  
 31. न् सुवेसधारीन् बहुकृद्ध्या गीतगांनवाजिह्वपूर्वकं समेत्य जिनपुजनलीङ्ग-<sup>44</sup>  
 32. नादिक्रियायाचकानादानादिसंघवात्सल्यादिभक्तिहर्षतत्त्वक्रे पुनः<sup>45</sup> धर्मशा-  
 33. लायां चारासोपलनिर्मितं सास्त्रतत्त्वभादिजिनानां चतुर्मुखं चैत्थं पुन: गिरि-  
 34. शिखरोपरि श्रीशभिनंदनजिनस्य विशालमंदिरं तस्य प्रतिष्ठा<sup>46</sup> माघ सित त्र-  
 35. योदश्यां बुधवासरे शास्त्रोक्तविधिना क्रिया कृता<sup>47</sup> श्रीरत्नसागरसूरिणासुप्र-  
 36. देशंत: श्रीसंघपति निजपरिवारेण सह श्रीशभिनंदनादिजिनविंबं<sup>48</sup> स्था-  
 37. पिता तत: गुरुभक्तिसंघभक्तिशक्त्यानुशारेण कृत: गोहिलवंशविभूषण-<sup>49</sup>  
 38. ठाकोरश्रीसूरसंघजीराज्ये पादलिप्तपुरे:<sup>50</sup> मदनीत्सवमभूत् श्रीसंघस्य भद्रं  
 39. भूयात्[:] कल्याणमस्तु शुभं भवतु[:] ॥  
 माणिकसिंधुवरमुख्यमुनिवरैषु:<sup>51</sup> ।  
 40. तत्स्थिष्यवाचकवरविनयार्णवेन [I]  
 एषा प्रशस्ति अवणामृततुल्यरूपा<sup>52</sup>  
 संघ-  
 41. स्य शाशनसमुन्नतिकारलेखि:<sup>53</sup> १: ॥  
 वाचकविनयसागरेण्यं प्रशस्ति-

<sup>39</sup> Read L. 19: °कृति: । °जय: । °षड्वि°.<sup>34</sup> Read °भूजो°<sup>35</sup> Read L. 21: °लाट्रि° । °ज्वरम°.<sup>36</sup> Read °तिष्ठा°.<sup>37</sup> Read L. 24: °रुप्य° । °कृते°.<sup>38</sup> Read क्रिया°.<sup>39</sup> Read L. 26: सुनि° । °चंद्र° । °रीत्या°.<sup>40</sup> Read L. 27: °क्रिया: । तस्मिन्°.<sup>41</sup> Read L. 28: °कृत° । °माने° । °चक्षु°.<sup>42</sup> Read L. 29: तिथी सप्तम्यां । °हर्षे° । °यज्ञा°.<sup>43</sup> Read L. 30: °क्रियां । स्म संघ°.<sup>44</sup> Read L. 31: °क्षेत्र° । °दिक्पूर्वकं । पूजय ,<sup>45</sup> Read L. 32: °संघ° । पुनः°.<sup>46</sup> Read °ष्टा°.<sup>47</sup> Read L. 35: °शास्त्री° । कृता°.<sup>48</sup> Read L. 36: °देशत: । °विंब°.<sup>49</sup> Read L. 37: °पिते° । °कृतुसा° । कृत: । °क्षेत्र°.<sup>50</sup> Read पुरे°.<sup>51</sup> Read °रेषु°.<sup>52</sup> Read L. 40: °सि: । °रूपा°.<sup>53</sup> Read शास्त्र° । °कार्यलेखि°.



## L. 42. लिखिताः ॥

यावत् मेव मन्त्रिधर यावत् चन्द्रदिवाकरौ<sup>44</sup> [I]43. यावत्तीर्थ जिनेन्द्राणां[: ] तावत् नन्दतु मन्दिरः<sup>45</sup> ॥ १ ॥

श्रीरस्तु [II]

## ABSTRACTS.

No. xxxiv.<sup>46</sup> Samvat 1783, Māha sudi 5; *Siddhachakra*, dedicated by Anandabāi, wife of Shetā (Khetā) of the Śrīmālī *laghuśākhā*, inhabitant of Dhanapura; consecrated by *paṇḍitavara* Devachandra, pupil of *upādhyāya* Dīpachandra, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Jñānadharmajī, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Rājasārajī in the *śākhā* of Jinachandra Sūri, *yugapradhāna* of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*, who awakened Pātisāhi Akabbara.

No. xxxv.<sup>47</sup> Samvat 1788, Māgha sudi 6, Friday; an image of Bhīmamuni dedicated by Dulichand, son of Sā(hu) Kīkā of the Kharatara *gachchha*; consecrated by *upādhyāya* Dīpachandragani.

No. xxxvi.<sup>48</sup> (Date as above); an image of Śrī-Yudhishtira [*shṭhira*] muni (remainder as above).

No. xxxvii.<sup>49</sup> Vikrama Samvat 1788, Śāka 1653, Māgha sudi 6, Friday; an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Premaji (surnamed Cheuli, from his residence in Cheula), of the Śrīmālī *vṛiddhaśākhā*, at the request of *bhaṭṭāraka* Vijaya-Dayāsūri, and of the Tapā *gachchha*; consecrated by *bhaṭṭāraka* Sumatisāgara of the same *gachchha*.

No. xxxviii.<sup>50</sup> Samvat 1791, Vaiśākha sudi 8, *pushyārke*; an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated by *bhaṇḍārī* Ratnasimha, a *mahāmantrī*, who caused an edict of *amārī* to be proclaimed in Gujarāt, son of Udayakarana (and Udayavantadevi), son of Shetasīhaji, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Dīpājī, of the Osavāla *vṛiddhaśākhā* and the Nādūla-gotra; consecrated in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Dayāsūri, successor of Vijai-Kshamāsūri, of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xxxix.<sup>51</sup> Samvat 1794, Śāka 1659, Asāḍha sudi 10, Sunday; an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated, and restoration of a temple made by *bhaṇḍārī* Harashachanda son of *bhaṇḍārī* Sivachanda, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Rūpachanda, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Tārachanda, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Nārāyanaji, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Bhānājī of the Oisavamśa *vṛiddhaśākhā*, Nādūla-gotra, dedicated in the victorious reign of Jinachandrasūri of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*, by *paṇḍita* Devachandra, pupil of *upādhyāya* Dīpachandaji, pupil of *upādhyāya* Jñānadharmajī, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Rājasārajī.

<sup>44</sup> Read L. 42: °खिता । °मन्त्रीधरौ । च°.

<sup>45</sup> Read °तीर्थ° । नन्दतु मन्दिर°.

<sup>46</sup> On a *Siddhachakra* slab in the south corridor of the Kharataravasi Tūṅk.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 337.—J. B.

<sup>47</sup> On the base of the image, on the right side of principal one in the Pañcha Pāṇḍava temple.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 350.—J. B.

<sup>48</sup> In Pañcha Pāṇḍava temple, on the base of the principal image.—*Lists*, ib.

<sup>49</sup> Outside the door of a square temple opposite the south-west corner of the great Ādisvara.—*Lists*, p. 197, perhaps No. 100.

<sup>50</sup> In the Vimalavasi Tūṅk, on right hand when going towards the Hāthipola, about half-way up.—*Lists*, p. 202, No. 247.

<sup>51</sup> In the south wall outside the shrine door of a temple in the Chhipavasi Tūṅk.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 357.



No. xl.<sup>62</sup> Samvat 1810, Mâha sudi 13, Tuesday; an image of Sumatinâtha, dedicated by the whole Saṅgha, *Saṅghavi* Kachara Kîkâ and the rest; dedicated by Sarvasûri.

No. xli.<sup>63</sup> Samvat 1814, Mâgha vadi 5, Monday; a temple with a *śikhara*, dedicated by *Vo.* Kâsarisaṅgha, son of *Vo.* Lâdhâ, (and Prâṇakumara,) son of *Vo.* Dîpachand, son of *Vo.* Sakalachanda of the Prâgvâṭa-vamśa, *laghuśâkhâ*, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated by Udayasûri.

No. xlii.<sup>64</sup> Samvat 1815, Vaiśâkha sudi 6, Wednesday; an image of Pârśvanâtha dedicated by *masa* Kuyarajî Lâdhâ of Bhâvanagara; consecrated by Râjasâmasûri, of the Laghuposâla *gachchha*.

No. xliii.<sup>65</sup> Samvat 1822, Phâlguna sudi 5, Thursday; two images in the Viśâ, Deshavâla-Tapâ *gachchha*'s *derî*, dedicated by *gândhî* Parasottama Sûdarajî and by his nephew Amâidâsa and his brothers Nâthâ and Kumbera, all of Meśâṇâ. The inscription was incised by Kubera, in Samvat 1863, Chaitra sudi 2, Friday.

No. xliv.<sup>66</sup> Samvat 1843, Śâka 1708, Mâgha sudi 11, Monday; an image of Âdinâtha, dedicated by Premachanda, of Râjanagara, a Śrîmâlî of the *laghuśâkhâ* of the Kâśyapa gotra and Paramâra race, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasûri of the Tapâ *gachchha*.

No. xlv.<sup>67</sup> Vikrama Samvat 1860, Śâka 1726, Vaiśâkha sudi 5, Monday; an image of Śântinâtha, dedicated by Harashachanda, son of Hîrâchanda (and Kumarabâi), son of Sâ Râyakarana, a Śrîmâlî of the *vriddha śâkhâ*, a native of Damaṇa-bandira (Daman), honoured by the Phiramgijâti Puratakâla pâtasâhi (the king of Portugal).

No. xlvi.<sup>68</sup> (Date as in the preceding); a new image in the new temple of Vijjaharâ-Pârśvanâtha, dedicated by Savâichanda, son of Premachanda Jhaverachanda and Joyatî, a Jhaverî (*jeweller*) of the Usavâla race in Surat, in the name of Premachanda and others, during the victorious reign of Vijaya-Daivachandrasûri, of the *gachchha* Vijaya-Ânandasûri, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasûri of the Tapâ *gachchha*.

No. xlvii.<sup>69</sup> (Date as in No. xlv); a new image in the new temple of Asrahurâ (Vijjaharâ?) Pârśvanâth, dedicated by Jhaverî Premachanda, . . . . . an Usavâla of Surat, belonging to the *gachchha* of Vijaya-Ânandasûri, in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Devachandrasûri, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasûri, *bhattâraka* of the Tapâ *gachchha*.

No. xlviii.<sup>70</sup> (Date as in No. xlv); an image of Sahasakuṭajî (*Sahasrakûṭa*), dedicated by Dâhâbhai, son of Sâ Lâlabhâi, grandson of Sâ Bhâisâji, a Śrîmâlî, at the request of Puṇyasâgarasûri of the A mchala *gachchha*, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasûri of the Tapâ *gachchha*.

No. xlix.<sup>71</sup> Date and contents as of the preceding.

<sup>62</sup> In a temple on the south of the way to the Hâthîpola, in Vimalavasi Tunk.—*Lists*, p. 204, No. 285.—J. B.

<sup>63</sup> On south side corner of a temple in the outer compound of the Âdiśvara temple.

<sup>64</sup> On the base of an image in a temple on the south side of the way to the Hâthîpola.—*Lists*, p. 204, No. 291.

<sup>65</sup> In Modi Premachand's temple No. 84?

<sup>66</sup> In Vimalavasi Tunk, in a small temple on the south of the Vâghana-pola.—*Lists*, p. 204, No. 304.—J. B.

<sup>67</sup> In Modi Premachand's Tunk, on an image in the principal temple.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 362.

<sup>68</sup> On the base of an image in the temple on the right upon entering the Tunk of Modi Premachand.—*Lists*, p. 208, No. 367.—J. B.

<sup>69</sup> In Modi Premachand's Tunk, on the base of the image in the temple facing the preceding.—*Lists*, p. 208, No. 364.

<sup>70</sup> On a column in the Śeshakoṭa in the Pañcha Pâṇḍava's temple.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 351.

<sup>71</sup> In the same temple.—J. B.



No. l.<sup>72</sup> Samvat 1860, Mâhâ sudya 13; a temple was begun and finished Samvat 1861, Phâguna vadi 5, Wednesday, by Virachanda, son of Pitâmara, grandson of Harashachamda, a Pârekha of Ahmadâbâd, of the Visâ-Poravâla gachchha, and of the gachchha of Vijaya-Ânandasûri.

No. li.<sup>73</sup> Vikrama Samvat 1861 and Śalivâhana Śâka 1726, Dhâtâ samvatsara Mârgaśīrsha sudi 3, Wednesday, Pûrvâshâdha nakshatra, Vṛiddha Yoga, Gira Karaṇa, in the victorious reign of Puṇyasâgarasûri, successor of Kirtisâgarasûri, successor of Udayasâgarasûri of the Amchala gachchha, a kumda, called Ichhâkumda, was dedicated by Ichchhâbhâi, son of Nihâlachandabhâi, a Śrîmâlî of Surat; while the Gohil chief Unnadâjî ruled over Pâlitânâ.

No. lii.<sup>74</sup> Samvat 1867, Chaitra sûda 15; an agreement in Gujarâtî not to allow anybody to build temples in the Hâthî Pôla.

No. liii.<sup>75</sup> Samvat 1875, Mâgha vadi 4, Sunday; an image of Suvadhinâtha (?), dedicated by Sosajî, son of Mûlajî and Mâmnakumara, of Râdhanapura; an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Sedugarasî, son of Mûlajî and (?); an image of Mallinâtha, and a little temple (*deharî*) dedicated by Kâmtiyâ Hemaji, son of Tokarâsî.

No. liv.<sup>76</sup> Samvat 1885, Vaiśâkha śukla akshayatriyâ, Thursday; a temple of Chandraprabha, built, at the request of the Śrâvikâ Gulâvabenî, by Bâbu Harshachamda and Visanachamda, sons of Jeṭhamallajî, Bûranachamda and Keśavadâsajî, sons of Sâha Bohitthajî, of the Dûgada gotra, inhabitant of Bâlûchâra; consecrated by Jinaharshasûri of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. lv.<sup>77</sup> Samvat 1886, Śâka 1751, Mâgha, śuklapaksha 5, Friday; an image of Puṇḍarîka gaṇadhara, dedicated for the welfare of his father by Lallubhâi, son of Seth Pânâbhâi and his wife Mughivahu, daughter of Seth Vakhatachamda Khuśyâlachamda of the Vṛiddhasâkhâ of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated during the reign of Śântisâgarasûri of the Sâgara gachchha.

No. lvi.<sup>78</sup> (Date as above); a temple built and an image of Pârśvânâtha, dedicated for the welfare of Bâi Râmâkumyara, wife of Sâha Harakhachamda, son of Sâha Mûlachamda, of the Vṛiddhasâkhâ of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Râjanagara, and for the welfare of her daughter Jhaverabâi, wife of Dosî Kusalachamda, in the reign of bhattâraka Râjendrasâgarasûri of the Amchala gachchha.

No. lvii.<sup>79</sup> (Date as above); a *chaturvîṃsatîrthakarapaṭṭa* with *hrîmkâra*, dedicated by Motichamda, son of Sâha Malukachamda, and Kusalabâi, of the Vṛiddhasâkhâ of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated by the bhattâraka of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. lviii.<sup>80</sup> (Date as above); a *parameshtî[shṭhi]pada*, with *Omkâra*, dedicated by the donor of No. lvii; consecrated as above.

<sup>72</sup> In Vimalavasi Tûnk, to the south-east of the Chaumukh of a hundred pillars.—*Lists*, p. 202, No. 245.—J. B.

<sup>73</sup> On a tank by the roadside part of the way down the hill.

<sup>74</sup> On the wall, beside the Hâthîpôla, or the gateway separating the enclosure of the Âdiśvara Bhagavân and the eastern section of the Vimalavasi Tûnk.—J. B.

<sup>75</sup> In Modi Premachand's Tûnk, in a cell or chapel in the north corridor.

<sup>76</sup> In a small temple to the south of Puṇḍarîka's.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 345.

<sup>77</sup> In Hemabhai's Tûnk, at the entrance.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 408.

<sup>78</sup> On the seat of an image south of Puṇḍarîka's in the entrance to Hemabhai Vakhatchand's Tûnk.

<sup>79</sup> In Hemabhai's Tûnk, on the north wall of the Maṇḍapa of the principal temple.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 407.

<sup>80</sup> In the same temple, on the south wall.—J. B.



No. lix.<sup>81</sup> (Date as above); a temple and an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated for her husband's welfare by Ichhāvahu, wife of Naginadāsa, son of Śeṭh Himabhāi, son of Śeṭh Vakhatachamda Khusyālachamda, of the Vṛiddhasākhā, of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated in the reign of Śāntisāgarasūri of the Sāgara *gachchha*.

No. lx.<sup>82</sup> Samvat 1887, Vaisākha sudi 13, *jñavāsara*, in the reign of Gohel Kāndhājī, *kumvara* Noghanājī, of Pādaliptanagara, a temple (*vihāra*) built, and an image of Kumthanātha by Gajamalajī Parakh, son of Himatarāma, son of Sāha Tilokachamda of the Luṇiyā gotra, Ukeśa jnātiya Vṛiddhasākhā, inhabitant of Ajameranagara; consecrated by Devachamda, in the reign of *bhaṭṭ*. Jinaharshasūri, of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxi.<sup>83</sup> Samvat 1888, Vaisākha vadi — — *śorivāsare* (!), three images of Chandraprabha, etc., dedicated by Khemakuvarabāi, wife of Nihālachamda, son of Sāha Pāmnāchamda, Ośavāla of Ahmadābād; consecrated by Devachandra, in the reign of Jinaharshasūri of the Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxii.<sup>84</sup> Samvat 1889, Śaka 1755, Vaisāsha śukla 13, Wednesday; an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Ujamabāi, daughter of Vakhatachamda, an Ośavāla of the Vṛiddhasākhā, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated in the reign of Śāntisāgarasūri of the Sāgara *gachchha*. A small temple in the Moṭī ṭuṅk near Puṅchabhāi's temple by the same.

No. lxiii.<sup>85</sup> (Date as above); an image of Rishabhadeva, dedicated by Paradhāmnavaṭ, wife of Sūryamala, son of Śresṭhi Vakhatachamda, of the Vṛiddhasākhā of the Ukesa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated in the Sāgara *gachchha* (?).

No. lxiv.<sup>86</sup> (Date as above); an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Kapurachamdaājī, inhabitant of Sirohi, son of Pubachamda Jasarupājī, younger brother of Jasarupājī, son of Patājī Pārakh; consecrated in the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. lxv.<sup>87</sup> (Date as above), *chaturmukha bimba*, dedicated for the welfare of Hemabhāi by his whole family, *viz.* Naginadāsa, his wife Ichhāvahu, his younger brother Premabhāi, his wife Sāmkalīvahu and his sisters Rukhamāṇi, Prasana, Motīkumara—Hemabhāi's wife Kamkuvahu, parents Śeṭh Vakhatachamda and Jadāvabāi, grandfather Khusālachamda, Ośavālas of the V. S., inhabitants of Ahmadābād; consecrated by Śāntisāgara of the Sāgara-*gachchha*.

No. lxvi.<sup>88</sup> Date as above, but sukra 12, Wednesday (?); a *pañchaparameshṭi* [*shṭhi*]-*paṭṭa*, containing an *Omkāra*, dedicated by Ujamabāi (see No. lxii); consecrated in the Tapā *gachchha* (?).

No. lxvii.<sup>89</sup> Samvat 1889, Śaka 1754 Vaisāsha, śuklapaksha 12, Wednesday, a *chaturvimsatīrthamkarapaṭṭa*, containing a *Hrīmkāra*, dedicated by Ujamabāi (see No. lxvi), consecrated in the Tapā *gachchha* (?).

<sup>81</sup> In a shrine in Hemabhāi's Ṭuṅk.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 413.—J. B.

<sup>82</sup> Outside Kharataravasi Ṭuṅk, in a temple at the north-east corner.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 347.—J. B.

<sup>83</sup> In one of the shrines round the court of Hemabhāi's Ṭuṅk, on the north side.

<sup>84</sup> In a small shrine on the south corridor of the same.

<sup>85</sup> In Hemabhāi's Ṭuṅk in a shrine in the south corridor room No. 4.

<sup>86</sup> In Hemabhāi's Ṭuṅk, north corridor, room No. 2.

<sup>87</sup> In the shrine of the temple in the north-east of the court.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 412.

<sup>88</sup> In the principal temple in Hemabhāi's Ṭuṅk, on the south wall, see No. lviii.

<sup>89</sup> In Hemabhāi's temple, in the Maṇḍapa north wall, east corner, see No. lvii.—J. B.



No. lxviii.<sup>90</sup> Samvat 1891, Māgha, śita 5, Monday, during the reign of Gohel Khāmdhājī, his son being Noghanājī and his son Pratāpasīnghājī, of Pālitanā, an image of Rishabha, dedicated by Imdrajī, son of Nihālachamda, of the Yadugaḍa-gotra, Ośavāla race, Bṛihat-śākhā, inhabitant of Makasudāvād-Bāluchara; consecrated by Pam. Devachandra, pupil of Pam. Jayavāmtājī, in the reign of Jinaharsha of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxix.<sup>91</sup> Samvat 1892, Vaiśākha, śita 3, Friday, in the reign of Gohel Khāmdājī (etc., see No. lxviii), images of Sambhavanātha, Pārśvanātha and Śī-talanātha, dedicated by Mahetābakumāra, wife of Bābu Pratāpasīnghājī, brother of Bābu Bahādarasīnghājī, son of Bābu Rādhāsīnghājī, of the Yadugaḍa-gotra, Ukesa race), Bṛihat-śākhā, of Maksudāvād-Bāluchara; consecrated in the reign of Jinaharsha of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha* by P. Devachandra, pupil of P. Jayabhadra, pupil of P. Kanaka Sekharājī.

No. lxx.<sup>92</sup> Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha vadi 2, Wednesday; a temple built and image of Ādinātha dedicated by Phūlakumyara, daughter of Anopabhāi and Manachhī, Anopabhāi being son of Vakhatachamda (see above, No. xlv); consecrated by Śāmtisāgara of the Sāgara *gachchha*.

No. lxxi.<sup>93</sup> (Date as above), temple built and image of Śāmtinātha dedicated by Ujalivahu, wife of Phatebhāi, son of Motīchamda, Vṛiddha-śākhā, Ośavāla, inhabitant of Rājanagara, consecrated by Śāmtisāgara of the Sāg. ga.

No. lxxii.<sup>94</sup> (Date as above), temple built and image of Śāmtinātha dedicated by Bhagubhāi, son of Phatebhāi (wife Acharatavahu), son of Motīchanda (see No. lxxi); consecrated by Śāmtisāgara of the Sāgara-gotra.

No. lxxiii.<sup>95</sup> (Date as above), a temple built in Hemābhāi's ṭuṅk and image of Ajītanātha dedicated by Sā Lashamīchamda, (wife Pāravati), son of Sā Jesamgha, son of Sā Hīrāchamda, of the Vṛiddha-śākhā, Usavāla, inhabitant of Khāmbhanayara.

No. lxxiv.<sup>96</sup> Samvat 1893, Jyeshṭha śudi 3, Wednesday; an image of Gomukha Yaksha, dedicated by Bāphaṇā Gumāmnachamdājī Bahādaramallājī of Jesalameru, consecrated by Jinamahendrasūri of the Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxxv.<sup>97</sup> Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha śukla 10; an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by Premachanda, etc. (see next inscription), consecrated by Padmavijaya, etc. (see next inscription).

No. lxxvi.<sup>98</sup> Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha śukla 10, Wednesday; an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by Ajab and Mānakumara, the first and second mothers of Sā Pitāmara, son of Sā Sākalachamda, son of Sā Premachamda, son of Sā Dāmodaradāsa of the Laghu śākhā of the Śrīmāla race, inhabitants of Ahammadāvād, consecrated by

<sup>90</sup> In temple outside the gate of Puṇḍarika temple of the Kharataravasi ṭuṅk and next to that containing inscription No. lx.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 341.—J. B.

<sup>91</sup> Outside the enclosure of the great Chaumukha on the east, next to preceding on the base of an image.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 339.

<sup>92</sup> In Hemābhāi ṭuṅk, west corridor, room No. 1.

<sup>93</sup> In the same ṭuṅk in a shrine in the west corridor.

<sup>94</sup> In Hemābhāi's ṭuṅk, west corridor, room No. 5.

<sup>95</sup> In the Hemābhāi ṭuṅk, north corridor, first room.

<sup>96</sup> In the shrine of Gaumukha, at the entrance to the Chaumukha temple.—*Lists*, p. 205 No. 311.

<sup>97</sup> Sākalachand Premachand's ṭuṅk, on the seat below the image (Chintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha), in a cell in the west corridor of the principal temple.—*Lists*, p. 212, No. 494.

<sup>98</sup> In Sākalachand Premachand's ṭuṅk, on the seat of Puṇḍarika, facing the principal temple.





Rûpavijayagani, pupil of Padmavijayagani, a Samvijñamârgi, of the line of Vijayasihasûri, in the Samvijñayamârgi—Tapâ *gachchha*.

No. lxxvii.<sup>99</sup> (Date as above), an image of Padmanâtha, dedicated by Sâ Mûlachamda, son of Sâ Karmachamda, son of Sâ Premachamda (etc., see above) consecrated by Rûpavijayagani (etc., see No. lxxvi).

No. lxxviii.<sup>100</sup> (Date as above), an image of Dharmmanâtha, dedicated by Amarachamda (and family), son of Ratnakhimachamda and Devakûara Bâi, son of Premachamda and Ichhâbâi of the Osa race, Laghu Śâkhâ, inhabitant of Mumbâi, consecrated in the reign of Vijaya-Dhaneśvarasûri of the gachchha of Vijaya-Ânamdasûri, called the Tapâ *gachchha*.

No. lxxix.<sup>1</sup> (Date as above), an image of Dharmanâtha, dedicated by Sâ Sâhavisimgha, son of Sâ Keśirisimgha, son of Sâ Khusâlachamda, son of Sâ Nâhâlachamda, an Osavâla of the Vṛiddhasâkhâ, inhabitant of Ahamadâvâd, consecrated by Śântisâgarasûri of the Sâgara *gachchha*.

No. lxxx.<sup>2</sup> (Date as above), an image of Âdinâtha, dedicated by Khemachamda (and family), son of Śeth Motichamda and Dîvâlî Bâi, son of Śeth Amichamda and Rupâ Bâi; an Osavâla of the Vṛiddhasâkhâ and Nâhaṭâ gotra, inhabitant of Mumbaiindara (*Bombay*), consecrated by Jinamahemdrasûri, successor of Jinaharshasûri of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha* (Kharatara Pippaliya), during the reign of Gohel Pratâpasimghajî.

No. lxxx.<sup>3</sup> (Date as above), image of Śeth Mo[ticham]da and his wife Ichhâvâlî set up by Śeth Khemachamda, in the Kharatara-Ghînalîya (*Pippaliya*?) *gachchha*.

No. lxxxii.<sup>4</sup> (Date as above), image of Śântinâtha, dedicated by Śeth Amichamda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdra, (*Kharatara-Pippaliya-gachche bha-ja-yu-śrî-Jinadevasûri tatpatte bha-śrî-Jinachamdasûri vidyamâne saparikarasamyute*).

No. lxxxiii.<sup>5</sup> (Date as above), an image of Supârsvanâtha, dedicated by Rûpâ Bâi, wife of Śeth Amichamda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrasûri, etc., (see the preceding No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxiv.<sup>6</sup> (Date as above), an image in the temple of *śrîvat*-Kesarîdevî (Ambâ), dedicated by Mumgîvahu, wife of Khemachamda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrasûri, etc., (see No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxv.<sup>7</sup> (Date as above), an image of Puṇḍarîka, dedicated by Khemachamda (and family, etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrasuri, etc. (see No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxvi.<sup>8</sup> Samvat 1897, Śâka 1763, Vaiśâka, śukla 13, Monday; an image

<sup>99</sup> In the temple in the north-east corner of Sâkalachand Premachand's Ṭuṅk.—*Lists*, p. 213, No. 498.—J. B.

<sup>100</sup> In Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk, in the temple on the south side of the principal one.—*Lists*, p. 210, No. 420.

<sup>1</sup> In Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk, on the base of image in a temple on the north of the principal one.—*Lists*, p. 210, No. 433.

<sup>2</sup> In Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk, on the base of the principal image in the temple next to the preceding.

<sup>3</sup> Near the door below the image of the Śeth and his wife, in the principal temple in Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 417.

<sup>4</sup> On the base of an image to the right of the principal image in temple No. 420.—*Lists*, p. 210.

<sup>5</sup> On the base of an image to the left of the principal image in a temple to the north-east of the central one.

<sup>6</sup> On the base of image of Ambâ Mâtâ (Chakresvari) to the right of the principal temple in Motiśâh Amichand's Ṭuṅk.

<sup>7</sup> On the base of Puṇḍarîka, in the temple at the entrance of Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk; the temple of Puṇḍarîka always faces the principal shrine of Âdinâtha.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 418.—J. B.

<sup>8</sup> On the base of image in a temple behind the principal one in Motiśâh's Ṭuṅk.—*Lists*, p. 210, No. 421.



of Âdinâtha, dedicated by Phulachamda, son of Kapurachamda and Kasali, son of Pârekha Jiboghâ (?) and Lashamî, Śrîmâlî of the Vṛiddha Śâkhâ, inhabitant of Mumbâi-bidar (*Bombay*), consecrated in the reign of Vijaya Devidrasûri of the Tapâ *gachchha*.

No. lxxxvii.<sup>9</sup> Samvat 1900, Śâka 1765, Mâgha śukla 7, Friday; a temple built by Kshemachamda.

No. lxxxviii.<sup>10</sup> Samvat 1903, Śâka 1768, Mâgha, kṛishṇa 5, Friday; an image of Rûpabâi (etc., see No. lxxxiii), dedicated by Kshemachamda; in the reign of Jinamahimndrasûri of the Brihat-Kharatara Pîpalîya *gachchha*.

No. lxxxix.<sup>11</sup> Samvat 1905, Vaiśâsha, śukla 1, Monday; an image of Âdinâtha, dedicated by *mehetâ* Motîchamda, son of *m.* Khetasî, Ośavâla of the Vṛiddha-Śâkhâ, inhabitant of Pâlanapûra; two other images of Âdinâtha, dedicated by his wives Râmakuyara and Imdara, two more images of Âdinâtha, dedicated by Mamgalî, son of *metâ* Îśvara and Jñânavaḥu, son of Râmakuyar and Motîchamda, as well as by Dilubâi, wife of Khetasî, son of Mûlachamda, in the reign of Devimndrasûri of the Tapâ *gachchha*.

No. xc.<sup>12</sup> Samvat 1905, Śâka 1770, Mâgha, śukla 5, Monday; a temple built, thirty-two images of Chamdraprabhu and other Jinas dedicated, a *dharmaśâlâ* 120 gaja long and 40 gaja broad, built in Pâlitânâ, south side, an *upâsar* in Pâlitânâ for the Amchala *gachchha* restored, (*all*) by Sâ Hîrajî and Sâ Vîrajî with their wives Purabâi and Lîlâ Bâi, they being sons of Sâ Narasî and Kuarabâi, son of Bhâramalla, and Mamka Bâi Ośavalas of the Laghu-sâsha, and Nâgaḍâ-gotra, members of the Amchala *gachchha*, inhabitants of Nabhînpura in Kachha, the pious works being made by the advice (*upadeśât*) of Muktisâgarasûri of the Amchala *gachchha*.

No. xci.<sup>13</sup> Pedigree and record of the benefactions of Śeṭh Vakhatachanda, his son Hemâbhâi and his grandson, the late Nagarśeṭh Premâbhâi of Ahmadâbâd. He belonged to the Osavâlajñâti, the Addai Śâkhâ, the Śîsodiâ-*vamśa*, the Kumkumalola-gotra, worshipped the gotra-devî Âsâpurî, the Kshetrapâla Baraḍâ. The pedigree includes (1) [K]ulautapatirâjâ Sâmantasamgha râmno, (2) his son Kuarapâla, converted to Jainism by Achâraja Dharmagoshasûri, (3) his son Sâ Harapati, (4) his son Sâ Vachchhâ, (5) his son Sâ Sehasakaraṇa, (6) his son Śeṭh [Sâ]m tidâsa of Râjanagara, a courtier (*râjasabhâsragâra*) in the time (*pravartte*) of Dalipatipâtasâha—Sâhajâmgâjî, his son Śeṭh Lakhamichamda; (8) his son Shusâlachamda (Khushâlchand), wife Jhamaku; (9) their son Seṭh Vashatachamda (Vakhatchand). Then follow the names of the latter's wives, children and grand-children, an enumeration of his, and his family's benefactions with dates, from V. S. 1864 to 1905 and a *pañṭâvali* of the Sâgara-*gachchha*; (1) Râjasâgarasûri; (2) Vṛiddhisâgarasûri; (3) Lakshmîsâgarasûri; (4) Kalyâṇasâgarasûri; (5) Punyaśâgarasûri; (6) Udayasâgarasûri; (7) Ânandasâgarasûri; (8) Śâmtisâgarasûri, V. S. 1905.

No. xcii.<sup>14</sup> Samvat 1908, Chaitra vada 10, Wednesday; a temple built in the Muhatâ

<sup>9</sup> In Sâkalachand Premachand's Tûnk, on the left side wall, near the shrine door of the temple on the south-east.—*Lists*, p. 213, No. 499.

<sup>10</sup> On the base of a female image near the door of the principal temple in Motîśâh's Tûnk.

<sup>11</sup> In Motîśâh's Tûnk, south corridor, first room.

<sup>12</sup> In the Kharataravasi Tûnk in a temple outside the Chaumukh enclosure and behind that of Narsi Keśavji.

<sup>13</sup> In Hemabhai Vakhatachand's Tûnk, on the front wall, at the south corner, outside the principal temple of Ajitanâth, built by Premabhai.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 407.—J. B.

<sup>14</sup> In Motîśâh's Tûnk, in a room in the south corridor.



Motî-vasî (Motîśāh's Tūnk), by Vṛiddhishamḍajî, son of Muhatā Pamchāṇa and Punyakuara, of the Ośa race, inhabitants of Vikānera; consecrated by Pam. Devem-drakuśala, brother of Āṇamḍakuśala of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xciii.<sup>15</sup> Samvat 1908, Vaisāsha kṛishṇa 7, Monday; an image of Dharmanāthajî, dedicated by Khusālabhāî, son of Dîpachamḍa, a Śrîmālî, inhabitant of Râjanagara

No. xciv.<sup>16</sup> (Date as above), an image of Śumatinātha, dedicated by Jeṭhābhāî, another son of Dîpachamḍa (see No. xciii).

No. xcv.<sup>17</sup> (Date as above), an image of Rishabha, dedicated in the reign of Harkhamḍasûri by Jeṭhābhāî (&c., see No. xciv) of the Pâyachamḍa(?) *gachchha*, consecrated by Pam. Āṇamḍakuśala.

No. xcvi.<sup>18</sup> Samvat 1910, Chetra, śukla 15, Thursday; in the reign of Râjarâjesvara Mahârâjâdhirâja (!) Gohil Śrî Noghaṇa, his son being Prâtâpasimghaji, of Pâlitāṇā, a new temple built and eight images of Adîjina, Suvrata, Âdînātha, Namî-nātha, Adînātha, Śruvrata, Śântînātha and Pârśvanātha, dedicated by Śeṭh Vaghamalaji, son of Agarakuvarabâî and Dhanarûpamalla, Osavāla of the Vṛiddha Śākhā and Śrî-Mummiyâ gotra, inhabitants of Ajamera, consecrated in the reign of Jinasaubhāgyasûri, successor of Jiṇa harśha of the Khar. ga. by Hemachamḍra, younger pupil (*laghusikshya*) of Mâmnasumḍarajî, of Harshakîrtti, pupil of Dayâvilāsajî, pupil of Jayabhadraji, pupil of Pam. Kanakaseshârajî.

No. xcvi.<sup>19</sup> Samvat 1911, Phālguna, kṛishṇa 2 Monday,<sup>20</sup> an image of Abhînamḍanasvāmîmûlanāyaka, dedicated in the Motîvasîṭūnka by Sâ Kâlîdāsa, son of Bâî-Deva and Bhagavāna, son of Sâ Harashachamḍa, a Visâ Poravāḍa, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated by Pam. Āṇamḍakuśala in the reign of Devimḍrasûri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xcvi.<sup>21</sup> Samvat 1913, Mâgasara, śudi 6; *Navāsare*, an image of Śântînātha, dedicated by Śeṭh Phattebhāî, son of Sâ Motibhāî and Rupakumvarabâî, of the Sisodîāsâshâ and Kumkamalola-gotra, inhabitant of Ammadâvâd.

No. xcix.<sup>22</sup> (Date as above), an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Seṭh Chaganabhāî, son of Siradârakumvarabâî and Sâ. Mânasushabhāî, of the Sisodîâ sâshâ and the Kumkamalola-gotra, inhabitant of Ahamadâvâd.

No. c.<sup>23</sup> (Date as above), an image of Abhînamḍana, dedicated by Samarathakuarabâî, daughter of Pradhânakumvarabâî and Śeṭh Surajamalabhāî, Osavāla of the Sîsodîâ sâshâ and the Kumkamalola gotra, inhabitant of Ahammadâvâd.

No. ci.<sup>24</sup> Samvat 1914 (written 19014), Mârgaśîrsha, sūdî 7, Monday; an image of Dattajina, dedicated by Bâî Aimdra, wife of Sâhâ Velachamḍa Mânyekachamḍa of Râjanagara.

No. cii.<sup>25</sup> Samvat 1914 (written 19014), Mârgaśîrsha, vadi aikame,<sup>26</sup> Wednesday (*vârabuddhe*); an image of Śûvrattajina, dedicated by Bâî Harakumyyara, wife of Mânikachamḍa Khimachamḍa, an Usa of Râjanagara.

<sup>15</sup> In Motîśāh's Tūnk, in a room in the south corridor, next the preceding.—J. B.

<sup>16</sup> In the same room as the preceding.

<sup>17</sup> In the same place as in No. xciii.

<sup>18</sup> In the Chaumukh enclosure, on the east wall of a marble temple behind the great one.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 325.

<sup>19</sup> In Motîśāh's Tūnk, in a room in the south corridor.—J. B.

<sup>20</sup> Date on the image 903.

<sup>21</sup> In Hemabhai's Tūnk, south wing, room No. 33.—J. B.

<sup>22</sup> Hemabhai's Tūnk, south wing, No. 32.

<sup>23</sup> In the same corridor, No. 31.

<sup>24</sup> In Motîśāh's Tūnk, south corridor, No. 28; see No. cvi.

<sup>25</sup> In Motîśāh's Tūnk, south corridor, No. 22.—J. B.

<sup>26</sup> Date on the image Samvat 1893.



No. ciii.<sup>27</sup> Samvat 1916, Vaisākha, kṛṣṇa 6, Thursday, (*uttarāśāḍhanakshatra samkrānti mesha, sūryo udayāt ghaṭi 1, pala 45*); a temple (*Śrīvāsupūjyaprasāda*) built, *yātrā* and various benefactions made by an inhabitant of Kapāḍavanāja, a Nemiya by race, of the Vṛiddha-sāśhā and Maṇiyāṇa-gotra, called Sā Hīrāji, his son Gulābachamda and wife Manakuvara, their son Pārekha Mithubhai and wife Benakumvara, their son Karamachamda and wives (1) Bāi Jadāva, (2) Bāi Śiven, consecrated in the reign of Vidyānamdasūri, successor of Dhanesarasūri of the Āṇandasūri *gachchha* by Gaṇi Ramgavijaya, pupil of Pam. Viravijaya, pupil of Pam. Dhīravijaya, a *samvega-pakshi*, pupil of Pam. Khemāvijaya of the Tapā *gachchha*, during the reign of *rājā-dhīrāja* Pratāpasimghajī.

No. civ.<sup>28</sup> Samvat 1916, Śāka 1781, Phālguna, kṛṣṇa 2, Friday; an image of Ajitanātha, dedicated in the new temple in the Vakhatachamdasī, by Śeṭh Anopachamda, son of Vakhatachamda (etc., see No. xci), and by his wife Adhīra and daughter Bāi Ddhīrya (Dhīraj), in the reign of Vijaya-Devendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. cvi.<sup>29</sup> Samvat 1922, Mārgasara, vadi 7, Thursday; an image of Aranātha, dedicated by Sīvaprasāda, son of Modī Namidāsa, Ośavāla of the Vṛiddha Śākhā and the Chhājedā gotra, inhabitant of Kāśī, consecrated by Hīrāchamdra, pupil of Pam. Devachamda, by command of (?) Jinamuktisūri of the Brīhat-Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. cvii.<sup>30</sup> Samvat 1924, Māgha śukla 10, Monday<sup>31</sup>; an image of Sitalanāthajī, dedicated by Sā Amolakakasalā, a Dasā-Poravāda of the Laghu-Śākhā, inhabitant of Viśālanagara (Viśalnagar?) in Gujara-deśa; his sons were Mūlachamda, Mayāchamda, Ravichamda, their sons Gokala, Dīpachamda and Shimachamda; consecrated in the reign of Vijaya-Devendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha* by Pam. Ratnavijaya.

No. cviii.<sup>32</sup> Samvat 1928, Māgha sukla 13, Thursday; an image of Pārsvajina, in their own temple (*deharī*) in the Ṭunk of Seṭh Motisā, dedicated by Prāgajī and his father Galālachamda, the latter being the son of Bāi Iratana, and Khimajī, son of Jhaverī Velājī of Navānagara.

No. cix.<sup>33</sup> Samvat 1930, Chaitra vada 2; an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Sā Māmna-kachamda Motīchamda, of Amadāvād.

No. cx.<sup>34</sup> Vikrama-Samvat 1939, Mahāmāsa, kṛṣṇa 12, Tuesday; an image of Sāmtinātha, dedicated by Nānāpujā Sā Pītāmbaradāsa, a Poravāda of the Laghu Śākhā inhabitant of Amadāvād.

No. cxi.<sup>35</sup> Samvat 1940, Saka 1805, Vaisākha śukla 3, Monday (*iṣṭa ghaṭi 3 pala 10 suryodayāt*); during the reign of Goyala Sūrasimghajī of Pālitāṇā, in the time of Vivekasāgarasūri of the Amchala *gachchha*, an image of Ādinātha dedicated in Sā Keśava Nāyaka's Ṭunk in the temple of Puṇḍarīka, by Sāhā Trikama, who lives in Nalinapura, in Kachchha and in Mu[m] bāibimdar (*Bombay*), an Ośavāla of the Laghu śākhā and Shotā-gotra; consecrated by Muni Shetasī.

<sup>27</sup> In the Bālābhāi Ṭunk, near the shrine door of the temple in the south-east.—*Lists*, p. 212, No. 493—J. B.

<sup>28</sup> In Hemabhāi's Ṭunk, in another room, No. 27 of the same *Bhāmti*, with No. c.

<sup>29</sup> In Motisāh's Ṭunk, in a room in the south corridor, No. 28; in the same room as No. ci.

<sup>30</sup> In Motisāh's Ṭunk, in the south corridor room No. 23.—J. B.

<sup>31</sup> Date on the image—Samvat 1903.

<sup>32</sup> In Motisāh's Ṭunk, in the south corridor room No. 30—J. B.

<sup>33</sup> In Motisāh's Ṭunk, south corridor No. 35.

<sup>34</sup> In Sākalchand Premachand's Ṭunk, west side corridor, small shrine No. 18, under an image.

<sup>35</sup> In the shrine of Puṇḍarīka at Keśavji Nāvak's temple in Vimalavasi Ṭunk.—J. B.



No. cxii.<sup>36</sup> Samvat 1940, Māgha śukla 6, Saturday; an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Parasatāmīdhayā (?), son of Jayasimha Himachamda, a Śrīmālī of the Vṛiddha Śākhā, inhabitant of Amatavāṁma (?), consecrated by Pamnyāsa Gulābavijaya-gaṇi, pupil of Pamnyāsa Maṇivijaya.

No. cxiii.<sup>37</sup> Samvat 1940, Phālguna śukla 3, Friday; an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Rāmachamda Phulachamda, a Vṛiddha Śrīmālī, inhabitant of Aṇahilapura; consecrated by Pamnyāsa Gulābavijaya gaṇi, pupil of Pamnyāsa Maṇivijaya-gaṇi of the Samvijña-paksha of the Tapā gachchha.

No. cxiv.<sup>38</sup> Samvat 1943, Pausa, krisṇa aṣṭamī, Monday; a *Vāsudhājyajina*, dedicated by Sā Kevala Lakhamīcha(m)da, a Dasā-Saramālī (Śrīmālī) of Amadāvād, his wife Kesarabāī, his son Chunīlāla, with his wife Parasanabāī, and their daughter Bena Sāmākuna.

No. cxv.<sup>39</sup> Samvat 1943, Māgha sukla 10, Thursday; an image of Sā(m)tīnāth, dedicated by Sā Lalu Vakhatachamda(a), a Viśā-Osavāla of Amadāvād, his wife Bāī Adhīr, his daughter Dhīraja, and his sons Vādīlāla and Bholābhāī.

No. cxvi.<sup>40</sup> No date; an image of Śreyāmsa, dedicated at the request (*upadeśa*) of Kalyāṇasāgarasūri<sup>41</sup> of the Amchala gachchha, consecrated on Vaiśākha sudi 3, Wednesday.

No. cxvii.<sup>42</sup> Samvat 15 . . (? ?) . . . sudi 5; buddhe, an Ashtāpada, dedicated by Jhaverachamda (?), mentions also the name of Udayasāgarasūri.

#### No. cxviii.<sup>43</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ सं° १६५० [प्र] चै° पूर्णि-
2. मायां सुविहितसाफचीर-
3. सागरप्रोक्षासशीतपादानां
4. निजवचनरंजितसाहित्री-
5. अकम्बरप्रदत्तश्रीसिद्धी-
6. लानां भटारकश्रीविजयसे-<sup>44</sup>
7. नसूरिप्रमुखसुविहित-
8. भक्तिभरसेव्यमानपादा-
9. रविदानां श्री ६ श्रीहीरवि-
10. जयसूरिपादानां माहात्म्यप्रो-
11. णितसीद्धिनिर्मितसकल-<sup>45</sup>

12. सत्वद्रव्यग्रहण[सु]क्तिका-
13. यां प्रथमचैत्रीपूर्णमायां [त-]
14. च्छिद्यसकलवीचककोटि-<sup>46</sup>
15. कोटीरगतकोटिश्री ६ श्रीवि-
16. मलह्वगणिमि<sup>47</sup> । अ° पं° देव-
17. हर्ष ग° श्रीशत्रुजयक्रतक्रत्य<sup>48</sup>
18. पं° धनविजय ग° पं° जयवि-
19. जय ग° जसविजयहसवि-<sup>49</sup>
20. जय ग° सुनि [वे]सलादिसुनि-
21. शतद्वयपरिकरितैर्निर्वि-
22. <sup>50</sup>—ीकृता यात्रा इति भद्रम् [॥]

Samvat 1650, Chaitra, full moon day; Vimalaharsha, pupil of bhaṭṭāraka Hīra-vijaya, of the Sāpha gotra, which latter was honoured by Sāhi Akabbara and received from him the Siddhasāila (*Satrumjaya*), made a pilgrimage, together with 200 other monks.

<sup>36</sup> In a cell of Keśavji Nāyak's temple in the Vimalavasi Tunk, east corridor.—J. B.

<sup>37</sup> In some place as the preceding.

<sup>38</sup> In Sākalachand Premachand's Tunk, on the seat below the image in the temple to the right of the principal one.

<sup>39</sup> In Sākalachand Premachand, under an image, west side, corridor 17.

<sup>40</sup> On the base of an image in a temple outside the Hāthi-pola, north side.—*List*, p. 201, No. 234.

<sup>41</sup> This name shows that the inscription belongs to Samvat 1675 or 1683,—1676 is the date of the temple.—J. B.

<sup>42</sup> On a brass plate in Modi Premachand's temple, see No. xlv.—J. B.

<sup>43</sup> On the south wall of the temple of Ādīśvara Bhagavān temple.—J. B.

<sup>44</sup> Read महारक°

<sup>45</sup> Read °साहि°

<sup>46</sup> Read °वाचक°

<sup>47</sup> Read °चिमि:

<sup>48</sup> Read °मंजय°; जयजय°

<sup>49</sup> Read °हं°

<sup>50</sup> Read °ही°



## VII.—VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SÂNCI STÜPAS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined transcripts of a large number of the votive inscriptions, found on the Sânci, or more correctly Kâkanâda,<sup>1</sup> Stûpas Nos. I and II, have been prepared according to impressions by Drs. Burgess and Führer. The former took impressions of about twenty inscriptions in the beginning of 1889, and Dr. Führer, who visited Sânci during the cold season of 1889-90, made copies of the whole collection. Compared with Sir A. Cunningham's collection,<sup>2</sup> *Bhilsa Topes*, plates xvi—xix and xxi, the present ones show a hundred and ten inscriptions less for Stûpa I, and twenty-seven less for Stûpa II. On the other hand, there are, counting the duplicates, forty-one inscriptions from Stûpa I and five from Stûpa II which I cannot trace in Sir A. Cunningham's work. The missing inscriptions are probably incised on stones, which may have been lost in the repairs executed some years ago, or during the forty years which have elapsed since the preparation of Sir A. Cunningham's book. The most serious loss is that of Sir A. Cunningham's No. 177 (*Bhilsa Topes*, plate xix), see also *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. I, Plate xx<sup>3</sup>, which, as I have already pointed out in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 124, seems to contain a second version of Aśoka's so-called Kosambî edict on the Allahâbâd Pillar. This much appears highly probable from a comparison of the middle portions of the two inscriptions:—

## Allahâbâd.

. . . . . saṃghaṃ [ . ]  
[Bho]khati bhikhu-va bhikhunî-vâ. [pi]  
châ [ . ] (2) dâ[tâ]ni [d]usâni . nam  
dhâpayitu ânapesa . v. s. y. y. [ . ]

## Sânci.

. . . . . saṃghaṃ (3)  
Bhokhati bhikhu [v\*] â bhikhuni [vâ\*]  
[ . ] dâtâ (4) ni du[sâ]ni s[â\*]nam.  
[dh\* â]p[a\*]yit [u\*] anâ[p\*]e (5) sasi  
visapetaviye [ . ] Ichhâ hi me sâ (6) ti  
saṃghasa \* mage chilathitike siyâ ti ( 7 ).

Assuming a new sentence to begin with *bhokhati* L. 5, the remainder of the Sânci version may be translated as follows:—

“Monks and nuns will dine,<sup>5</sup> (and) causing white cloths to be put down for them, (you) will order it to be spread. For my wish is this, that the path of the Community (of Buddhist monks) may endure for a long time.”

The order is evidently addressed to an official, probably to the *mahâmâtra* in charge of Mâlva, just as the edict on the Allahâbâd Pillar gives directions to the governor of

<sup>1</sup> See J. F. Fleet: *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. III, p. 31.

• Inscriptions found only in Sir A. Cunningham's collection will be referred to in the sequel, according to his numbers to which C is prefixed.

<sup>2</sup> During the repairs under Major Keith, many loose stones were built into the dome, some of which may have borne short votive inscriptions. The Aśoka edict was on a fragment of a large pillar, which still lies at the great stûpa. This and others may possibly have been overlooked by Dr. Führer in his hurried visit.—J. B.

<sup>3</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's two facsimiles (A, *Bhilsa Topes*, Plate xix; B, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. I Plate xx) have the following readings, which I have corrected:—

L. 4, *ta bhikhu . . i omdâto* (A) *châ bhikhuni yi khudâtâ* (B);

L. 5, *dupâni* (A), *du [sa] pir* (B); *sanam* (A, B); *chhavam andto* (A); *pâyita and* (B);

L. 6, *vidhapetaviye* (A).

L. 7, *tiṃ saṃghasa* (A), *tiṃ* (B); *milathitikeṃ* (A).

I do not dare to propose a restoration of the first three lines of the Sânci version. Mr. Prinsep's and Sir A. Cunningham's attempts (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 260 f.) do not seem to me successful.

<sup>5</sup> Or perhaps “(if) a monk or a nun will dine, (then) etc.”



Kosambī. According to Childers, *Pali Dictionary* (sub voce *dussa*), it was customary with the Buddhists to spread white cloths on the seats prepared for the reception of distinguished monks. It is this mark of honour which both versions order to be shown to the monks and nuns visiting the sacred places. The concluding sentence of the Sānchi version, which probably was omitted on the Allahābād Pillar, may mean either that the king wishes the tenets (*mage*) of the Buddhist monks to exist for a long time, or that he desires the visits of the faithful to the sacred places to continue for a long time. The wording of this inscription shows the peculiar breadth which the Beloved of the Gods affects in his edicts, and we have the phrases, familiar to every reader of the latter, "for it is my wish" and "that . . . may endure for a long time." Finally, it must be pointed out that *chilathitika*, instead of which the dialect of Mālvā would have required *chirathitika*, as well as the final *e* of the masculine nominative singular *mage*, is a Magadhism, and that (as already stated by Sir A. Cunningham) the letters of the Sānchi version show the type of Aśoka's Rock and Pillar edicts. This inscription furnishes, therefore, the proof that the pillar at the South Gate, on which it has been found, dates from Aśoka's times. It, further, permits us to infer that those inscriptions on the railings of the Stūpa, which show the same characters, belong to an equally early period. The latter inference agrees with Sir A. Cunningham's views, who, besides, has assigned the inscriptions on the gateway to much later times.<sup>6</sup> According to his opinion all the latter documents belong to the first century A.D., because their characters are of the same type as his No. 190, which records a donation of Vāsiṭhiputa Ānaṁda, *āvesani* or foreman of the artisans of king Siri-Sātakaṇi. Identifying this Sātakaṇi with the third king of the Andhra dynasty, Sir A. Cunningham assigns to him, in accordance with Professor H. H. Wilson's calculations, the years 19-37 A.D., and thus places the date of Ānaṁda's inscription in the beginning of the first century of our era. Though I fully agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the Sātakaṇi of his No. 190 to be the third Andhra king of the Paurāṇik lists, I must differ from him regarding the date. The characters of his inscription No. 190, as well of the others on the Sānchi gateway, are in my opinion much earlier than the first century of our era. They are almost identical with those of the Nānāghāt inscriptions, and differ only slightly from the type of the characters of Aśoka's times. It deserves also to be noted that among the inscriptions of the Śeṭh Nāgapiya two, our Nos. 85 (= C. 182) and C. 192, are in the later characters, while one, our No. 7 (= C. 13) on Stūpa No. II, shows the same characters as Aśoka's inscriptions. Such a vacillation is easily explicable, if Nāgapiya lived in the second century B.C. But it is difficult to understand on the supposition that his donations were made two centuries later. Further, there is another important argument, which makes it probable that the first Siri-Sātakaṇi of the Andhra dynasty ruled, not after the beginning of our era, but about the middle of the second century B.C. I can only agree with Dr. Bhagvānlāl<sup>7</sup> in identifying the first Andhra Sātakaṇi with the Sātakaṇi, whom Khāravela, king of Kalinga, protected in the second year of his reign. The

<sup>6</sup> *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 271 ff. Sir A. Cunningham's assertion that the occurrence of the name *Gotiputra* (in our No. 49) possesses a great value for determining the age of the railing, is of course no longer tenable. Correctly interpreted, *Gotiputra*, in Sanskrit *Gauṭtiputra*, means only that the royal scribe *Subhita* was the son of a lady of the *Gota* or *Gauṭa* race. It by no means follows that she was the same person as the *Goti* or *Gauṭi* who bore the famous Buddhist teacher of Aśoka's times.

<sup>7</sup> *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orient.*, vol. III, 2, p. 146. Dr. Bhagvānlāl, who assumes that the Maurya era began with Aśoka's conquest of Kalinga, fixes the beginning of Sātakaṇi's reign in 98 B.C.



thirteenth year of Khāravela corresponds with the year 165 of the Maurya era (Bhagvānlāl, *op. cit.* p. 149). Assuming, as I believe must be done, that the Maurya era begins with the coronation of Chandragupta, which fell between 322—312 B.C., Khāravela's second year lay between 169 and 159 B.C., and Siri-Sātakaṇi was on the throne about that time. For these reasons I must assign our Nos. 83—88 and Sir A. Cunningham's Nos. 178, 179, 183, 184, 186—192, 194—196 to the first half of the second century B.C. To the same, and partly even to a later, period belong also our Nos. 13 (C. 25), 21 (C. 39), 51 (C. 112), 96, 108, 111 and 123. Among these, Nos. 13, 51 and 96 particularly show the characteristics noticeable in the inscriptions of the first century A.D., *viz.* the inverted *da*, the square *sa*, the angular *ma*, and the *anusvāra* above the line. All these inscriptions, with the exception of No. 21, are very badly engraved and not much better than mere scrawls. Their occurrence on the railings among much older documents may possibly be explained by the supposition that they record repairs of older broken *vedikās*.

With respect to the age of the inscriptions on Stūpa II, it is important to note that one person, who contributed to the gateways of Stūpa I, appears as donor of a piece of the railing. This is Śeṭh Nāgapiya, whose case has already been noticed.<sup>8</sup> It is further remarkable that Balaka, the pupil of Arahaguta-Sāsādaka, occurs in No. 19 (C.) of Stūpa II, while his teacher is named as donor in No. 18 (C. 35) of Stūpa I. These two facts point to the conclusion that portions of, or perhaps the whole, railing were erected somewhat later than Aśoka's times. But the interval cannot be very great, because, as Sir A. Cunningham has pointed out (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 291), the letters of the inscriptions on Stūpa II fully resemble those of Aśoka's edicts. And it agrees with this estimate, as Sir A. Cunningham has likewise stated (*loc. cit.*),<sup>9</sup> that the Stūpa II contained the relics of contemporaries of Aśoka, of Moggaliputta, who, according to the Buddhist works, presided at the third Council of Pāṭaliputra, and of Majhima who was sent as missionary to the districts in the Himālaya and is called in the inscription on the relic box *savahemavatāchariya* "the teacher of the whole Haimavata (*district*)."

The language of the inscriptions likewise agrees with the assumption that they belong to the third century B.C., and to the first half of the second. It differs very little from the literary Pali and still less from the dialects of Aśoka's edicts, and it shares all the peculiarities of that of the Bharhut inscriptions,<sup>10</sup> which latter, with the exception of the inscription over the gateway, on the evidence of their characters belong to the time of the Maurya dynasty.

The inflected forms show, like the Bharhut inscriptions, a mixture of the case terminations used in the eastern and western versions of Aśoka's edicts. This is particularly noticeable in the genitives of the feminine stems in *ī* and *ā*, which sometimes end in *ya* or *yā*, and sometimes in *ye*. Not traceable in Pali and Aśoka's edicts is the ablative in *āto*, which occurs three times in I, 51, 59, and 64. It is found once in the Bharhut inscription No. 116. It is very common in the Jaina Mathurā inscriptions,<sup>11</sup> and the

<sup>8</sup> It is also possible that Nāgila, the pupil of Aya, mentioned in No. 1 of Stūpa II, may be identical with the venerable Nāgila, whose relatives according to No. 84 (C. 181) made a portion of the gateway of Stūpa I.

<sup>9</sup> I cannot agree with Sir A. Cunningham that there were relics of ten contemporaries of Aśoka. There are only two names which agree with those mentioned in the *Dīpavansa* and the *Mahāvansa*.

<sup>10</sup> See Dr. E. Hultzsch's excellent edition of these documents in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XL, p. 58 ff. The references in the sequel give his numbers and readings.

<sup>11</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, p. 372.



original from which the Śaurasenī termination *ādo* and the Mahāshtrī *āo* have been derived. Peculiar is also the nominative, instead of the crude form, at the end of the first part of a compound. It occurs once in I. 3, where *kekaṭeyakasa jamata-vijitasa* is a negligent spelling for *kekaṭeyakasa jāmātā-vijitasa*, and takes the place of the grammatically correct *jāmātu* or *jāmāti-vijitasa*. The same anomaly is repeatedly observable in the Bharhut inscriptions, see e.g. No. 10, *isimigo-jātaka*, and it is very common in the Jaina Mathurā inscriptions.<sup>12</sup> Further, the use of the feminine affix *ā* at the end of female names in *devā*, e.g. *Soṇado [de]vā*, I, 8; *Dhamadevā* II, 3; which agrees with that of the Bharhut inscriptions e.g. in *Chāpadevā*, No. 22, differs from the Pali. But it would be correct even in Sanskrit, if the compounds are taken as Bahuvrīhis and in the sense of "she whose god is Sona, Dhama, or Chāpa."<sup>13</sup>

The word-forms are in general of the type of the Pali and of Aśoka's Gīrnār edicts. Even the *ra*, which is never changed to *la*, is occasionally preserved in groups of consonants. And it is worthy of note that in the name *Prātiṭhānasa*, I. 12, even the spelling of the initial syllable agrees exactly with that used in the Gīrnār inscriptions for words like *prāṇa*, *priya* and so forth. The *ā* stroke is attached to *ra*, and both are placed above the *pa*, which thus shows at the top the well-known wavy line. Some of the words, which differ from those used in Pali and Aśoka's edicts, are at least formed according to principles prevalent or traceable in the most ancient Prakrits. *Bhichhu*, which appears far more frequently than *bhikhu*, shows the change of *ksha* to *chchha* or *chha* observable in Pali *achchhi*, a variant for *akkhi*, and Aśoka's *chhudaka* for *khudaka* and other words.<sup>14</sup> The only remarkable point is that the form with *chha* does not occur in this particular case in Pali, nor in Aśoka's edicts, but that it is found repeatedly in the Bharhut inscriptions<sup>15</sup> see, e.g., Nos. 27, 31, 65, 120. *Nhusā*, I. 22, which clearly stands for Sanskrit *snushā* "daughter-in-law" has been formed according to the principle applied in Pali to medial *sn*. It is interesting, because neither the Pali nor Aśoka's dialects admit the group *nh* in the beginning of this or any other word. The Pali forms for *snushā* are *sunisā*, *sunhā* and *husā*.<sup>16</sup> *Nusā*, a further corruption of *nhusā*, appears in our inscription, I. 73. The proper name *Patīṭhiya*, I. 22, 23, no doubt represents the Sanskrit *pratiṣṭhita*, and thus shows an elision of a medial *ta*. Such elisions are rare in the most ancient Prakrits. Nevertheless, a number of similar forms has been collected in Professor Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik*, p. 56.

A large number of other peculiarities which the Sānchi and Bharhut inscriptions exhibit are, I think, merely graphic and partly due to negligent spelling. Among these I would reckon :—

- (1) The frequent omission of a medial long *ā*, e.g. in *danam* for *dānam*, I. 6, 49, 82, *jamata* for *jāmātā*, I. 3, *Achalaya* for *Achalāya*, I. 6, *Soṇado[de]vayā* for *Soṇadevāya*, I. 8, *upasikāye* for *upāsikāye*, I. 20, *Asvadevaye* for *Asvadevāye*, I. 30, *Yasilaya* for *Yasilāya*, I. 33, *pajavatiyā* for *pajāvatiyā*, I. 48, *bhatu* for *bhātu*, I. 63, *Samidatasa* for *Sāmidatasa*, I. 65, *Avisinaye* for *Avisināye*,

<sup>12</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, p. 375.

<sup>13</sup> Such compounds would fall under the general rule of Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4, which teaches that nouns in *a* take *ā* in the feminine.

<sup>14</sup> See E. Müller: *Pali Grammar*, p. 55;—Kuhn: *Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik*, p. 52.

<sup>15</sup> Another abnormal *chha* occurs in *sekhā*, Sanskrit *śaikṣā* and Pali *sekhā*, Bharhut inscriptions, No. 15.

<sup>16</sup> The latter probably stood in I, C. 58, where Sir A. Cunningham gives a meaningless *pusa*; see below, note 27.



- I. 79, *Arapāna* for *Arápānā* (ablative), I. 89 *Jitamitaye* for *Jitámitāye*, I. 101, *Vedisakaya* for *Vedisakāya*, I. 117, *Dhamasenaya* for *Dhamasenāya*, II. 9, and *Nāgapalitaya* for *Nāgapālītāya*, II. 10.<sup>17</sup>
- (2) The occasional omission of short *i*, e.g., in *Dhamarakhatāye* for *Dhamarakhitāye*, I. 76, and *bhichhunayā* for *bhichhuniyā*, I. 119.
- (3) The almost invariable omission of medial *anusvāras*, e. g. in *Udubaraghara* and its derivatives (see Appendix, List V), in *Nadinagara* and its derivatives (see *ibidem*), *Tubavana* (*ibidem*), *Upidadata* (see Appendix, List III), in the proper names beginning with *Dhama*<sup>o</sup> (see Appendix, Lists I-V), and in *atevāsi* for *amtevāsi* I. 12, 66, 88, 112.

It seems to me that the omission of the long *ā* is due everywhere to carelessness, and has for its ultimate cause the custom, common even in late times among clerks and tradesmen, of omitting the vowel-marks altogether; for, the real existence of forms like *jamata*, *jataka* and *jitamita*, in the spoken language, has little probability. As regards the omission of *i*-strokes and of the Anusvāras, it is possible to conceive also of other explanations. The syllables in which the *i* is omitted stand, one and all, *in thesi*, i.e. immediately before or after the syllable which bears the stress-accent. A vowel which is placed in such a position is very indistinct, and it is not impossible that *na* and *kha* were sometimes actually pronounced instead of *ni* and *khi* in words like *bhichhūnayā* and *Dhamarakhatāye*. A good many vowel-changes in the literary Prakrits are due to this principle, and a still greater number in the modern vernaculars of India. It must also be noted that in Aśoka's inscriptions *aya* appears occasionally instead of *iya*,<sup>18</sup> and for the same reason.

With respect to the omission of the Anusvāra it must be borne in mind that the spelling *dhama*<sup>o</sup> instead of *dhamma*<sup>o</sup> is perfectly admissible, because in these inscriptions a single consonant does duty for a double one, and hence *dhama* may be read *dhamma*, as the word is invariably spelt in Pali. Further, *Upidadata* and *Tubavana* may stand for *Upīdadata* and *Tūbavana*, because long *ī* and *ū* are marked very rarely in these, as in other old inscriptions. But forms like *Upīdadatta* and *Tūbavana* are again admissible in Pali and other ancient Prakrits, where *ī* and *ū* may be put for *im* and *um* as in *sīha*, *visati* and so forth. And it must be noted that the form *Īda* for Indra occurs repeatedly, e.g. in L. 1 of the large Nānāghāt inscription, *Archæological Rep. West Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 60. A form like *Nadinagara* may be a negligent spelling for *Nādinagara*, which actually occurs in our inscription I. 7; for the Pali and the other Prakrits show in a number of cases *ā* for *am*, e.g., in *dāṭhā* for *damshtrā*, *saṇḍāsa* for *samdamśa* and so forth. It is no matter of surprise that the dialect of the inscriptions should show these changes more frequently than the literary language of the Buddhist canon. These explanations of the omission of the Anusvāra seem to me more probable than the assumption that it is simply in every case due to negligence.

Turning to the contents of the inscriptions, the latter offer, in spite of their extreme brevity, a good many points of interest. Among the two hundred and eighty-five in-

<sup>17</sup> Analogous cases are extremely common in the Bharhut inscriptions, and it will suffice to quote one sentence, No. 155, *yam brāhmaṇo avayesi jatakam*, which, as Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out, is a quotation from *Jātakas*, vol. I, p. 293, verse 61 (Fausböll), where the text has *yam brāhmaṇo avādesi*.

<sup>18</sup> See M. Senart's collection of such forms in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 304; and my additions in *der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLV, p. 154, to which instances *chetaya* for Sanskrit *chaitya*, Pali *chetiya*, has to be added from the Bharhut inscription No. 11.



scriptions, contained in Sir A. Cunningham's and the present collections, there are ten, recording donations by corporate bodies or families. The remainder give the names of individual donors. If a certain number of mutilated, or according to the facsimiles inexplicable, inscriptions are left out, and if the homonymous donors are considered to be the same persons,<sup>19</sup> we find among them fifty-four monks and thirty-seven nuns, as well as ninety-one males and forty-five or forty-seven females, who probably were lay members of the Buddhist sect.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, it is not improbable that two persons, bearing slightly different names, may be identical. Thus the monk Jonaka, I, C. 152, may be the same as the monk Jonhaka, I, 75.

Among the corporate bodies making donations, there are, according to the explanations given below, two villages, Vejaja I, 17, and Pāḍukulikā II, 1. Sir A. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 240. and p. 280) takes in both cases *grāma* as a personal name or as a part of such. But *grāma* is not used in such a manner, and the translation of *Vejajasa gāmasa dānam* by "Gift of Vejajagrāma," is grammatically inadmissible, as that could only be *Vejajagāmasa dānam*. On the other hand, the form of the two names agrees well with the suggestion that they denote villages, for, Pāḍukulikā corresponds to Pāṇḍukulikā, 'the little dwelling,' or the little sanctuary of Pāṇḍu, i.e. the Nāga Pāṇḍu, and the word Vejaja closely agrees in its ending with the terminations *aj*, *ej*, and *ij*, which occur in hundreds of Indian village names as corruptions of the affixes *aya*, *eya* and *īya*<sup>21</sup>. Its first part corresponds to Sanskrit *vaidya*, which possibly may be an abbreviation of *Vaidyanātha*.<sup>22</sup> Pious donations, made by villages or towns, do not occur frequently in the inscriptions<sup>23</sup>, and those recorded on the Sānchi Stūpas possess a particular interest for, though, perhaps, they do not prove that all the inhabitants of Vejaja and Pāḍukulikā were Upāsakas of the Buddhist Saṃgha, they yet indicate that their most influential men, the members of the village Panch, belonged to the Bauddha sect, and that Buddhism had gained a footing among the agricultural population of Mālvā. Of equal interest is the mention of a *Bodhagoṭhī*, in I, 25, 26. The compound corresponds to *Bauddhagoṭhī*. A *goṭhī* is a committee of trustees in charge of a temple or of a charitable foundation. The inscriptions teach us, therefore, that the village of Dharmavardhana possessed a Bauddha shrine, or perhaps a Vihāra, which was managed by such a committee. The fact that Goshṭhīs existed in the third century B.C. is of some importance. The term *goṭhī* occurs also in I, 51, where it is preceded by the word *Barulamisāya* or *Barulamisāna*. I am unable to explain the latter term. The collective gift of the *Vedisakā dāmtakārā*, or workers in ivory of Vedisa, I, C. 189, probably indicates that these artisans formed a guild, or *śreṇī*, such as the Nāsik inscriptions mention repeatedly.

Among the remaining inscriptions of this class, which mention the Vākiliyās of Ujjain, I, 27, C. 21, all the relatives of the venerable Nāgila, I, 84, and the Upāsikās

<sup>19</sup> This is, of course, by no means certain, because in some cases persons bearing the same names are clearly distinct. Thus Asvadevā, the mother of Bahadata (I, 30), is certainly not the same person as Asvadevā, the mother of Samika (I, C. 83), nor the nun Isidatā of Madhuvana (I, C. 132), the same as the nun Isidatā of Kurāra.

<sup>20</sup> The number of the Upāsikās is uncertain, because possibly the Oḍī, mentioned I, 82, may be identical with the nun Oḍī, II, 11, and because the interpretation of I, 21 is uncertain.

<sup>21</sup> The map of Gujarāt furnishes e. g., Adāraj, Arnej, Kāmlej, Kamrej, Pariyaj, Palej, Prāntij, Sarkhej. Among these Kamrej (also Kamlej), east of Surat, was called in Sanskrit *Karmaneya* or *Kamanīya* (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 193).

<sup>22</sup> Vaidya occurs as the name of a village in the Nepal inscriptions; *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 175.

<sup>23</sup> The Bharhut inscription No. 16 mentions a gift of the town of *Karahakapa* (*Karahakapa-nigamasa*).



or female lay worshippers of Navagâma, I, C. 53, the first two are the most interesting. If, as I believe to be the case, the Vâkalâ devî, the mother of Ahimita, mentioned in I, C. 8, belonged to this family, it must have been a royal, or at least a noble race. With this supposition, *Vâkiliya*, further, must be considered to stand for *Vâkaliya*. It would then correspond to Sanskrit *Vârkaliya* and *Vakalâ* to *Vârkalâ*. Both forms might be somewhat irregular patronymics from *Vrikala*, which name is found in the mythological lists of the *Purâṇas* (see the Petersburg Dictionary, *sub voce*).

Proceeding to the inscriptions which mention donations made by monks and nuns, the first point, which must strike every reader, is their great number, which is proportionally greater than that found on any other Stûpa except at Bharhut or in the caves. As the Buddhist ascetics could not possess any property, they must have obtained by begging the money required for making the rails and pillars. This was no doubt permissible, as the purpose was a pious one.<sup>24</sup> But it is interesting to note the different proceedings of the Jaina ascetics, who, according to the Mathurâ and other inscriptions, as a rule, were content to exhort the laymen to make donations and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions. Another interesting point in which these inscriptions again agree with those of the Bharhut Stûpa is the entire absence of all mention of the Buddhist sects, which are frequently named in the Nâsik, Kârlé, Amarâvatî and other inscriptions. There are, on the other hand, a few specifications or titles given to certain monks and nuns, which are not without importance. Two terms of this kind, *Sutâtikinî* or *Sâtâtikinî*, I, 79, 80, "a female reciter of the *Suttanta* or the *Sûtras*" and *dhamakathîka*, I, C. 191, "a reciter of the Dhamma," have been recognised by the earlier decipherers. But, a third very interesting one, *pachanekayika*, I. 66, has escaped detection. *Pachanekayika* is a negligent spelling for *pâchanekâyika* or *pañchanekâyika*, which former occurs in the Bharhut inscription No. 144, in Sanskrit *pāñchanaikâyika*, and means, as Dr. Hultsch has translated it, *loc. cit.*, "one who knows the five Nikâyas." The five Nikâyas are (see Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, *sub voce*) the five divisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, the Dîghanikâyo, Majjhimanikâyo, Samyuttanikâyo, Ânguttaranikâyo and Khuddakanikâyo. The title furnishes, therefore, a clear proof of the existence of these divisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka* at the time when the inscription was incised. And this time must be the third century B.C., as the letters of the inscription fully agree with those of Aśoka's edicts.<sup>25</sup> The discovery that the five great subdivisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka* existed at so early a period lends some support to the view of those scholars who, like Professor Oldenberg, identify the titles of some of the treatises mentioned in Aśoka's longer Bairât edict with portions of the Majjhimanikâyo and Ânguttaranikâyo. *Yugapajaka*, I, 74, which I translate tentatively by "the path-(finder) of the age," seems to be a new title.

Among the individual monks named in the inscriptions, there are none who can be identified with any of the great men in the Buddhist scriptures. But the names of some, *e.g.* Bhaṇḍuka and Tisaka, agree with such as are found in Dr. Wenzel's *Index*. Aya-Pasanaka, I, 5, must, however, have been a man of some importance, as two pupils of his are mentioned on a pillar of the Sonârî Tope No. I. Monks and nuns, who

<sup>24</sup> See also Dr. Hultsch's remarks on this and other clerical titles in the Bharhut inscriptions, *op. cit.*, p. 58, and on the quotation from the *Jâtaka*, *ibidem*, p. 76.



had one pupil, there are several. Peculiar and noteworthy are the names of monks and nuns, which like Kâboja, Prâtiṭhâna, Chirâtî, and perhaps also Odî, consist of adjectives derived from the names of countries, towns and races. In these cases it would seem that the real name of the donors has been left out. Some similar names occur among the laymen—thus the name of Kekateyaka, I. 1. 3, the father of Dhama- and father-in-law of Vijita, apparently stands for Sanskrit Kaikateyaka, and means 'he of the Kikata country or Magadha.'

As regards the persons who are not marked as monks, and presumably were laymen, the specifications of their social position, which are sometimes added, possess some interest. To the highest rank belongs the Vâkalâdevî, I, C. 8. Descending lower in the social scale, we have a *gahapati*, or village landholder,<sup>25</sup> I, 22, 23. Next we find numerous persons bearing the title *sethi*, *sheth*, or alderman, II, 11, 85, 57, 85, 99, 115; C. 45, C. 46, C. 94, II, C. 8. Simple traders *vânija* or *vânika* are mentioned I, 47, 81, 91, C. 119. A royal scribe *râjalipikara* occurs I, 49, a professional writer, *lekhaka*, I, C. 48, a (royal) foreman of artisans, *âvesani*, I, C. 190, a trooper, *asa-vârîka*, I, 117, and a humble workman, *kamika*, I, 10. The prevalence of merchants and traders seems to indicate, what indeed may be gathered also from the sacred books of the Buddhists, that this class was the chief stronghold of Buddhism. The mention of professional writers is of some importance on account of the great age of the inscriptions. Among the epithets given to females the repeated occurrence of the old Pali title *pajāvatî*, literally 'a mother of children,' I, 8, 48, 95, 117; C. 45, C. 46, C. 62, is not without interest, and the fact that some females are named merely 'the mother of N. N.,'<sup>26</sup> and, that others proudly associate the names of their sons with their own,<sup>27</sup> is worthy of note. Very peculiar is the phrase I. 73, *Tâpasiyânam nusâya Mitâya* 'of Mitâ, the daughter-in-law of the Tâpasiyas'. The inscriptions I. C. 58, C. 59 and C. 67, of which unfortunately no impressions are accessible, indicate that the Tâpasiyas were a family or tribe residing in Ujjain.<sup>28</sup> If Mitâ is called the daughter-in-law of this community, that looks very much like a confirmation or practical illustration of a view regarding the legal position of married women mentioned as existing, but combated as objectionable by Âpastamba, *Dharmasûtra*, II, 10, 27, 3. He says, "For, they declare that a bride is given to the family (of her husband, and not to the husband alone)." I must content myself for the present with pointing out the possibility of a connexion between the wording of our inscription and the passage of Âpastamba. In order to prove it, more inscriptions containing the same or similar statements, and further information regarding the Tâpasiyas, are required.

\* <sup>25</sup> See Prof. Rhys Davids: *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XI, p. 257, note.

<sup>26</sup> See I, 2, 59, 72, 108; I. C. 37; C. 66; C. 166.

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. I, 30; C. 83. Similar cases occur frequently in other Buddhist, and also in the Jaina inscriptions.

<sup>28</sup> According to Sir A. Cunningham's copies the three inscriptions run as follows:—No. 58, *Ujeniya Tapasayâna Pusanaṇaya dânam*; No. 59, *Ujeya, Tâpasayâna Isimâtasa dânam*; No. 67, *Ujeniyâ Tapasiyânâ Sihadataya dânam*. None of the texts can be quite correct. I suspect that the real readings are: (1) *Ujeniya Tapasiyâna kusâ-Nadâya dânam*, "The gift of Nadâ (*Nandâ*), daughter-in-law of the Tâpasiyas, from Ujjain;" (2) *Ujeniya Tâpasiyânâ Isimitasaddânam*, "The gift of Isimita (*Rishmitra*) of the Tâpasiyas, from Ujjain;" (3) *Ujeniya Tâpasiyânâ Sihadataya dânam*, "The gift of Sihadatâ (*Simhadattâ*) of the Tâpasiyas from Ujjain." If we combine the information conveyed by these inscriptions with the statement of our No. 73, it is evident that the Tâpasiyas were a family or tribe, settled in Ujjain. I do not think it necessary to assume, with Sir A. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 365), that they were ascetics. We have also Pârvirâjaka Râjâs, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 97ff. I may add that Sir A. Cunningham identifies, *loc. cit.*, the Tâpasiyas with the "Tabasi Magorum" and the "Tabasa gens" of the classical authors.



The names of various lay donors and, I may add, of a few monks furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Paurāṇik worship during the third and second centuries B.C. A very large proportion of the names, *e.g.* Araha, Arahaka, Arahadata, Arahadina, Arahadāsa, Arahadāsi, Arahatapālita, Arahaguta, Dhamadata, Dhamaguta, Dhamarakhita, Dhamapālita, Budhila, Budhapālita, Bodhi, Sagha, Saṃghila, Saghadinā, Saghadeva, Saghamita and Saṃgharakhita, is decidedly Buddhist. Another considerable group of proper names, *e.g.* Asāḍa, Mulā (*i.e.* *Mūlā*), Muladatā, Phaguna, Poṭhaka, Pusa, Pusaka, Pusinī, Pusagiri, Pusarakhita, Poṭhaka, Poṭhādevā, Rohinī (*Rohini*), Sātīla, Svātīguta, has been derived from the names of Nakshatras, and points to the conclusion that the rule of some *Gṛihyasūtras*,<sup>29</sup> which recommends the use of *nakshatranāmāni*, was practically obeyed. The same inference may be drawn from almost all other collections of ancient inscriptions and from various ancient Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina works. There are further some names, such as Agisimā (*Agniśarmā*), Agido-[de]vā, Bahadata (*Brahmadatta*), Mahida, Mitā, Vesamanadatā, Visvadeva, Yamarakhitā, which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship; and some, Nāgā, Nāgīla, Nāgadatta, and so forth, bear witness for the existence of the snake-worship, which was common to the Brahmanists and the heterodox sects. Finally, the names Vinhukā, an abbreviation for Viṣṇudattā or Viṣṇurakhitā, Upidadata or Opedadata (*Upendradatta*), Balaka and Balamitra (connected with one of the heroes of the legend of Kṛishṇa, Baladeva or Balarāma, who is also called Bala), furnish evidence for the development of Vaiṣṇavism, while Nadiguta (*Nandigupta*), Namdigiri,<sup>30</sup> Sāmidata (*Svāmi-*, *i.e.* *Kumāra-datta*), Samika and Samikā (*Svāmika*, *Svāmikā*), Sivanadi (*Śivanandi*) do the same service to Śaivism. It is also possible that Isadata and Himadata are likewise Śaiva names. If the former has been correctly read,<sup>31</sup> it corresponds to Sanskrit Īsadatta. The other two *may* be connected with Himā, a name of Durgā. They may, however, be also derived from *Hima*, "the moon."

The occurrence among the Buddhists of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion, as well as of such as are connected with Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, in these early inscriptions, has no doubt to be explained by the assumption that their bearers or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their conversion, and that they received their names in accordance with the established custom of their families. The rules regarding the giving of names were probably then as lax among the Buddhists as they are in the present day among the heterodox sects of India, which by no means restrict themselves to the lists of their particular saints or deities. Their historical value consists therein that they form a link in the chain of evidence which enables us to trace the existence, nay the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, not only during the third century B.C., but during much earlier times, and to give a firm support to the view now held by a number of Orientalists, according to which Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism are older than Buddhism and Jainism.\* By exactly the same method of analysis which has been here applied to the names on the Sānchi Stûpa, it is possible

<sup>29</sup> See, *e.g.*, *Hir. Gṛi. Sū.* II, 4, 13.

<sup>30</sup> I would explain *Nandigiri* by "he whose mountain (*i.e.* protection) is or may be Nandin," on the analogy of *Dantidurga*, for which name *Dantivarman* appears. Devagiri, Himagiri, Dhamagirika, Sihagiri may be explained similarly, though Devagiri and Himagiri may also be considered as personal names derived from mountain names. Vijha, *i.e.* Vindhya, furnishes a certain instance of the latter kind.

<sup>31</sup> Possibly the correct form may be Isidata, *i.e.* *Rishidatta*, (compare *Isiguta*).



to extract from those occurring in the canonical works of the Buddhists, the proof that the Paurāṇik religions flourished at the time when those works were composed. If, *e.g.*, we learn from the *Bhikkhupāchittiya*, II, 1, that the ox of a Brahman in Takshaśilā was called Nandivisālo "as big as Nandi," it is not doubtful that the animal had received its name in honour of Śiva's vehicle, and that Śaivism was popular at the time when the *Suttaviḍhaṅga* was composed and probably earlier.

The last point which calls for remark is the identification of the numerous geographical names which the inscriptions offer. A small proportion of the latter causes no great difficulty. Erakina, as must be read instead *Dharakina*, is without doubt the modern Eraṇ in the Sāgar district of the Central Provinces, which on the ancient copper coins is called Erakana or Erakana, and in Sanskrit Airikīṇa.<sup>32</sup> Mahisati is the ancient town of Māhishmatī, identified with the modern Mandal,<sup>33</sup> Pokhara, the ancient Pushkara and the modern Pokhar near Ajmīr, Pratiṭhāna (the base of the male proper name Prātiṭhāna) either Allahābād<sup>34</sup> or Paithān on the Godāvarī, Ujenī, the modern Ujjain, and Vedisa the modern Besnagar.

Further Kuraghara, which appears five times, I would identify with the village of Kuraraghara, which according to the Buddhist scriptures lay in Avantī or Eastern Mālvā, and was the residence of Mahākachchāyana.<sup>35</sup> Kuraraghara is, of course, the etymologically correct form of the name, and Kuraghara, a corruption by a kind of haplophony, which occurs more frequently in geographical and other names. The *Indian Atlas*, Quarter Sheet, No. 53 N.E., shows in 23° 38' N. Lat., and 77° 5' E. Long., an apparently not inconsiderable place, called 'Kurawar,' which may be the modern representative of Kuraghara.

With respect to the remaining towns and villages it is difficult to offer more than more or less uncertain conjectures, because there is no indication to which part of India they belonged, and because many of the names occur scores of times on the map of India, and more than once even in the immediate neighbourhood of Sānchi-Kākanāda. Thus it is possible to suggest that Tubavana may be identical with the southern district of Tumbavana mentioned in the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, XIV, 15, or with its chief town; that Sonara, the etymon of the adjective Sonaraka, is the modern Sonārī close to Sānchi where some stūpas exist; that the name of Pādāna, the etymon of the adjective Pādāniya, is preserved in the modern Parana, Lat. 23° 36' N. and 76° 38' E. Long. (*Ind. Atl. Q. Sh. No. 53 N. W.*); and that Na(m)dinagara and Kāpāsīgāma correspond with the modern 'Nandner', Lat. 23° 4' N. and Long. 76° 6' E. (*Ind. Atl. Q. Sh. No. 53 N.W.*) and Kapasi Lat. 23° 28' N. and Long. 77° 54' E. But it must not be forgotten that there were, and are, several 'Nandinagaras' and Nandners, and that another 'Kapasi' is found at no great distance in Lat. 23° 55' N. and Long. 77° E. The same remarks apply with still greater force to such places as Madhuvana, Udubaraghara, the etymon of the adjective Udubaraghariya, and Aba, *i.e.* Amba, the etymon of *Abeyaka*; for the corresponding modern Madhuban, Mahu, Umra or Umrer and Ambagan are found over and over again in the neighbourhood of Sānchi and in more distant districts. For the present it is not advisable to do more

<sup>32</sup> Fleet: *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 18, note 2.

<sup>33</sup> Cunningham: *Ancient Geography*, p. 488.

<sup>34</sup> Jhāsi, opposite to Allahābād,—see Führer: *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p. 138.—Ed. E. I.

<sup>35</sup> See Dr. Wenzel's Index: *Jour. Pali Text Soc.*, 1888.



than to note the names and to point out some of the possibilities which they suggest. All of them may, hereafter, become important. Hence they have been given in alphabetical order, just as well as the personal names, in the Appendix to this paper.

TOPE I.

No. 1 = C. 1.

केकटेयकपुत्रस धमसिवस दानं [१\*]<sup>35</sup>

“The gift of Dhamasiva (*Dharmaśiva*), son of Kekaṭeyaka (*Kaikaṭeyaka*).

No. 2 = C. 4.

धमगिरिकस मातु दानं [१\*]

“The gift of Dhamagirika's (*Dharmagirika's*) mother.”

No. 3 = C. 5.

केकटेयकस जमत विजितस दानं [१\*]<sup>36</sup>

“The gift of Vijita, son-in-law<sup>37</sup> of Kekaṭeyaka (*Kaikaṭeyaka*).

No. 4 = C. 6.

कादस भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the monk Kāda (*Kānda*).”

No. 5 = C. 13.

अयपसनकस भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]<sup>38</sup>

“The gift of the monk Aya-Pasanaka (*the venerable Prasannaka*).”

No. 6 = C. 14.

नदिनगरा अचलय भिक्षुनिया दानं [१\*]<sup>39</sup>

“The gift of the nun Achalā, from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).”

No. 7 = C. 15.

नादिनगरा काबोजस भिक्षुनो दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the monk Kāboja (*Kāmbōja*) from Nādinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 8 = C. 16.

सिहरखितस पजावतिय सोणदेवय दानं [१\*]<sup>40</sup>

“The gift of Soṇadevā (*Suvarṇadevā* or *Soṇadevā*), wife of Siharakhita (*Simharakhita*).”

<sup>35</sup> Possibly ककटेयक°, but see No. 3. Below this is a modern Devanāgarī inscription : रा श्री सावदेव प्रणमति नित्यं [१\*] ‘The king (P), the illustrious Sāvadeva, adores constantly.’

<sup>36</sup> An apparent *e*-stroke above the last क्ष is an accidental scratch.

<sup>37</sup> जमत seems to stand for जमावा, the nominative being used instead of the stem.

<sup>38</sup> There are three impressions showing these words, and the differences in the shape of the letters seem to indicate that they have been derived from three different inscriptions.

अचलय stands for अचलाय and दानं for दान.

<sup>40</sup> सोणदेवय is meant for सोणदेवाय.



No. 9 = C. 19.

धमरखितस भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*).”

No. 10 = C. 20.

अठस कमिकस दानं [1\*] <sup>41</sup>

“The gift of Aṭha (*Artha*), the labourer (?).”

No. 11 = C. 23.

L. 1. सामनेरस

2. अबेयकस

3. सेठिनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Sâmanera, <sup>42</sup> the Abeyaka Sheth (*i.e. the Sheth of a town or village called Aba or Amba, in Sanskrit Amra-grāma*).

No. 12 = C. 24.

प्रातिठानस भिक्षुनो हाटियस अतेवासिनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the Prâtiṭhâna monk (*i.e. the monk from Pratishtâna*), pupil of Hâṭiya.”

No. 13 = C. 25.

उदुबरधरियस सीहरखितस दानं [1\*]

The gift of Sîharakhita (*Simharakshita*), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragriha*).”

No. 15 = C. 30.

धमरखिताय मधुवनिकायै दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Dhamarakhitâ (*Dharmarakshitâ*), inhabitant of Madhuvana.”

No. 16 = C. 33.

L. 1. [गो]तिपुतस

L. 2. भंडुकस

L. 3. भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Bhaṇḍuka, son of Gotî (*i.e. of a mother of the Gaupṭa race*).

No. 17 = C. 34.

L. 1. वेजजस गामस दा

L. 2. नं [1\*] <sup>43</sup>

“The gift of the Vejaja village.” <sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> The i-stroke is expressed by a prolongation of the upper right limb of न.

<sup>42</sup> With the proper name Sâmanera (*Srâmanera*), literally “a novice,” compare the name *Samana*; Bharhut Inscr., ed. Hultzsch, No. 29, and *Samana*; I, C. 179.

<sup>43</sup> The न is faint and blurred, the Anusvâra distinct. Both stand above the line.

<sup>44</sup> Regarding the correctness of Prinsep’s interpretation, which the above translation follows, see the Introduction.



No. 18 = C. 35.

अरहगुतस सासादकस भिक्कुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*), inhabitant of Sāsada.”

No. 19 = C. 36.

L. 1. सुभगस

L. 2. कोरघरस दन [1\*]

“The gift of Subhaga, inhabitant of Kuraghara (*Kuraragriha*).”<sup>45</sup>

No. 20 = C. 38.

वुदिनाये उपसिकाये दानं [1\*]<sup>46</sup>

“The gift of Vudinā (*Vyudīrṇā*), a female lay-disciple.

No. 21 = C. 39.

का[कणा]ये भगवतो पमाणलठि [1\*]<sup>47</sup>

“The measuring-staff of the Divine one (*Buddha, the gift*) of Kākaṇā<sup>48</sup> (i.e. probably *kākinī*, ‘the little crow’).

No. 22 = C. 40.

तुबवना गहपतिनो [प]तिठियकुसाय वेसमन[दत्त]ाये दानं [1\*]<sup>49</sup>

“The gift of Vesamanadatā (*Vaiśravanadattā*), daughter-in-law of Patit̥hiya (*Pratishthita*), a *gahapati* from Tubavana (*Tumbavana*).<sup>50</sup>

No. 23 = C. 41.

तुबवना गहपतिनो पतिठियस दानं [1\*]

The gift of the *gahapati* Patit̥hiya (*Pratishthita*) from Tubavana (*Tumbavana*).

No. 24 = C. 43.

नदावुनो च नादिविरोहिंस च दानं [1\*]

“The gift both of Nadāvu (*Nandāyu*?) and of Nādivirohi (*Nandivirohin*).”

No. 25 = C. 73.

बोधगोठिय धमवढनना दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the Bauddha Committee of Trustees from Dhamavaḍhanana (*Dharma-vaḍhanana*).”<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Regarding this name see the Introduction.

<sup>46</sup> The vowels of the first two syllables of the first word, and of the last two syllables of the second word, are not quite distinct.

<sup>47</sup> Possibly काकणाये is to be read.

<sup>48</sup> Dr. Bhagvānlal Indrāji according to Mr. Fleet, *Corp. Insc. Ind.* vol. III, p. 31, took काकणाये to stand for काकणादे.

<sup>49</sup> The fourth and fifth consonants of the last word but one are not certain. At first sight they look like रुदा.

<sup>50</sup> Regarding the precise meaning of गहपति, see the Introduction.

<sup>51</sup> Regarding the explanation of Bodhagoṭhī, see the Introduction. Though the term *Dhamavaḍhanana* occurs twice, it is probably a mistake for *Dhamavadhana*. Only the latter gives a sense, and its Sanskrit equivalent is mentioned as a village-name in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 74, 10, see the *Petersb. Dict.*; s. v.



No. 26.

बोधगोठिया धम्मवटनना दानं [1\*]<sup>52</sup>No. 27 = C. 76.<sup>53</sup>

उज्जेनिया वाकिलियाना दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the Vākiliyas, from Ujjain.”

No. 28 = C. 78.

चिरातिय भिक्कुनिया दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the nun Chirāti (*Kirāti*)”

No. 29 = C. 79.

सधनस भिक्कुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Sadhana (*i.e. Sa-dhana* or *Sad-dhana*)”.

No. 30 = C. 80.

अस्वदेवये बहदतमातु दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Asvadevā (*Aśvadevā*), mother of Bahadata (*Brahmadatta*)”.

No. 31 = C. 81.

उगिरियकस स्वतिगुतस दानं [1\*]<sup>54</sup>“The gift of Svatiguta (*Svātigupta*), an inhabitant of Ugirā.

No. 32 = C. 82.

अरहगुताये दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Arāhagutā (*Arhadguptā*)”.

No. 33 = C. 84.

यसिलय अतेवसिनि संघरखिताये दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Saṃgharakhitā (*Samgharakshitā*), pupil of Yasilā (*Yasilā*)”.

No. 34 = C. 86.

यसिलाये दानं [1\*]<sup>55</sup>“The gift of Yasilā (*Yasilā*)”.

No. 35 = C. 87.

सेठिनो पटिकमकारिकाना दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the Sheṭh, the great executor of repairs”.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup> This is apparently a second inscription of the same import as No. 25, not a second impression of No. 25. For the size of most letters does not agree in the least and the termination of the first word ends in *या* instead of in *य*.

<sup>53</sup> See also I, C. 11.

<sup>54</sup> The subscribed *व* of *स्वतिगुतस* is not quite distinct.

<sup>55</sup> Possibly *यसिलाये* to be read.

<sup>56</sup> I take *पटिकमकारिकाना* as *pluralis majestatis*, agreeing with the singular *सेठिनो*, see above, vol. I, p. 573.



No. 36 = C. 90.

उपिददत्तस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Upidadata (*Upendradatta*).”

No. 37 = C. 92.

वाघुमता सघदिनाय भिक्षुनिय दानं [1\*]<sup>57</sup>“The gift of the nun Saghadinâ (*Samghadattâ*) from Vâghumata.”

No. 38 = C. 93.

यखिय भिक्षुनिये वेदिसा दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the nun Yakhî (*Yakshî*) from Vedisa (*Vidiśâ*).”

No. 39 = C. 95.

कुररिये तापसिया मातु दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Kurarî, the mother of Tâpasî.”<sup>58</sup>

No. 40 = C. 99.

कापासिगामा अरहस दानं [1\*]<sup>59</sup>“The gift of Araha (*Arhat*) from Kâpâsigâma (*Kârpâsigrâma*).”

No. 41 = C. 101.

कटकजुया भदकस दानं [1\*]<sup>60</sup>“The gift of Bhadaka (*Bhadraka*) from Kaṭakañu.”

No. 42 = C. 102.

अपथकस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Apathaka (*Apârthaka*).”<sup>61</sup>

No. 43 = C. 103.

भोगवढनकस अजितिगुतस [1\*]

“(The gift) of Ajitiguta (*Ajîtigupta*?), inhabitant of Bhogavadhana (*Bhogavardhana*).”

No. 44 = C. 104.

मोरसिहिकटि अरहदिनस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*) in Morasihikaṭa (*Mayûrasimhikaṭa*).”

No. 45 = C. 105.

भोगवधन धमरखितय सिवनदिनो मातु [1\*]<sup>62</sup>“(The gift) of Dhamarakhitâ (*Dharmarakshitâ*), mother of Sivanadi (*Sivanandin*) from Bhogavadhana (*Bhogavardhana*).”<sup>57</sup> Perhaps वाघुमती.<sup>58</sup> Tâpasî may be either a proper or a family name, as there was a Tâpasiya family (see the Introduction).<sup>59</sup> There are two impressions with these words. The differences of the characters show that they have been derived from two different inscriptions.<sup>60</sup> The letters are much blurred.<sup>61</sup> I take the name to be formed from *apârtha*, “who has renounced (the acquisition of) wealth.” It may, of course, also correspond with Sanskrit *alpârthaka*, ‘poor.’<sup>62</sup> There are two impressions bearing these words. The differences of the characters show that they have been derived from two different inscriptions.



No. 46 = C. 107.

नवगमकसमिकाये उज्जिनि[ह]ारा दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Samikā (*Svāmikā*), inhabitant of Navagama (*Navagrāma*) from the district of Ujjain.<sup>63</sup>

No. 47 = C. 108.

L. 1. सिरिगुतस

L. 2. वानिजस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the merchant Siriguta (*Śrīgupta*).”

No. 48 = C. 109.

सुबाहितस पञ्चवतिया मम्मिमाया दानं [1\*]<sup>64</sup>

“The gift of Majhimā (*Madhyamā*), wife of Subāhita.

No. 49 = C. 110.

L. 1. सुबाहितस गोतिपुत-

L. 2. स राजलिपिकरस

L. 3. दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the scribe Subāhita, son of a Gotî (i. e. of a mother of the Gaupṭa race).”

No. 50 = C. 111.

तिरिडपदा नागाय उपासिकाय — —<sup>65</sup>

“(The gift) of the female lay disciple Nāgā, from Tiridapada (Tiridapadra?).”

No. 51 = C. 112.

बरुलमि[साय] गोठिया दान [वे]दिसातो [1\*]<sup>66</sup>

“The gift of the Barulamisa Committee from Vedisa (*Vidiśā*).”

No. 52 = C. 113.

L. 1. धमरखिताये भिक्षुनिय काचुपथे

L. 2. दानं [1\*]<sup>67</sup>

“The gift of the nun Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshitā*) in Kāchupatha.”

No. 53 = C. 114.

धमरखितस काचुपथस भि[कु]नो दान [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*), inhabitant of Kāchupatha.”

<sup>63</sup> *Ujjenihārā* may stand for *Ujjeni-dhārā* (see E. Müller: *Pāli Grammar*, pp. 40-41). *Āhāra* is the well-known ancient revenue term, corresponding to the modern Collectorate. It follows that *Navagrāma* was situated in the neighbourhood of Ujjain.

<sup>64</sup> There is a second copy, which bears only सुबाहितस पञ्चव[त] ... The letters show that it has been taken from another inscription.

<sup>65</sup> The last two syllables दानं and half the preceding य are wanting in the impression.

<sup>66</sup> Possibly बरुलमिसान.

<sup>67</sup> Possibly भिक्षुनिये; According to Sir A. Cunningham's copy the letter स has been lost after काचुपथे. I am, however, unable to make any sense out of such a reading.



No. 54 = C. 115.

संधानस भिक्कु दानं [1\*]<sup>68</sup>

“The gift of the monk Samdhâna.”

No. 55 = C. 116.

पुसगिरिनो नावगामकस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Pusagiri (*Pushyagiri*), inhabitant of Navagâma (*Navagrâma*).”

No. 56 = C. 117.

भिक्कुस पाडानियस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Bhichhuka (*Bhikshuka*), inhabitant of Pâdâna.”

No. 57 = C. 124.

L. 1. सामनेरस अबेय-

L. 2. कस सेठिनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Sâmanera, the Abeyaka Sheth.”<sup>69</sup>

No. 58 = C. 125.

नदिगुतस दाना भिक्कुनो [1\*]<sup>70</sup>“The gift of Nadiguta (*Nandigupta*), the monk.”

No. 59 = C. 127.

अरा[पा]नातो अरहदिन — — — [1\*]<sup>71</sup>“(The gift) of Arahadina (*'s mother*) from Arâpâna.”

No. 60 = C. 128.

तंबलमडा कुज — दानं [1\*]<sup>72</sup>

“The gift of Kuja—(?) from Tam̐balamada.”(?)

No. 61 = C. 129.

— धुवना धमगुतस भिक्कुनो दानं [1\*]<sup>73</sup>“The gift of the monk Dhamaguta (*Dharmagupta*) from Madhuvana.”

No. 62 = C. 131.

महागिरिनो भिक्कुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Mahâgiri.”

No. 63 = C. 135.

उपसिभस फगुनस भत्तु भिक्कुनो [1\*]

<sup>68</sup> Read भिक्कुनी.<sup>69</sup> See above, No. 11.<sup>70</sup> The apparent *d*-stroke at the end of दाना may possibly be an *anusvâra*, run together with the द्.<sup>71</sup> Sir A. Cunningham completes स मातु दानं.<sup>72</sup> Last sign of कुज—is not decipherable. I suspect that कुजर, i. e. कुजर, is meant (see Bharhut Inscr.). No. 104.<sup>73</sup> Restore मधुवना.



“The gift of the monk Upasijha (*Upasidhya*), brother of Phaguna (*Phāḷ-guṇa*).”

No. 64 = C. 136.

भोगवटनातो इसिरखिताय [1\*]

“(The gift) of Isirakhitā (*Rishirakshitā*) from Bhogavaḍhana (*Bhogavar-dhana*).”

No. 65 = C. 139.

समिदतस भिक्खुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Samidata (*Svāmidatta*).”

No. 66 = C. 140—141.

L. 1. देवगिरिनो पचनेकयिकस

L. 2. भिक्खुनो स अतेवसि — — णो [1\*]<sup>74</sup>

“(The gift) of the monk Devagiri, who knows the five Nikāyas,<sup>75</sup> and of his pupil.”

No. 67 = C. 142.

पुसकस भिक्खुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Pusaka (*Pushyaka*) the monk.”

No. 68 = C. 143.

चुडस च धमरखितस च भिक्खुनं दानं [1\*]

“The gift both of Chuda (*Kshudra*) and Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*).”

No. 69 = C. 144.

उज्जेनिये अगिसिमये दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Agisimā (*Agniśarmā*) in Ujjain.”<sup>76</sup>

No. 70 = C. 145.

L. 1. [प्रा]तिठानस भिक्खुनो दानं

L. 2. अ[यतिस]कस अतेवासिनो [1\*]<sup>77</sup>

“The gift of the monk Prātiṭhāna<sup>78</sup>, pupil of Aya-Tisaka (*the venerable Tishyaka*).”

No. 71 = C. 146.

बुधरखितस भिक्खुनो दानं एजावतस [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*), the Ejāvata.”<sup>79</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Though the last sign looks like णो, I suspect that the writer meant to give *Sa-atevāsino dānam*.

<sup>75</sup> See the Introduction.

<sup>76</sup> Possibly अगिसिमये is to be read.

<sup>77</sup> Possibly पतिठानस or पतिष्ठानस.—The other three bracketed syllables are very faint.

<sup>78</sup> See above, No. 12.

<sup>79</sup> The etymological meaning of एजावत would be “endowed with desire.” This, of course, does not suit here. I take the word to be an adjective, derived from the name of a town.



No. 72 = C. 148.

अरापाना असाडस मातु दानं [1\*]<sup>80</sup>

“The gift of Asāḍa’s (*Aśhādha*’s) mother, from Arāpāna.”

No. 73 = C. 149.

L. 1. उजेनिया ताप-

L. 2. सियानं नुसा-

L. 3. मिताय

L. 4. दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Mitā (*Mitrā*), daughter-in-law of the Tāpasiyas, from Ujjain.”

No. 74 = C. 150.

[भ]रडियस सपुरिसस युगपजकस दानं (1\*)<sup>81</sup>

“The gift of the Bharāḍiya, the holy man, the path-(*finder*) of the age.”<sup>82</sup>

No. 75 = C. 153.

जोहकस भिकुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Jonhaka (*Jyotsnaka*).”

No. 76 = C. 154.

धमरखताये मधुवनाकाये दानं [1\*]<sup>83</sup>

“The gift of Dhamarakhatā (*Dharmarakshitā*), inhabitant of Madhuvana.”

No. 77 = C. 155.

माहमोरगिन्हा सिंहगिरिनो दानं [1\*]<sup>84</sup>

“The gift of Sihagiri (*Simhagiri*) from Māhamoragi.

No. 78 = C. 160.

L. 1. धम[सि]रिया भिकुनिये मडलच्छिकटिकाये

L. 2. दानं [1\*]<sup>85</sup>

“The gift of the nun Dhamasiri (*Dharmaśrī*), inhabitant of Maḍalachhikaṭa (*Maṇḍalākshikaṭa*?).”

No. 79 = C. 161.

L. 1. अविसिनये सूतातिकिनिया

L. 2. मडलच्छिकटिकाये दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Avisinā (*Avishaṇṇā*),<sup>86</sup> who is versed in the Sutta-Piṭaka, an inhabitant of Maḍalachhikaṭa.”

<sup>80</sup> Possibly असाडस is to be read. But the wavy line below the ड is probably accidental.

<sup>81</sup> The left side of the initial भ has been almost cut away in the impression.

<sup>82</sup> Or, perhaps, the gift of the holy man of *Bharāḍa*, etc.

<sup>83</sup> Meant for धमरखताये मधुवनाकाये.

<sup>84</sup> Possibly माहमोरगि<sup>०</sup>. Though there is a second inscription of this individual, I, C. 28, I suspect that we should read *Māhamoragirimhā*, from the great Mayūragiri. Compare Bharhut Inscr. Nos. 81, 94, 95, where *Moragirimhā* occurs.

<sup>85</sup> The third sign of धमसिरिया has been originally सि, which afterwards was altered to सि.

<sup>86</sup> Compare Pali *nishaṇṇa* for *nishaṇṇa*, and the male name *Avisana*; Bhar. Inscr. Nos. 141, 142.



No. 80.

L. 1. अविमिनाये सुतातिकिनि—

L. 2. मडलहिकटिकाय दानं [1\*]<sup>87</sup>

No. 81 = C. 162.

L. 1. सघदेवस वेरोहकटस

L. 2. वाणिजस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Saghadeva (*Samghadeva*), a trader, inhabitant of Virohakaṭa.”

No. 82 = C. 167.

L. 1. ओडिय

L. 2. नदिनग-

L. 3. रिकय दन [1\*]

“The gift of Oḍi, inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).”

No. 83 = C. 180.

अरहदिनस भिखुनो पोखरेयकस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).”

No. 84 = C. 181.

L. 1. भदतनागिलस

L. 2. सवानं जातीनं-

L. 3. दानं यभो [1\*]<sup>88</sup>

“A pillar, the gift of all the relatives of the venerable Nāgila.”

No. 85 = C. 182.

कोररस नागपियस अछावडे सेठिस दानं यभो [1\*]

“A pillar, the gift of Nāgapiya (*Nāgapriya*), inhabitant of Kurara,<sup>89</sup> a Sheth in Achhāvaḍa.”<sup>90</sup>

No. 86 = C. 184.

बुधपालीताया भिखुने[या] दानं [1\*]<sup>91</sup>

“The gift of the nun Budhapālītā.”

No. 87 = C. 185.

पोठकस भिखुनो दानं [1\*]<sup>92</sup>“The gift of the monk Poṭhaka (*Proshṭhaka*).”

No. 88 = C. 193.

अयचुडस अतेवासिनो बलमित्तस दान यभो [1\*]

“A pillar, the gift of Balamitra, the pupil of the venerable Chuda (*Kshudra*).”<sup>87</sup> Restore सुतातिकिनिया.<sup>88</sup> There are two impressions. One shows in l. 2 सवानं and the other सविनं, as Sir A. Cunningham reads. The latter reading gives, however, no sense.<sup>89</sup> The proper form of the name is *Kurāra*; see No. 98.<sup>90</sup> This means probably that Nāgapiya had his shop in Achhāvaḍa.<sup>91</sup> Meant for भिखुनिया.<sup>92</sup> The apparent d-stroke after पोठ is in my opinion accidental.



No. 89.

अरपान देवकस दानं [१\*]

“The gift of Devaka from Arapâna (*Arâpâna*).”

No. 90.

अरहदिनस दानं रमोरज[हि]कडि — —<sup>93</sup>“The gift of Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*) in Ramorajakadi (?).”

No. 91.

असवतिया इसिगुतस वणिजस दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the merchant Isiguta (*Rishigupta*) from Asvavati (*Aśvavati*).”

No. 92.

इसिकस भिखुनो दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the monk Isika (*Rishika*).”

No. 93.

L. 3. इसिकस रोहा —

L. 2. णिपदियस दा —<sup>93</sup>

L. 1. नं [१\*]

“The gift of Isika (*Rishika*), inhabitant of Rohinipada.”

No. 94.

इसिरखितस दानं [१\*]

“The gift of Isirakhita (*Rishirakshita*).”

No. 95.

L. 1. उजेनिया विस्वदे-

L. 2. वस पजावतिया

L. 3. सुलाय दानं [१\*]

“The gift of Mulâ (*Mûlâ*), wife of Visvadeva (*Viśvadeva*), from Ujjain.”

No. 96.

[उ]दुंबरघरिय [स]चमि[तस] दा[न १\*]<sup>94</sup>“The gift of Sachamita (*Satyamitra*), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragriha*).”

No. 97.

L. 1. क[ट]क[अय]कस अयपतुडस<sup>95</sup>

L. 2. भिखुनो दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the monk, the venerable Patuḍa (?), inhabitant of Kaṭakañu.”

<sup>93</sup> The impression seems to be incomplete. The last word probably ended in वस and designated Arahadina as inhabitant of *Ramorajahikada* (P).

<sup>94</sup> The inscription has to be read from below. Read रोहिणि°.

<sup>95</sup> This is a mere scrawl, and the bracketed letters are mostly uncertain.

<sup>96</sup> Most of the letters of l. 1 are very faint, and the first bracketed one is not certain.



No. 98.

कुरारा संवलितस दानं[1\*]

“The gift of Samvalita from Kurâra.”

No. 99.

L. 1. कोरघरस सेठिनो

L. 2. सीहस दानं[1\*]

“The gift of the Sheth Sîha (*Simha*), inhabitant of Kuraghara.”

No. 100.

मिरिगुताय भिक्कुनिया दानं[1\*]

“The gift of the nun Girigutâ (*Giriguptâ*).”

No. 101.

जितमितये भिक्कुनिये वडिवह्निकाये दानं[1\*]

“The gift of the nun Jitâmitâ (*Jitâmitrâ*), inhabitant of Vādivahana.”

No. 102.

धमताय दानं पुञ्जवढ्नियाये [1\*]<sup>96</sup>“The gift of Dhamatâ (*Dharmadatâ*), inhabitant of Puñnavādhana (*Puṇyavar-dhana*).”

No. 103.

धमदत्तस भिक्कुनो दानं अ[य]भडुकिय[स 1\*]<sup>97</sup>“The gift of the monk Dhamadata (*Dharmadatta*), pupil of Aya-Bhāduka (*Ārya-Bhāduka*, No. 16).”

No. 104.

L. 1. [पिय]धमाय

L. 2. बोधिय च

L. 3. कोरघरिन

L. 4. भिक्कुनिनं दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Piyadhamâ (*Priyadharmâ*) and Bodhi, the nuns of Kuraghara.”

No. 105.

पुसये भिक्कुनिये नदिनगरिकाये दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the nun Pusâ (*Pushyâ*), inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).”

No. 106.

L. 1. पोखरा हिम-

L. 2. गिरिनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Himagiri from Pokhara (*Pushkara*).”

No. 107.

पोरविखिकस धम्मसिवस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Dhammasiva (*Dharmaśiva*), inhabitant of Puravikha(?).”<sup>96</sup> Probably धमदत्ताय is to be read.<sup>97</sup> अयभडुकियस looks almost like अहभडुकियस; but see No. 122, where the reading, given above, is plain.



No. 108.

बेदकरा नंदिगि[रि]मातु द[र]नं [१\*]

“The gift of Namdigiri's mother from Bedakara.”

No. 109.

[भोगवढ]नकस महि[द] — — —<sup>98</sup>

“(The gift) of Mahida (*Mahendra*), inhabitant of Bhogavadhana (*Bhogavardhana*).”

No. 110.

L. 1. मधुवनिकाये बुधरखितये भिक्कुनिये

L. 2. दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the nun Budharakhitā (*Buddharakshitā*), inhabitant of Madhuvana.”

No. 111.

महिसतिय देवभगस [दा]नं [१\*]

“The gift of Devabhaga (*Devabhāga* ?) from Mahisatī (*Māhishmatī*).”

No. 112.

L. 1. यखिलस भिक्कुनो अयदेवगिरिनो अते-

L. 2. वासिनो दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the monk Yakhila (*Yakshila*), pupil of the venerable Devagiri.”

No. 113.

L. 1. रोहणिपदिय-

L. 2. स निगडिस दा-

L. 3. नं [१\*]

“The gift of Nigadī, inhabitant of Rohanipada (*Rohinipada*).”

No. 114.

L. 1. रोहणिपदिय-

L. 2. स बुलिकस

L. 3. दानं [१\*]

“The gift of Bulika,<sup>99</sup> inhabitant of Rohanipada.”

No. 115.

L. 1. रोहणिपदियसि

L. 2. सेठिनो नागदि-

L. 3. नस दानं [१\*]<sup>1</sup>

“The gift of Sheth Nāgadina (*Nāgadatta*), inhabitant of Rohanipada.”

<sup>98</sup> Restore महिदस दानं.

<sup>99</sup> Compare the *Buli* tribe (Wenzel: *Index*, sub voce) of *Allakappa*.

<sup>1</sup> Read पदियस; the सि stands above the line, and is a correction.



No. 116.

वाडिवहना छडिकस भिक्कुनो दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the monk Chhadika (*Chhardika*?) from Vādivahana.”

No. 117.

L. 1. वेदिसकाय [हं]सरखितास असवारकस

L. 2. पजावति — नागदता[य] दानं [१\*]<sup>२</sup>“The gift of Nāgadatā (*Nāgadattā*), wife of the cavallerist Hamsarakhita (?) (*Hamsarakshita*), an inhabitant of Vedisa (*Vidiśā*).”

No. 118.

समिकाये सधितिकाये दानं [१\*]

“The gift of Samikā (*Svāmikā*) and of her daughter.”

No. 119.

सिरिदिनाय भिक्कुनया नादिनागरिकाय दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the nun Siridinā (*Sridattā*), inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandina-gara*).”

No. 120.

सोयसस दानं भादनकटियस [१\*]

“The gift of Soyasa (*Sauyaśasa*), inhabitant of Bhādanakata.”

No. 121.

[रि]वाये उजेनिकाये उपसिकाये दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the female lay disciple Revā, inhabitant of Ujjain.”

No. 122.

— — — स भिक्कुनो दानं अयभण्डुकियस [१\*]<sup>३</sup>“The gift of the monk . . . . , pupil of the venerable *Bhaṇḍuka*.”<sup>४</sup>

No. 123.

L. 1. — — — — [ते] कन

L. 2. [नी] रुहकस

L. 3. — — [म] — — त — स ड

L. 4. — रि — —

TOPE II.

No. 1 = C. 3.

पाण्डुकुलिकाय गामस दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the village of Pāṇḍukulikā (*Pāṇḍukulikā*).”<sup>२</sup> The letters are mostly faint, and the bracketed one is very doubtful.<sup>३</sup> Possibly another स may have stood in the beginning.<sup>४</sup> See above, Nos. 16 and 103



No. 2 = C. 4.

बुधिलस भोग[व]ठनकस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Buddhila (*Buddhila*), an inhabitant of Bhogavaḍhana (*Bhogavar-dhana*)."

No. 3 = C. 5.

धमदेवय देनं मितसिरिय अंतेवासिनि[य] [1\*]<sup>6</sup>

"The gift of Dhamadevā (*Dharmadevā*), (*who is*) a pupil of Mitasiri (*Mitraśrī*)."

No. 4 = C. 6.

इसिलस भिखुनो दाना [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Isila (*Rishila*)."

No. 5 = C. 11.]

विभस भिखुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Vijha (*Vindhya*)."

No. 6 = C. 12.

यखिलस भिखुनो दान [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Yakhila (*Yakshila*)."

No. 7 = C. 13.

L. 1 नागपियस अक्काव[ड]

L. 2 स सेठिस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Nāgapiya (*Nāgapriya*), a Sheth of Achhāvaḍa."<sup>6</sup>

No. 8 = C. 14.

L. 1. सपकाय कीररिय दान

L. 2. भिखुनिय [1\*]

"The gift of the nun Sapakā (*Sarpakā* ?), an inhabitant of Kurara."<sup>7</sup>

No. 9 = C. 16.

L. 1. धमसेनय कीररिय दान भिखुनि

L. 2. य [1\*]

"The gift of Dhamasenā (*Dharmasenā*), an inhabitant of Kurara, a nun."<sup>8</sup>

No. 10 = C. 17.

नागपालितय दान यभो [1\*]

"A pillar, the gift of Nāgapālita."

No. 11 = C. 25.

[ओ]डिय भिखुनिय यभो दान [1\*]<sup>8</sup>

"A pillar, the gift of the nun Oḍi."

<sup>6</sup> Read दानं; the third letter of मितसिरिय was originally an मि, which was afterwards corrected to सि.

<sup>6</sup> This inscription can be restored in accordance with No. 85, and C. 192 of Tope I.

<sup>7</sup> Properly कुरार; see I, 98.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly ओडाय.



No. 12 = C. 30.

सघमितस सोनरकस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Saghāmīta (*Samghamitra*), an inhabitant of Sonāra (*Sonārī*).”

No. 13 = C. 32.

अ[गि]लस दानं अधपोरिक्स [1\*]

“The gift of Agīla (*Agnīla*), inhabitant of Adhapura (*Ardhapura*).”

No. 14 = C. 33.

यसोगिरिनो दानं भिखुनो [1\*]

“The gift of Yasogiri (*Yaśogiri*), a monk.”

No. 15 = C. 36.

गडाय नादिनागरिकाय [1\*]

“(The gift) of Gaḍā, inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).”

No. 16 = C. 38.

अयनादुकस भिखुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Aya-Nāduka (*the venerable Nāduka*), a monk.”

No. 17.

पुसरखितस दानं [अ]यस अतेवासिनो [1\*]

“The gift of Pusarakhita (*Pushyarakshita*), the pupil of Aya (*Ārya*, i.e. the venerable one).”

No. 18.

सिहाय दान [1\*]

“The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*).

No. 19.

L. 1. सुमनस भिखुनो

L. 2. दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Sumana (*Sumanas*).”

No. 20.

धमगुतस पुसिनिया च दान [1\*]

“The gift of Dhamaguta (*Dharmagupta*) and Pusiniya (*Pushyanikā*).”

No. 21.

विसाखस पाडा — यस [1\*]<sup>9</sup>“The gift of Visākha (*Viśākha*), an inhabitant of Pāḍā[na].”<sup>9</sup> Restore पाडानियस, according to I, 56.



## APPENDIX.—LISTS OF NAMES.

## I.—Monks.

Arahadina I, 83, 90.	Nāduka (aya—) II, 16.
Arahaguta I, 18; II, C. 19.	Nāgarakhita II, C. 39.
Arahaka II, C. 34.	Nāgila (bhadata—) I, 84; II, C. 1.
Balaka II, C. 19.	Pasanaka (aya) I, 5. <sup>10</sup>
Balamitra I, 88.	Patuḍa (?) I, 97.
Bharmḍuka (Gotiputa) I, 16; °kiya, 103, 122.	Poṭhaka I, 87.
Bharadiya I, 74.	Prātiṭhāna I, 12, 70.
Budharakhita I, 71.	Pusa I, C. 29, C. 158.
Chhadika I, 116.	Pusagiri I, C. 21.
Chuda I, 68; (aya—) I, 88.	Pusaka I, 67.
Devagiri I, 66, (aya—) 112.	Pusarakhita II, 17.
Dhamadata I, 103.	Rahila (aya—) I, C. 37.
Dhamagiri I, C. 178.	Sadhana I, 29.
Dhamaguta I, 61.	Saghamita II, C. 7.
Dhamarakhita I, 9, 53, 68.	Sagharakhita II, C. 40.
Dhana I, C. 31.	Samdhāna I, 54.
Dhanaka (aya—) I, C. 151.	Samidata I, 65.
Gotiputa—see Bharmḍuka.	Sumana II, 19.
Hāṭiya I, 12.	Tisaka (aya—) I, 70.
Isika I, 92 (93?).	Upasijha I, 63.
Isila II, 4.	Vājuka (bhadata—) I, C. 122.
Jonaka I, C. 152.	Vejha II, 5.
Jonhaka I, 75.	Visākha I, C. 123.
Kāboja I, 7.	Vīra I, C. 186.
Kāda I, 4.	Yakhadā[di]na I, C. 50.
Mahāgiri I, 62.	Yakhila I, 112; II, 6.
Nadiguta I, 58.	Yasogiri II, 14.
Nagadina I, C. 10.	

## II.—Nuns.

Achalā I, 6.	Jitamitā I, 101.
Arahadāsī I, C. 175.	Kaḍi I, C. 65.
Avisinā I, 79, 80.	Mitasiri II, 3.
Balikā I, C. 159.	Mulā II, C. 21.
Bodhi I, 104.	Odatikā I, C. 26. <sup>11</sup>
Budhapālītā I, 86.	Oḍi (I, 82?) ; II, 11.
Budharakhitā I, 110.	Phagulā II, C. 18.
Chirātī I, 28.	Piyadhamā I, 104.
Dhamadevā II, 3.	Pusā I, 105.
Dhamarakhitā I, 52.	Saghadinā I, 37.
Dhamasenā II, 9.	Sapakā II, 8.
Dhama[s]iri I, 78.	Samgharakhitā I, 33.
Dōpasā (?) I, C. 170.	Sedi II, C. 43.
Gaḍā (II, 15?), C. 21, 36.	Siridinā I, 119.
Girigutā I, 100.	Valā II, C. 15.
Hana (?) I, C. 2.	Yakhī I, 38; (Yakha) C. 187.
Isidāsī I, C. 169; II, C. 22.	Yamarakhitā II, C. 20.
Isidatā I, C. 132, 133.	Yasilā I, 33 (34?).
Isidinā I, C. 147.	

<sup>10</sup> *Pasanaka* occurs as teacher of *Dhamaguta* and *Sagharakhita* in the inscription on a pillar of the Sonāri Tope No. I, Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, plate xxiii.

<sup>11</sup> This corresponds to Sanskrit *avaddtikā*, literally 'the pure one.'



## III.—Male names, not marked as clerical.

Agila II, 13.  
 Ahimita I, C. 8.  
 Ajitiguta I, 43.  
 Apathaka I, 42.  
 Araha I, 40.  
 Arahaka I, C. 165 (see also List I).  
 Arahadâsa I, C. 100.  
 Arahadina I, 44, 90.  
 Arahatapâlita I, C. 164.  
 Asâda I, 72.  
 Aṭha (kamika) I, 10.  
 Bahadata I, 30.  
 Bahula II, C. 35.  
 Bhadaka I, 41.  
 Bhichhuka I, 56.  
 Budhapâlita (seṭhi) II, C. 8.  
 Budharakhita II, C. 10, 23.  
 Budhila I, C. 32 ; II, 2.  
 Bulika I, 114.  
 Chadaguta I, C. 97.  
 Chheta I, C. 66.  
 Dadata (?) I, C. 89.  
 Damaka (?) I, C. 174.  
 Devaka I, 89.  
 Devabhaga I, 111.  
 Dhamadata I, C. ; 173.  
 Dhamagiri I, C. 56.  
 Dhamagirika I, 2 ; C. 166.  
 Dhamaguta II, 20.  
 Dhamapâla I, C. 134.  
 Dhamarakhita II, C. 2.<sup>12</sup>  
 Dhamasiva I, 1, 107.  
 Dhanagiri I, C. 157.  
 Disarakhita (?) I, C. 42.<sup>13</sup>  
 Gohila I, C. 77.  
 Gopâla I, C. 12.  
 Gotiputa,—see Subâhita.  
 [Ham]sarakhita I, 117.  
 Hirnagiri I, 106.  
 Isadâta (?) I, C. 52.  
 Isiguta (vâṇija) I, 91.  
 Isika I, 93 (?) (compare also List No. II).  
 Isipâlita I, C. 179.  
 Isimita I, C. 59.  
 Isirakhita I, 94.  
 Kekaṭeyaka I, 1, 3.  
 Kuja (?) I, 60.

Kujara I. C. 94.  
 Mahida I. 109.  
 Mulagiri (lekhaka) I. C. 48.  
 Nadâva I. 24.  
 Nâdivirohi I. 24.  
 Nagadina I. C. 74.  
 Nandigiri I. 108.  
 Nâgadina I, 115.  
 Nâgapiya (seṭhi) I, 85 ; C. 192 ; II. 7.  
 Nigadi I, 113.  
 Opedadata I, C. 62-64.  
 Patīṭhiya (gahapati) I, 22, 23.  
 Phaguna I, 63.  
 Pusagiri I, 55.  
 [Sa]chami[ta] I, 96.  
 Sadatha (?) I, C. 168.  
 Sagha I, C. 192.  
 Saghadeva I, 81.  
 Saghamita II, 12.  
 Samana I, C. 179.  
 Saṃghila I, C. 163.  
 Sâmanera I, 11, 57.  
 Samika (vâṇika) I, C. 83, C. 119.  
 Saṃvalita, I 98.  
 Sâtīla I, C. 98.  
 Sihagiri I, 77 ; C. 28 (?) (facsimile, *Sapagarano*).  
 Siharakhita I, 13.  
 Siriguta (vâṇija) I, 47.  
 Siripâla I, C. 120.  
 Sivanadi I, 45.  
 Sīha (seṭhi) I, 99.  
 Sīharakhita I, 13.  
 Sona I, C. 57.  
 Soyasa I, 120.  
 Subâhita, Gotiputa (râjalipikara) I, 48, 49.  
 Subhaga I, 19.  
 Svatiguta I, 31.  
 Upidadata I, 36.  
 Vaḍa (?) I, C. 172.  
 Vaḍha I, C. 47.  
 Vajaguta I, C. 3.  
 Vijita I, 3.  
 Vimala I, C. 138.  
 Visa I, C. 77.  
 Visâkha II, 21 (see also List I).  
 Visvadeva I, 95.  
 Yasopâla I, C. 27, 156.

<sup>12</sup> If the following *sejhasa* stands for *saikshasya*, this person was an ascetic.

<sup>13</sup> The name is probably wrong.



## IV.—Females, not marked as nuns.

Agido[de]vā I, C. 17.  
 Agis[i]mā I, 69.  
 Arāhagutā I, 32.  
 Asvadevā I, 30 ; C. 83.  
 Balakā I, C. 61.  
 Budhā I, C. 64.  
 Dāsā I, C. 46.  
 Dhamatā [datā] I, 102.  
 Dhamarakhitā I, 15, 45, 76.  
 Gaḍā II, 15 (compare also List II).  
 Himadatā I, C. 63.  
 Isimitā I, C. 54, 69.  
 Isfrakhitā I, 64.  
 Kā[ka]nā I, 21.  
 Kanī I, C. 85.  
 Kurarī I, 39.  
 Majhimā I, 48.  
 Mayadatā I, C. 62.  
 Mitā (Tāpasīyanam nusa) I, 73.  
 Mulā I, 95.  
 Muladatā I, C. 60.  
 Nāgadatā I, 117.  
 Nagamitā I, C. 72.  
 Nāgāpalitā II, 10.  
 Nāgā I, 50 ; C. 45.

Oḍī I, 82 (compare also List II).  
 Padonā (?) I, C. 51.  
 Patolā (?) II, C. 28.  
 Poṭhādevā, I, C. 44.  
 Pusinī II, 20.  
 Revā, I, 121.  
 Rohunī (?) I, C. 55.  
 Sagharakhitā II, C. 22.  
 Saghā I, C. 106.  
 Sāmidarā [tā] I, C. 176.  
 Samikā I, 46, 118.  
 Semākā (?) I, C. 91.  
 Sihā II, 18.  
 Sihadatā I, C. 67.  
 Sonado[de]vā I, 8 ; C. 17.  
 Subhagā I, C. 18.  
 Tāpasī I, 39.  
 Vākalā devī I, C. 8.  
 Vasulā I, C. 88.  
 Vesamanadatā I, 22.  
 Vinhukā II, C. 24.  
 Vipulā I, C. 70.  
 Vudinā I, 20.  
 Yakhadāsī I, C. 171.  
 Yasilā I, 35 (see also List No. II).

## Geographical names.

Abeyaka (adj.) I, 11, 57.  
 Achhāvaḍa I, 85 ; (adj.) I, C. 192 ; <sup>14</sup> II, 7.  
 Adhaporika (adj.) II, 13.  
 Anammitaka (? adj.) II, C. 10.  
 Arāpāna I, 59, 72, 89.  
 Asvavatī I, 91.  
 Bedakara I, 108.  
 Bhasikāḍa I, C. 156.  
 Bhādanakāṭiya (adj.) I, 120.  
 Bhogavadhana<sup>15</sup> I, 45 ; °vadhana, I, 64 ; C. 137 ;  
 °vadhanaka, (adj.) I, 43, 109 ; II, 2.  
 Chahāṭiya (adj.) I, C. 158.  
 Dhamavadhanana (read °vadhana) I, 25, 26.  
 Ejāvata (adj.) I, 71.  
 Erakina<sup>16</sup> I, C. 98.  
 Kāboja (proper name) I, 7.  
 • Kāchupatha (adj.) I, 52, 53.  
 Karṇadigāma I, C. 47 ; °gāmiya (adj.) I, C.  
 45, 46.  
 Kāpāsīgāma I, 40.  
 Kāṭakañu I, 41 ; °kañuka (adj.) I, 97.  
 Kāṭakareyaka (adj.) I, C. 100.  
 Kekāṭeyaka (proper name) I, 1, 3.

Kuraghara I, C. 69 ; C. 71-72 ; Koraghara (adj.)  
 I, 19, 99, 104.  
 Kurāra I, 98 ; kurariya (adj.) I, C. 138 ; C.  
 192 ; <sup>17</sup> kurarī (adj.) I, C. 133 ; korara (adj.)  
 I, 85 ; II, 8, 9 ; C. 15.  
 Maḍalachhikaṭika (adj.) I, 78, 79, 80 ; C. 159.  
 Madhuvana I, 61 ; <sup>18</sup> C. 132 ; °vanika (adj.) I, 15,  
 76, <sup>19</sup> 110.  
 Māhamoragi, I, 77 ; Mahāmo<sup>0</sup> I, C. 28.  
 Mahisati I, 111.  
 Morasihikaṭa I, 44.  
 Nadinagara I, 6 ; C. 170 ; Nādi<sup>0</sup> I, 7 ; Nadina-  
 garika (adj.) <sup>20</sup> I, 82, 105 ; C. 147, 169 ;  
 Nādinagarika (adj.) I, 119 ; II, 15.  
 Navagamaka (adj.) I, 46 ; °gāmaka, I, 55 ; °gā-  
 mika, I, C. 53.  
 Pādāniya (adj.) I, 56 ; II, 21. <sup>21</sup>  
 Pāḍukulikā II, 1 ; Pāḍukulini[ki]ya (adj.)  
 II, C. 8.  
 Pokhara I, 106 ; °reyaka I, 88 ; <sup>22</sup> C. 23, 39.  
 Poravikhika (adj.) I, 107.  
 Prāthihāna (proper name) I, 12, 70.  
 Puñnavadhaniya (adj.) I, 102.

Ramorajahikāḍi (?) I, 90.

<sup>14</sup> Achhavaḍa, on facsimile.

<sup>15</sup> See also *Bharhut Inscriptions*, No. 95.

<sup>16</sup> Dharakina, on facsimile.

<sup>17</sup> Kararāya, on facsimile.

<sup>18</sup> First syllable obliterated.

<sup>19</sup> Spelt °vanāka.

<sup>20</sup> See also *Bharhut Inscriptions*, No. 13.

<sup>21</sup> Third syllable obliterated.

<sup>22</sup> Pokhamreyakaḍa [sa], on copy.



Rohanipadiya (adj.) I, 113, 114, 115; *Rohāni*<sup>o</sup>  
I, 93.  
Sāhakagāmiya (adj.) I, C. 97.  
Sāsādaka (adj.) I, 18; II, C. 19.  
Sonaraka (adj.) II, 12.  
Tambalamaḍa I, 60.  
Tiridapada I, 50.  
Tubavana I, 22, 23.  
Udubaraghariya (adj.) I, 13; II, C. 41;  
C. 42; *Udumbara*<sup>o</sup> I, 96.

Ugireyaka (adj.) I, 31.  
Ujenî I, 27, 69, 73, 95; C. 11, 12, 49, 55-68,  
70, 77; *ka* (adj.) I, 121.  
Vādivahana I, 116; *Vādivahanika* (adj.) I,  
101; *Vādya*<sup>o</sup> (adj.) II, C. 24.  
Vāghumata I, 37; C. 118.  
Vedisa<sup>23</sup> I, 38; *Vedisaka* (adj.) I, 117; C. 189;  
*sika* I, C. 26.  
Vejaja I, 17.  
Verohakata (adj.) I, 81.

### VIII.—HARSHA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAHAMANA VIGRAHARAJA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1030.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription lies among the ruins of an ancient temple on the top of a hill, called Harsha or "Unchāpahar," which is near the village of "Harasnāth" in the Shaikhāwati province of the Jaypur state of Rājputāna, about 7 miles south of Sikar and 60 miles north-west of Jaypur, Long. 75° 15', Lat. 27° 31', *Indian Atlas*, quarter-sheet No. 33, N. E. There it was discovered, in 1834, by Dr. G. E. Rankin and Sergeant E. Dean, who both sent facsimiles of the inscription which it bears to the Asiatic Society of Bengal early in 1835. And, Dr. Rankin's copy having on the way become so much injured as to be totally illegible, the inscription was edited shortly afterwards from Mr. Dean's facsimile by the Rev. Dr. Mill, with a lithograph prepared by Lieutenant Kittoc, and an account of the ruins on the hill Harsha by Mr. Dean, in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. IV, pp. 361-400.<sup>1</sup> In the course of last year Mr. Fleet kindly presented me with a pencil rubbing of the inscription, found among Sir A. Cunningham's papers, which, though it helped me to amend Dr. Mill's readings in many places, was yet not sufficiently clear to furnish a trustworthy text throughout. I therefore applied for assistance to Dr. Burgess, and owing to his interest and exertions in the matter I am now able to re-edit the inscription from two excellent impressions, obtained by Colonel S. S. Jacob for Dr. Burgess; they were prepared by Mr. Lāla Rām Bakhsh of Jaypur.

According to Mr. Dean's account the inscription is on a slab of black stone, about 3½" thick and 3' square. It consists of 40 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2' 11" broad by 2' 10" high. Small portions of the inscribed surface are broken away at the four corners, and the right and left margins are slightly damaged; besides, about a dozen *aksharas* have become illegible in the body of the inscription by the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The rest of the writing is well preserved, and may be read with certainty almost throughout. The size of the letters is between ⅞" and ¾"; it is largest at the top and becomes gradually smaller towards the bottom. The characters

<sup>23</sup> See also *Bharhut Inscriptions*, Nos. 22, 82, 85, etc.

<sup>1</sup> See also Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. III, pp. 932-937.



are the ordinary northern alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs, and they are skilfully formed and well engraved. The names of the writer and the engraver are not given. The language is Sanskrit, and by far the greater portion of the inscription, to nearly the end of line 33, is in verse. This poetical part is called a *prāśasti*, and was composed by Dhīranāga, the son of the *karanika* Thīruka (verse 45).—In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; before *r*, *t* is always doubled after a vowel, *e.g.*, in *vichittra*, line 4, and *sūtttradhāro* and *dagdha-ttripura*, line 6; and a single *j* is written instead of *jj* in *ujvalah*, line 16, and *visphurajñāna*, line 22. The dental *n* is employed instead of *anusvāra* in *dhvansa*, line 22; the dental sibilant instead of the palatal in *auttaresvarah*, line 22, and in *Chamdasiva*, line 29 (in a verse which offends against the metre); and the dental nasal has been incorrectly changed to the lingual in *prasannah*, line 15, and wrongly retained in *nirnnāsītā*, line 17.—Both the verses and the prose part of the inscription contain some words which are not given by the dictionaries or are employed in an unusual sense. To such words attention will be drawn in the notes on the translation.<sup>2</sup>

The proper object of the poetical part of the inscription, which consists of 48 verses, is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva, worshipped under the name of Harsha, on the hill Harsha, by the Śaiva ascetic Allāṭa, and the completion of other works of piety by Allāṭa's disciple Bhāvadyota. But more interesting is the account which is furnished, by way of introduction, of the princes to whose kingdom the hill Harsha belonged and by whom the ascetics were patronised, and of their wars with other princes who have not yet become known from other sources. And the value of the inscription is enhanced by the fact that it yields a considerable number of names of districts and places, and contains several dates, for one of which the corresponding European date may be given with absolute certainty.

The first twelve verses of the inscription are mainly devoted to the glorification of the god Śiva or, as he is more particularly styled here, Harshadeva, of his place of residence, the mountain Harsha, and of the temple erected to the god on that hill. After that the poet, in verses 13-27, celebrates a line of princes belonging to the Chāhamāna family, who are said to have become illustrious through their devotion to the god Harsha. The first prince mentioned is—

1. Gūvaka I., said to have been famous as a hero in the assemblies of the Nāgas and other princes (v. 13). His son was—
2. Chandrarāja (v. 14); his son—
3. Gūvaka II. (v. 14); and his son—
4. Chandana, who defeated or slew in battle the Tomara prince Rudrena<sup>3</sup> (v. 14). This prince was succeeded by his son—
5. Vākpatirāja, who put to flight Tantrapāla, a neighbouring chief, by whom he had been attacked (vv. 15-16). And he again was succeeded by his son—
6. Simharāja. This prince, though he is said to have subdued, amongst others, a Tomara leader, who appears to have been allied with a certain Lavaṇa, was evidently defeated by his opponents and probably slain in battle (vv. 17-19). He was succeeded by his son—

<sup>2</sup> See notes 64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 77, 79, 81 & 85.

<sup>3</sup> I take this name to be equivalent to Rudrapāla.



7. Vighraharāja, ruling at the time when the inscription was composed, who restored the fortune of his family; but nothing specific that need be repeated here is mentioned regarding him, except that he had a younger brother, named Durlabharāja (vv. 20-26). It will appear below that, besides Vighraharāja, Simharāja had two other sons, Chandrarāja and Govindarāja, and that he also had a brother, named Vatsarāja.

These seven princes are apparently mentioned in the same order in the inscription from Bijholt of which a rough reading is published in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LV, part I, p. 40. From verse 16 of the present inscription it appears that the country over which they held sway, and in which Harsha was situated, was called Ananta, a name which is repeated in verse 28. The princes with whom they are represented to have been at war I have not hitherto met with in any other inscription, but the fact that two of them are described as Tomaras leads me to suspect that at any rate some of them were ruling the country around Delhi, which we know to have passed from the Tomaras to the Châhamânas in later times.

The contents of the remaining verses of our inscription may be given in very few words. In the country Ananta there lived a sage Viśvarûpa, a devotee of Śiva, who followed the *Pañchârthala* doctrine (v. 28). He had a disciple named Praśasta (v. 29); and his disciple again was Bhâvarakta, also called Allaṭa, who was born in a family of Brâhmans of the Vârgaṭika tribe, and had come to Harsha from the neighbouring Rânapallikâ, a village where the *Sâmsârîka* doctrine was practised. Allaṭa built the magnificent temple of Harshadeva at which the inscription was afterwards put up, but died before he could accomplish all he had intended to do (vv. 30-34). And the works begun by him were therefore completed at his request by his disciple Bhâvadyota (vv. 35-42). The temple erected by Allaṭa was built by the architect Chaṇḍaśiva, a son of Virabhadra (v. 43), and completed on the 13th of the bright half of Âshâdha of the year 1013 (line 32). And the sage Allaṭa is (in v. 48) reported to have died in the expired year 1027, when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with the *yoga* Śubha and the *nakshatra* Hasta, on a Monday. Referring this date to the Vikrama era, I find that the corresponding European date is Monday the 8th August, A.D. 970; for in northern Vikrama 1027 expired the *Simha-samkrânti* took place on the 26th July, A.D. 970, which was the 6th of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada, and the third of the following bright half (of the same Bhâdrapada) was Monday the 8th August, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 15 m. and the *nakshatra* was Hasta up to 12 h. 29 m. and the *yoga* Śubha up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. The date is interesting, because it is the earliest Vikrama date known to me in which the writer has quoted a solar *samkrânti*, instead of giving us the name of the lunar month.<sup>4</sup>

To the poetical part of the inscription is appended, in lines 33-40, the following list of endowments of the temple of Harshadeva, which were received up to Âshâdha-śudi 15 of the (Vikrama) year 1030, the date on which I take the inscription to have been composed:—

The king Simharāja, after having bathed at Pushkaratîrtha, had given the villages Simhagoshṭha in the Tûnakûpaka group of twelve, Traikalakaka and

<sup>4</sup> The practice is common enough in modern dates of Sanskrit MSS. written in the Bengâlî character.



The inscription ends with the usual appeal to future kings to respect these endowments.

TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

L. 1. . . . . [य]<sup>7</sup> ॥

शुक्तिशुक्तिपरमार्थसिद्धिदं तं नमामि वर[दं] ॐ — ॐ ॥<sup>10</sup>—[1.]

• • • • •

2. . . . [का]कुलितमानसैः ।

स्तयमानस्तु सद्देवैः पातु वस्त्रिपुरांतकः ॥<sup>11</sup>—[2.]

पादन्यासावनुद्धा नमति वसुमती शेषभोगावलम्बा

[वा(बा)] ऋत्वेपैः स[मं?] - उ उ उ उ उ उ - - उ

3. — — — — —

भिन्नावस्थं समस्तं भवति हि भुवनं यस्य नृप्ते प्रवृत्ते

स श्रीहर्षाभिधानो जयति पशुपतिहस्तविश्वानुकम्पः ॥<sup>12</sup>—[3.]

सव्ये शूलं त्रिशिखमपरे दोष्णिः [भि]क्षाक[पालं]

भूषा - - उ उ उ

4. [भू]जगः कंठिका नीलकंठे ।

नेदुग्वेषस्त्रिनयन मया कापि दृष्टो विशिष्ट

<sup>4</sup> See note 79.

<sup>6</sup> From impressions obtained, at the Editor's request, from Col. S. S. Jacob, C. I. E., and made by Lala Ram Bakhsh of Jajpur.

<sup>7</sup> The words broken away at the beginning were probably श्री श्री नमः शिवाय.

<sup>8</sup> The *aksharas* in these brackets are slightly damaged at the top, but the reading is certain.

<sup>9</sup> The word broken away here was probably गजाननम्.

<sup>10</sup> Metre : Rathoddhatâ.

<sup>11</sup> Metre : Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>12</sup> **Metre : Sragdharâ.**



इत्थं गौर्या प्रहसितहरः सञ्चितः पातु युष्मान् ॥<sup>13</sup> —[4.]

वेगोद्धृतार्यमादियद्गगनतलं व्यमुवाना जलौघै-  
न्यकुर्व्वाणा स[सु][द्रान्<sup>x</sup>]

L. 5.

अय[व]लितजलानूर्भिर्मालासहस्रैः ।

देयादभ्यर्थितं वः शशधरधवला स्वर्धुनी चंद्रमौलि-

मौली लीलां वहन्ती स्फुटविकटजटाव(व)न्धने चोरिकायाः ॥ <sup>14</sup>—[5.]

चंचच्चंद्रार्कतारं भुवननगनदीही[प]सि[धु]-

6.

[प्र]पंचं

विश्वं देवासुराहिप्रमथमुनिवरैर्यक्षमर्त्यैः सनाथम् ।

यस्येच्छाशक्तिभावादसदपि सकलं जायते लीयते च

सोव्याहो हर्षदेवो भुवनविरचनासूत्रधारीप्रमेयः ॥ —[6.]

नूनं वाणाग्निदग्धन्निपुरसुररिपु-

7.

[र्जा]तहर्षः सहर्षै-

रिंद्रार्थैर्विवृदैः कृतनुतिनतिभिः पूज्यमानोऽहं शैले ।

योभून्नान्नापि हर्षो गिरिशिखरभुवोर्भारतानुग्रहाय

सो<sup>15</sup> स्ताहो लिंगरूपो द्विगुणितभवनचंद्रमौलिः शिवाय ॥ —[7.]

निर्यजेन्ना[ण्ड]-

8.

[भा<sup>x</sup>]ण्डानणुदहनरुचि श्लोषसंभ्रान्तसत्त्वं(चं)

प्रान्तज्वालावलीढद्रुमव(व)हलमहाधूमधूमायिताशम् ।

संरंभारंभभीमस्वनमसमशरोच्छेदि यस्याशशंके

दृष्ट्वा देवैः [स्व]रूपं<sup>16</sup> किमिय[म]समये संवृतिर्व्यो(र्व्यो)भुवे[य ॥]—[8.]

9. देवः पुरधगध्यास्ते यमभ्रंकषमुच्चकैः ।

हर्षस्थातिः स हर्षाख्यो गिरिरेष<sup>17</sup> पुनातु वः ॥ <sup>18</sup>—[9.]

शूरस्येदं श्लोकं<sup>19</sup> ।

गांगं नो निर्ज्म[रांभ]ः प्रवहति न शुभा मंदनोद्यानलक्ष्मीः

सद्रवस्वर्णशृंगामलविविधरुचो नैव — —<sup>20</sup>

10.

[स्त?]थाक्ष ।

अन्यां धत्ते तथापि त्रियमतिशयिनीमेष शैलोद्धृतीयां

साक्षाच्छंभुर्यदास्ते तदपि हि परमं कारणं रम्यतायाः ॥ <sup>21</sup>—[10.]

अष्टमूर्तिर्यमध्यास्ते सिद्धाष्टकविभुः स्वयम् ।

महिमा भूधरस्यास्य परमः कोपि — ७ ७<sup>22</sup> ॥ <sup>23</sup>—[11.]

<sup>13</sup> Metre : Mandākrāntā.

<sup>14</sup> Metre of verses 5-8 : Sragdharā.

<sup>15</sup> Read स.

<sup>16</sup> Originally स्रूपं was engraved, but the initial स seems to have been altered to स्व.

<sup>17</sup> Originally रेवा, altered to रेव.

<sup>18</sup> Metre : Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>19</sup> Read शूरस्यैव श्लोकः.

<sup>20</sup> The two aksharas here broken away were perhaps सौधा.

<sup>21</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.

<sup>22</sup> The word here broken away was perhaps विद्यते.

<sup>23</sup> Metre : Śloka (Anushtubh).



- L. 11. [एत<sup>x</sup>]खुण्णाण्णकांतिप्रवरतममहामण्डपाभीगभद्रं  
 प्रांतप्रासादमालाविरचितविकटापाण्णपुन्नाभिरामम् ।  
 भेरोः शृंगोपमानं सुवटितवृषसत्तोरणहाररम्यं  
 नानासङ्गोद्युक्तं जयति भगवतो हर्षदेवस्य [ह<sup>x</sup>]-  
 12. [मर्यम्] ॥ <sup>24</sup>—[12.]  
 आद्यः श्रीगूवकाख्याप्रथितनरपतिश्चाहमानान्वयोभूत्<sup>25</sup>  
<sup>30</sup>श्रीमन्नागा[द्य?]लोकप्रवरनृपसभालब्ध(ब्ध)वीरप्रतिष्ठः ।  
 यस्य श्रीहर्षदेवे वरभवनमयी भीतली कीर्त्तिमूर्त्ति-  
 क्षीकोद्यापि स्थिरैषा प्रतपति परमैः —  
 13. — — — — [नै?]: ॥ —[13.]  
 पुद्गः श्रीचंद्रराजोभवदमलयशास्तस्य तीव्रप्रतापः  
 स्रुस्तस्याथ भूपः प्रथम इव पुनर्गूवकाख्यः प्रतापी ।  
 तस्माच्छ्रीचंदनोभूत्त्वितिपतिभयदस्तोमरेशं सदर्थं  
 हत्वा रुद्रेनभूपं<sup>27</sup> समर[भुवि]  
 14. [व<sup>x</sup>]लाद्ये[न लब्धा<sup>x</sup>] जयश्रीः ॥ —[14.]  
 ततः परमतेजस्वी सदा समरजित्वरः ।  
 श्रीमान्वाक्पतिराजाख्यो महाराजोभवत्सुतः ॥ <sup>28</sup>—[15.]  
 येनादैन्यं स्वसैन्यं कथमपि दधता वाजिवल्गा सुसुष्ठु  
 प्रागेव चासितेभः सरसि क[रि]<sup>29</sup>रटडुडिडिमीडुं —  
 15. —[जे?] <sup>30</sup>  
 वन्द्यस्माभर्तुराज्ञां समदमभि[व]<sup>30</sup>हन्नागतोनंतपार्श्व-  
 क्षापालस्तंक्षपालो दिशि दिशि गमितो द्वीविषण्णः प्रसण्ण(ब्ध): ॥ <sup>31</sup>—[16.]  
 शूरस्येदं ।  
 लोकैर्यो हि महीतले ननु हरिचंद्रोपमो गीयते  
 त्यागैश्च[र्यं]जयेषु की[र्त्ति<sup>x</sup>]-  
 16. [र<sup>x</sup>]मला धर्मश्च यस्योज्ज्वलः ।  
 येनादायि हराय मंदिरकृते भक्त्या प्रभूतं वसु  
 श्रीमहाक्पतिराजसूनुसमः श्रीसिंहराजोभवत् ॥ <sup>32</sup>—[17.]  
 हैममारोपितं येन शिवस्य भवनोपरि ।  
 पूर्णचंद्रोपमं स्त्रीयं मूर्त्तं य[श] — [पिं?]डक[म्] ॥ <sup>33</sup>—[18.]  
 17. — —<sup>34</sup> । तोमरनायकं सलवणं सैन्याधिपत्योद्धतं  
 युद्धे येन नरेन्द्रराः प्रतिदिशं निर्वा(र्णा)शिता जिष्णुना ।

<sup>24</sup> Metre of verses 12-14: Sragdharā.

<sup>25</sup> Read 'भूक्षी'. The *akshara* बी, preceding भूत्, may possibly have been altered to ये.

<sup>30</sup> Originally undoubtedly श्रीमन्नागा was engraved, but the *akshara* न appears to have been altered subsequently, and the only *akshara* which would suit the context appears to me to be य; I am not certain, however, that the adopted reading is correct.

<sup>27</sup> This word, for which Dr. Mill has read रुद्रेन भूयः, is quite clear and distinct in the original.

<sup>28</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>29</sup> This *akshara* might possibly be read वि.

<sup>30</sup> The lower portion of this *akshara* is not quite distinct.

<sup>31</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>32</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>33</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>34</sup> The word, here broken away, was probably either निजा or हत्वा.



कारावेशमनि भूरयश्च विष्टतास्तावच्च यावद्गृहे  
तन्मुक्त्यर्थमुपागतो रघुकुले भूचक्रवर्त्ती स्वयम् ॥ <sup>35</sup>—[19.]  
श्रीमा-

L. 18. [न्वि<sup>x</sup>]ग्रहराजोभूतत्सुतो वासवोपमः ।

वंशलक्ष्मीर्जयश्रीश्च येनैते विधुरोद्धृते ॥ <sup>36</sup>—[20.]

श्रीसिंहराजरहिता किल चिंतयंती भीतेव संप्रति विभुर्ननु को ममेति ।

येनात्मवा(बा)हुयुगले चिरसन्निवासं संधीरितेति ददता निज-

19. [रा<sup>x</sup>]ज्यलक्ष्मीः ॥ <sup>37</sup>—[21.]

येन दुष्टदमनेन सर्व्वतः साधिताखिलमही स्ववा(बा)हुभिः ।

लीलयैव वशवर्त्तिनी कृता किंकरीव निजपादयोस्तले ॥ <sup>38</sup>—[22.]

यस्य चारु चरितं सतां सदा शृण्वतां जगति कीर्त्तितं जनैः ।

हृष्टिजातघनरोमकं-

20. —<sup>39</sup> जायते तनुरलं मुहुर्मुहुः ॥ —[23.]

मुक्ताहारैः सुतारैः प्रतरलतुरगैश्चारुवस्त्रैश्च शस्त्रैः

कर्पूरैः पूगपूरैर्मलयतरुवरैर्हंसभारैरपारैः ।

उद्यद्गानैः समानैश्चलंकुलगिरिभिर्हन्तिवारैः सदारै-

र्त्तिर्व्याजैः प्रातिर — —

21. — — भिरिति भृतैः प्राभृतैर्यः सिषेवे ॥ <sup>40</sup>—[24.]

कृत्तधारावरग्रामो द्वितीयः शंकराणकः [1<sup>x</sup>]

तेनेमौ हर्षना[थाय] [भ]क्त्या दत्तौ सशासनौ ॥ <sup>41</sup>—[25.]

श्रीमद्भुक्तभराजेन योनुजेन विभूषितः [1<sup>x</sup>]

लक्ष्मणेनेव काकुत्स्थो विष्णुनेव हलायुधः ॥ —[26.]

22. [महा<sup>x</sup>]राजावली चासौ शंभुभक्तिगुणोदया ।

श्रीहर्षः कुलदेवीस्यास्तस्माद्दिव्यः कुलक्रमः ॥ —[27.]

अनंतगोचरे श्रीमान् पण्डित श्रीत्तरेख(श्च)रः ।

पंचार्थलाकुलान्नाय<sup>42</sup> विश्वरूपोभवद्गुरुः ॥ —[28.]

दीक्षाजातमलध्वंसविस्फुरन्ना-<sup>43</sup>

23. [ननि<sup>x</sup>]र्मलः ।

प्रशस्ताख्योभवच्छिष्यस्तस्य पाशुपतः कृती ॥ —[29.]

भा[व]<sup>44</sup>रक्तो[भ]वत्तस्य शिष्यो द्विनामतोक्तः ।

वार्गटिकान्वयोद्भूतसद्भिप्रकुलसंभवः ।(॥) —[30.]

हर्षस्यासन्नतो ग्रामः प्रसिद्धो राणपक्षिका ।

सांसारिककुलान्नायस्ततो यस्य विनि[र्गमः ॥<sup>x</sup>] —[31.]

<sup>35</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>36</sup> Metre : Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>37</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā.

<sup>38</sup> Metre of verses 22 and 23 : Rathoddhatā.

<sup>39</sup> The two *akṣharas* here broken away, were probably

टका.

<sup>40</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.

<sup>41</sup> Metre of verses 25—32 : Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>42</sup> One would expect to read here पंचार्थलाकुलान्नाय, and I believe that the *akṣhara* ला has been altered to न already in the original.

<sup>43</sup> Read °ध्वंसविस्फुरन्ना°.

<sup>44</sup> Originally वि, but apparently altered to व;



L. 24. अल्लटच्छद्मना नंदी शिवासन्नस्थितिक्रमः ।

श्रीहर्षाराधने नूनं स्वयं मर्त्यमवातरत् ॥ —[32.]

आजन्म ब्र(ब्र)ह्मचारी दिगमलवसनः संयतात्मा तपस्वी

श्रीहर्षाराधनैकव्यसनशुभमतिस्त्यक्तसंसारमोहः ।

आसीद्यो लब्ध(ब्ध)जन्मा भवतर[णधि]यां — ॐ

25. — [षी?] सुव(ब)न्धु-

स्तेनेदं धर्मिवित्तैः सुघटितविकटं कारितं हर्षहर्म्यम् ॥ <sup>45</sup>—[33.]

अस्मिंश्चंद्रांकशैले गगनपथलिहोत्तुंगशृंगेप्रमेयं

हर्म्यं श्रीहर्षनामप्रथितपशुपतेः सहिमानो[प]मानम् ।

दृष्ट्वा सन्नोद्युक्तं व(ब)हुसुरभवनं कारितं येन

26. — —

नासाध्यं किंचिदस्ति स्फुटमिति तपसो निःस्पृहाणां यतीनाम् ॥ —[34.]

आसीन्नैष्ठिकरूपो यो दीप्तपाशुपतव्रतः ।

ती[ब्र]वेगतपोजातपुण्यापुण्यमलक्षयः ॥ <sup>46</sup>—[35.]

सदा शिवसमाकारस्तस्येश्वरसमद्युतेः ।

भावद्योतोभवच्छिष्यः संदीपितगु-

27. [रुक्म\*]मः ॥ —[36.]

गुरोराज्ञामयं प्राप्य प्रतिष्ठासोः शिवालयम् ।

यथाप्राग्ब(ब्ध)कार्याणामंगीकृतभरोभवत् ॥ —[37.]

पुरस्तात्पर्वतस्थाधस्तितयं येन कारितम् ।

सत्कूपो वाटिका दिव्या गोप्रपा घटितोपलैः ॥ —[38.]

सदैव वहमानेन कूपेन स्वादुवारिणा ।

वाटिकासेच-

28. . . . प्रपाभरणस्तथा ॥ —[39.]

सत्पुष्पैरर्चनं शम्भोः पयःपानं गवामपि ।

कार्यद्वयमिदं सारं दर्शितं पुण्यकांक्षिणाम् ॥ —[40.]

दिगंव(ब)रं जटा भस्म<sup>47</sup> तल्पं च विपुलं मही ।

भिन्ना वृत्तिः करः पादं यस्यैतानि परिग्रहः ॥ —[41.]

शिवभवनपु—

29. — ॐ [पा?]रं यदासीत्तदखिलमुपलौघैः पूरयित्वा गभीरम् ।

समतलसुखगम्यं प्रांगणं तेन कांतं ममृणतरशिलाभिः कारितं वं(बं)धयित्वा ॥ <sup>48</sup>—[42.]

वीरभ[द्र]सुतः ख्यातः सूत्रधारोच्च चंडसिव<sup>49</sup> ।

विश्वकर्मेव सर्वज्ञो वास्तुविद्या[म]-

— ॐ — [॥\*] <sup>50</sup>—[43.]

[ये]न निर्मितमिदं मनोहरं शंकरस्य भवनं समंडपम् ।

<sup>45</sup> Metre of verses 33 and 34 : Sragdharā.

<sup>46</sup> Metre of verses 35-41 : Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>47</sup> Originally भस्म, altered to भस्म.

<sup>48</sup> Metre : Mālinī.

<sup>49</sup> This word is perfectly clear in the impressions and cannot possibly be read in any other way. It offends against both the metre and grammar.

<sup>50</sup> Metre : Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).





[स]र्वदेवमयचारुतोरणं स्वर्गखंडमिव वेधसा स्वयम् ॥ <sup>61</sup>—[44.]

गंगाधरवरभवने करणिकथीरुकसुतेन भक्तेन ।

अक्रियतेयं सुगमा प्रशस्तिरिह धीरनागेन ॥ <sup>62</sup> — [45.]

यावच्छंभो ७ —

31. — ७ ७ नमुरनदीचंद्रलेखापतित्वं  
यावत्क्षमीर्मुरारिरसि विलसति द्योतते कौस्तुभं च ।  
गायत्री याव[दा]स्ते सततमुपनता प्रेयसी ब्र(म्)ह्मणोन्ते  
कैलासाकारमेतत्प्रतपतु भवनं हर्षदेवस्य तावत् ॥ <sup>63</sup> — [46.]

अ . .

32. . [ह]तः शंभुः कथं कालस्य गोचरः ।  
हर्म्यनिर्माणकालस्तु यथादृष्टो निव(ब)ध्यते ॥ <sup>64</sup>—[47.]  
संवत् १०१[३] आषाढशुदि १३ शंभोः प्रासादसिद्धिः ॥ ❀ ॥  
जातेष्वा(ब्दा)नां सहस्रे क्षिगुणनवयुते सिंहराशौ गतेर्के  
शुक्ला यासीत्तृ[ती\*]-

33. . [या] शुभकरसहिता सोमवारेण तस्याम् ।  
आदिष्टः शंभुनासौ [ध्रुव]ममलपदं दितुना शुद्धसत्त्वं(चं)  
लब्धा(ब्दा)वैदेहभावं शिवभवनमभिप्रस्थितो ह्यल्लटोद्य ॥ ❀ ।(॥) <sup>65</sup>—[48.]  
स्वस्ति । संवत् १०३० आषाढशुदि १५ निरुद्धं यथालब्ध(ब्ध)प्रासना[नां] . .

34. . नैव लिख्यते । महाराजाधिराजश्रीसिंहराजः स्वभोगे तून्कूपकद्वादशके सिंहगोष्ठं ।<sup>66</sup>  
तथा पट्टव(ब)द्धकविषये नैकलकेशानकूपौ ।<sup>66</sup> सरःकोटविषये कण्ठपल्लिकामेवं ग्रामांसुतुर-  
खंद्रांशखिखरोपरि . . . [भ\*]-

35. गवते श्रीहर्षदेवाय पुण्येहनि श्रीमत्पुष्करतीर्थे स्नात्वा स्नपनार्चनविलेपनोपहारधूपदीपपर्व-  
याघ्नोत्सवार्थमा शशांकतपनार्णवस्थितेर्यावच्छासनत्वेन प्रददौ । तथैतद्भाता श्रीवत्सराजः  
स्वभोगावाप्तजय[पु][रविष\*]-

36. ये कर्हमखातग्राममदाच्छासनेन । तथा श्रीविग्रहराजेन शासनदत्तग्रामद्वयमुपरिलिखित-  
मास्ते । तथा श्रीसिंहराजात्मजौ श्रीचंद्रराजश्रीगोविंदराजौ स्वभोगावाप्तपट्टव(ब)द्धकविषये ।<sup>66</sup>  
दर्भकक्षविष[ये] . .

37. [षा]संख्येन स्वहस्तांकितशासनौ [गृ?] . . . [द]के पाटकद्वय<sup>67</sup>पल्लिकाग्रामौ भक्त्या वितेरतुः ।  
श्रीसिंहराजीयदुःसाध्यश्रीधंधुकः खट्कूपविषये स्वभुज्यमानमयूरप[द्र]ग्रामं स्वाम्यनुमतः  
प्रदत्तवान् । . . . .

38. हिलात्मजः श्रीजयनराजः<sup>68</sup> स्वभुज्यमानकीलिकूपकग्रामं भक्त्या हर्षदेवाय शासनेन दत्तवान् ।(॥)  
तथा समस्तश्रीभग्मह[दे]श्या शाकंभर्यां खणकूटकं प्रति विंशोपकर्मिकं दत्तं । तथोत्तराप-  
थीयहैडाविकानां[स] . . . .

<sup>61</sup> Metre: Rathoddhatā.

<sup>62</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>63</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>64</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>65</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>66</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>67</sup> The sign of *anusvāra* of the last *akṣara* is doubtful.

<sup>68</sup> Originally श्रीजयनराजः, altered to श्रीजयनराजः.



L. 39. [च]ीटकं प्रति द्रुम एको दत्तः ।(॥) पुण्यात्मभिर्हस्तानि देवभुज्यमानचेक्षाणि यथा । म[द्रा]-  
पुरिकायां पि[प्प]लवालिकाचेक्षं निम्ब(म्ब)डिका[प्रा]मे दर्भटिकाचेक्षं मरुपक्षिकायां [भा]-  
टके[क्षं] [ह]र्षे लाटकेक्षं . . . . .

40. . . . [क]लावणपद्रे सेक्यकचेक्षं तथाचैव द्विहलिकानं[दि]सीमके वृहद्वलमिति ॥

सर्वानितान्भाविनो भूमिपालान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।

सामान्यीयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवन्नि [:॥\*] <sup>60</sup>—[49.]

## TRANSLATION.

[Om !]

[Om ! Adoration to Śiva !]

(Verse 1.) I adore him who removes all obstacles, the first-born of Śiva and his spouse, who is worshipped by the gods, [Gaṇānana,] the granter of boons, who gives enjoyment, salvation, and true perfection.

(2.) May the destroyer of Tripura guard you, who is <sup>60</sup> . . . . . with bewildered minds, but praised by the true gods !

(3.) Victorious is that Paśupati<sup>61</sup>, the bestower of compassion on all, who is named Harsha, the holy, at whose dancing the whole world verily changes its position ; [for] the earth, resting on Śesha's hoods, bends low beneath the tread of his feet, [while the sky] with the sun and moon [rises high] with the lifting up of his arms.

(4.) "A three-pointed spear is in thy left hand, in the other an alms-dish ; the ornament . . . . . ; a serpent serves as necklace for thy blue throat ; nowhere have I seen, O three-eyed one, such wondrous vesture ;"—may Hara, smiling when thus jestingly addressed by Gaurī, guard you !

(5.) May the river of heaven, who with her masses of water pervades the sky where the sun and the planets are shaken by her velocity, and who with the thousands of lines of her waves puts to shame the oceans with their decreasing water ; who, white like the moon, appears like a graceful veil on the crest of the moon-crested (*god*), fast bound with huge uncouth tresses of hair ;—may she grant your petitions !

(6.) May the god Harsha, that unfathomable architect for the construction of the world, preserve you,—he by whose will and power all that was not is produced and vanishes again, the universe with its moving moon and sun and stars, with its expanse of worlds, mountains, rivers, islands and oceans, and together with the gods, demons, serpents, his own attendants, excellent sages, Yakshas and mortals !

(7.) May the moon-crested (*god*), who in the form of the Linga has (*here*) a twofold dwelling, promote your happiness ; he who—full of joy at having burnt Tripura, the enemy of the gods, with the fire of his arrow, (*and*) worshipped on this hill by the joyful divine hosts, Indra and the rest, who praised him and bowed down to him,—verily under the name of Harsha <sup>62</sup> stayed on (*these*) two mountain peaks for the welfare of Bhārata<sup>63</sup> !

(8.) When the gods saw how his own nature broke forth, like a mighty fire issuing from the hollow of his eye, frightening the creatures with its scorching rays, darkening

<sup>60</sup> Metre: Śālinī.

<sup>61</sup> The missing portion of the verse probably expressed the idea that Śiva is dreaded by the demons.

<sup>62</sup> i.e. Śiva.

<sup>63</sup> i.e. 'joy.'

<sup>64</sup> i.e. Bhāratavarsha, or India.



the quarters with thick volumes of smoke of the trees which were consumed by its flames all round, roaring terribly in its impetuous progress, (*and*) annihilating the god of love, they became afraid lest the destruction of the world had come, out of season.

(V. 9.) May this mountain Harsha, which grazes the clouds on high (*and*) on which the god Harsha, the destroyer of Pura, resides, purify you !

A hero speaks the following verse:—

(10.) The water of the torrents which flows here is indeed not that of the Ganges; here there is not the charming beauty of the garden of paradise; nor are there [palaces] here which glitter brightly all around with their jewelled and gilded pinnacles. Yet this hill possesses another, superior, unrivalled beauty; for that Śambhu dwells here in person is surely a paramount cause of loveliness.

(11.) Since the eight-formed (*god*), the lord of the eight perfections, himself dwells here, this mountain possesses supreme grandeur which baffles description.

(12.) Glorious is this mansion of the holy Harshadeva which is charming with the expanse of its spacious chapels, embellished with eggs of gold, (*and*) pleasing like the sons of Pāṇḍu by reason of the court-yards<sup>64</sup> which are formed by the flights of buildings along its sides. Surpassing in height the peak of Meru, it is beautified by an excellent porch at which a bull is skilfully carved, and is endowed with manifold objects of enjoyment.

(13.) First came the lord of men known as the illustrious Gūvaka, of the Chāhamāna family, who attained pre-eminence as a hero in the assemblies of the foremost princes of the world, the illustrious Nāgas and the rest<sup>65</sup>; whose fame, remaining on earth in visible form, as an excellent dwelling for the holy Harshadeva, even now endures here and illumines with great . . . . .

(14.) His son was the illustrious Chandrarāja, of spotless fame and fierce valour; and his son was the valorous prince who again, like the first, was named Gūvaka. From him sprang, inspiring kings with fear, the illustrious Chandana, who, when he had slain on the battle-field the proud Tomara lord, prince Rudrena, by force secured the fortune of victory.

(15.) After him came his son, the Mahārāja named Vākpatirāja, the illustrious, endowed with supreme splendour, ever victorious in battle;

(16.) Who, managing to sustain the spirit of his army, eager to loosen the reins of their chargers, forced Tantrapāla,—the ruler of the country adjacent to Ananta, who had come arrogantly defying (?) the command of the prince whom he should have honoured,—to wander, quieted, overwhelmed with shame, in every direction, after his elephants had before already been frightened . . . by drums . . . . . (?).<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> The reading of the second line of this verse is quite clear in the impressions, but owing to the word *vikaṭa* its meaning is not clear to me. *Vikaṭa* is apparently used here as a feminine substantive, and should, judging from the context, denote both a hall or court-yard and a female, related somehow to the Pāṇḍavas. In the former sense the word is evidently used also in verse 33, below; and as regards the other meaning, it may at any rate be noted that *Vikaṭa* is the name of one of the hundred sons of Dhṛitarāshṭra.

<sup>65</sup> See note 26, above. I am doubtful about the correctness of my translation, but see no other way of explaining the original text.

<sup>66</sup> I do not properly understand the second line of this verse, which is damaged in the original: *Trāsitaḥ* might of course also mean 'who had frightened the elephants.' The word *abhivahan* (supposing the reading to be correct) of the third line appears to be used in an altogether unusual sense. Dr. Mill's translation of the second line is: 'even he, having his elephant terrified and driven into a lake by the sounding cymbals of the hostile war-elephants.'



A hero speaks :—

(V. 17.) Vâkpatirâja's peerless son was the illustrious Simharâja, who verily all the earth over is sung of by people as the equal of Hariśchandra, of spotless fame for his liberality, majesty, and victories, and of resplendent virtue. He piously gave abundant wealth to Hara for a temple.

(18.) And on Śiva's dwelling he set a golden dome (?), his own fame in bodily form, resembling the full moon.

(19.) [After having defeated] the Tomara leader, proud of the command of armies, together with Lavana, the victorious one annihilated in war rulers of men in every direction. To him, who kept as many (*princes*) in his prison as he did in his house, the universal sovereign of the earth in Raghu's race came of his own accord to bring him final liberation.<sup>97</sup>

(20.) His son was the illustrious Vighraharâja, resembling Indra, who rescued both the fortune of his family and the Fortune of victory from the distress which had thus befallen them.

(21.) By him the Fortune of his realm, deprived of the illustrious Simharâja and as it were frightened at the idea who might now be her lord, was re-assured by offering her a lasting home in his two arms.

(22.) Having subdued with his arms the whole earth by overpowering the wicked on all sides, he easily made it obedient to his commands, so that it was like a servant bowing down at his feet.

(23.) When good men hear his noble conduct constantly celebrated by mankind throughout the world, their bodies again and again are closely covered all over with hairs erect through delight.

(24.) He has been served with many presents, offered without guile and exceedingly pleasing,—with strings of pure pearls, gay steeds, fine garments and weapons; with camphor, quantities of betel, first-rate sandal-wood and endless quantities of gold; and with spirited rutting elephants, huge like moving mountains, together with their mates.

(25.) Piously he has assigned by deeds two villages to the lord Harsha, the excellent village of Chhatradhârâ and Śamkarâṇaka.

(26.) He is adorned by his younger brother, the illustrious Durlabharâja, as Râma was by Lakshmana, and as Halâyudha is by Vishṇu.

(27.) This row of great kings had the origin of their virtues in devotion to Śambhu. The holy Harsha is their family-deity; through him has the family become illustrious.—

(28.) In the land of Ananta dwelt the blessed preceptor Viśvarûpa, learned and a devout worshipper of Uttareśvara, whose hereditary doctrine was that of the *Pañchârthas*.<sup>98</sup>

(29.) His disciple was Praśasta, a true worshipper of (Śiva) Paśupati, purified by knowledge which shone brightly because the rite of initiation had removed all stains from it.

<sup>97</sup> The following verse shows more clearly that Simharâja had been unfortunate in war and was probably killed in battle. The universal sovereign in Raghu's race, spoken of in this verse, I understand to be the divine Râma (or Vishṇu).

<sup>98</sup> This verse contains the two words *uttareśvara* and *pañchârthala*, which I have not met with elsewhere. The former is derived from *uttareśvara* which we have in *Uttareśvara-tīrtha*, the name of a Tīrtha, and *Uttareśvardśrama*, the name of a Liṅga, and which apparently is a name of Śiva. *Pañchârthala* is evidently equivalent to *pañchârthika*, which occurs in line 6 of the Tewar stone inscription of Gayâkarnadeva (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 211), and the meaning of which is apparent from the *Sarvadarsana-samgraha*, translation by Cowell and Gough, p. 103.



(*Vv.30 and 31.*) His disciple was Bhāvarakta, also called<sup>69</sup> Allāṭa, sprung from a family of holy Brāhmans belonging to the Vārgaṭika tribe, who had migrated from the well-known village of Rāṇapallikā, near Harsha, where the hereditary doctrine is that of the *Sāmsārikas*.<sup>70</sup>

(32.) In Allāṭa surely Nandin<sup>71</sup> himself, whose place is ever near Śiva, had descended to the state of mortality, to worship the holy Harsha.

(33.) He who from his birth was a religious student, with mere space for his pure covering, with the soul completely controlled, and practising austerities; whose excellent mind was solely bent on worshipping the holy Harsha, and who had forsaken the infatuation of the outer world; who as soon as he was born was a dear friend ..... of those eager to cross (*the sea of*) life,—he caused to be built this mansion of Harsha with its well-constructed halls (?), with the wealth received from pious people.

(34.) When one sees how on this hill of the moon-decorated (*god*) which with its lofty peaks kisses the path of heaven he built this incomparable mansion of the holy Paśupati, celebrated under the name of Harsha,—this mansion which surpasses the palaces of the immortals and is a home for many gods, endowed with excellent objects of enjoyment,—it becomes evident to one that there is nothing which the penance of sages who have renounced all desires would not accomplish.

(35 and 36.) Of him, resplendent like Īśvara, the disciple was Bhāvadyota, always like Śiva himself in appearance, who shed light on the (*spiritual*) lineage of his preceptor. A perpetual religious student and fervently practising the vows of a Pāśupata ascetic, he by fierce austerities acquired holiness and got rid of the defilement of unholy deeds.

(37.) Having received the command of his preceptor about to depart for Śiva's home, he took upon himself to complete the works as they had been commenced.

(38.) To the east of the mountain, at the foot of it, he had three works executed, an excellent well, a beautiful garden, and a cistern for watering cattle, built of stone.

(39.) Watering the garden by means of a well of sweet water which never dries up ..... and filling the cistern.

(40.) To worship Śambhu with beautiful flowers and to give water to cattle to drink, these two things have been declared to be the best for people desirous of religious merit to accomplish.

(41.) Raiment consisting of mere space, matted hair, ashes, a broad couch formed by the earth, food received as alms, and the hand used as a drinking-cup,—these represented all his wants.

(42.) Having filled up with masses of stone all that immense .... which was [in front] of Śiva's temple, he caused to be made a beautiful court which, laid out with very smooth stones, is level and pleasant for walking.

(43.) The architect in this (*work*) was Chaṇḍaśiva, the famed son of Vīrabhadra, omniscient like Viśvakarman, in the art of building houses .....

(44.) He built this delightful house of Śaṅkara with its chapels, the beautiful porch which contains all the gods, like a portion of heaven made by the creator himself.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> This apparently is the meaning of *dvindmataḥ*, which does not occur elsewhere.

<sup>70</sup> What the doctrines of this sect were I have not been able to find out.

<sup>71</sup> An attendant of Śiva, commonly the bull on which he rides.

<sup>72</sup> In his account of the ruins of the temple, Mr. Dean speaks of a doorway relieved by an architrave of most elaborate sculpture, divided into twelve compartments, in each of which a group from the Hindu Pantheon occupies a place.



(V. 45.) Dhīranāga, the pious son of the *karaṇika*<sup>73</sup> Thīruka, has composed this lucid eulogy here, at the excellent dwelling of Gaṅgādhara.

(46.) As long as Śambhu owns . . . . . the river of the gods and the moon's crescent, as long as Lakshmi sports and the Kaustubha glitters on the bosom of Mura's foe,<sup>74</sup> as long as Gâyatrī abides near Brahman as his ever-devoted spouse, so long may this Kai-lāsa-like dwelling of the god Harsha shine forth !

(47.) . . . . . how should Śambhu come within the range of time ? But the time when this mansion was built is recorded here, as we have learnt it.

In the year 1013, on the 13th of the bright half of Āshāḍha, was the temple of Śambhu completed.

(48.) When a thousand and three times nine years had gone,<sup>75</sup> and when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with (the *yoga*) Śubha and (the *nakshatra*) Hasta, on a Monday,<sup>76</sup>—then that Allāṭa, commanded by Śambhu who desired to give him an eternal, undefiled, essentially bright home, departed for the abode of Śiva, about to obtain freedom from bodily existence.<sup>77</sup>—

May it be well !

The following is a record of the endowments as they were severally received up to<sup>78</sup> the 15th of the bright half of Āshāḍha of the year 1030 :—

The *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Simharāja, having on an auspicious day bathed at the sacred Pushkaratīrtha, made over by deed of gift to the holy Harsha-deva on the hill of the moon-decorated (*god Harsha*), to be his as long as the moon, the sun and the sea endure, four villages in his possession, *viz.* Simhagoshṭha in the Tānakūpaka group of twelve, Traikalakaka and Īśānakūpa<sup>79</sup> in the Paṭṭabadhaka *vishaya*, and Kaṇhapallikā in the Sarahkoṭṭa *vishaya*, for the purpose of bathing, worshipping and anointing (*the god*), for oblations, incense and lamps, and for the celebration of processions on festive days.

Similarly his brother, the illustrious Vatsarāja, gave by deed the village of Kardamakhāta in the Jayapura *vishaya* which he had become possessed of.

Similarly two villages, already mentioned above,<sup>80</sup> were given by deed by the illustrious Vighraharāja.

Similarly the sons of the illustrious Simharāja, the illustrious Chandrarāja and the illustrious Govindarāja, piously presented by deeds bearing their signatures . . . . two hamlets<sup>81</sup> . . . . in the Paṭṭabaddhaka *vishaya* (and) the Darbhakaksha *vishaya* which they had become possessed of.

<sup>73</sup> *i.e.* a writer of legal documents.

<sup>74</sup> *i.e.* Vishnu.

<sup>75</sup> *i.e.* in the expired (Vikrama) year 1027.

<sup>76</sup> The name of the week-day is similarly put in the instrumental case in other dates, where we should have expected the locative.

<sup>77</sup> I take *vaideha* as an abstract noun, derived from *videha* 'bodiless.'

<sup>78</sup> The word of the original, so translated, is *niruddham*, which I have not met with in this sense elsewhere.

<sup>79</sup> The names of these two villages form in the original a Dvandva compound, which I cannot be sure of having resolved correctly.

<sup>80</sup> See above, verse 25.

<sup>81</sup> Owing to the mutilated state of the text I am unable to translate this sentence properly. In particular I do not see how the meaning of the word *pāṭaka* here differs from that of *pallikā*. On *pāṭaka* see the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 135.



The illustrious Simharāja's *duḥśādhya*,<sup>82</sup> the illustrious Dhandhuka, with the permission of his master, gave the village of Mayūrapadra which he possessed in the Khaṭṭakūpa *vishaya*.

The illustrious Jayanarāja, the son of . . . . . hila, piously gave by a deed to Harshadeva the village of Kolikūpaka, possessed by him.

Likewise one *vimśopaka* on every *kūṭaka* of salt was assigned by the most illustrious . . . . .<sup>83</sup> at Śākambharī.

And one *dramma* on every horse was assigned by the . . . . . of horse-dealers<sup>84</sup> from the northern country.

The fields given by pious-minded people and now possessed by the god are as follows: at Madrāpurikā a *pippalavālikā*<sup>85</sup> field, at the village of Nimbadikā a *dar-bhaṭikā* field, at Marupallikā a *jhāṭa* field, at Harsha a *lāṭa* field, at . . . . . [ka]-lāvaṇapadra a *sekyuka* field; likewise here at . . . . .<sup>86</sup> a big plough of land.

(Verse 49.) Rāmabhadra again and again entreats all the kings to come: this common causeway of religion to princes must at all times be guarded by you!

## IX.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SUBA OF DIHLĪ.

BY PAUL HORN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

The papers relative to Muhammadan inscriptions already published by scholars in India, especially those of the late Professor Blochmann, are so valuable that they have laid a solid foundation for further advances; but the number of inscriptions still unedited must be very large, and their collection and publication may be looked to with confidence for many additions to, and corrections of, our information.

The following inscriptions are from impressions taken by the Archæological Survey officers of the Panjāb circle at diverse places in the former *Sūba* of Dihlī.

### I.—JHAJHAR (جھجھر; in inscr. No. 5 جھجھر).

Jhajhar is now the head-quarters of the *taḥsīl* of the same name in the Rohtak District. It is situated in the plain 35 miles west of Dihlī. The town is said to have been founded at the time of the first Muhammadan conquest of Dihlī, and is not seldom mentioned by the chroniclers. Many ruins testify its later importance. In 657 A.H. it is named among other cities which were conferred upon Nuṣrat Khān (*Tab. Nāṣ*, p. 274); in 756 Firōz Shāh dug a large canal from the river Satlaj and prolonged it to Jhajhar, a distance of 48 *krōḥ* (Firishta, lithographed edition, vol. I, p. 262). In the *Aīn-i-Akbarī* it is registered with 128,417 *bīghas*, 1,422,451 *dāms*, *Sayūrghāl* 306,461 *dāms*, 60 cavalry and 1,000 infantry; the castes were Afghāns and Jats. In A. II. 967, when Akbar made his encampment at Jhajhar, Abu'l Ma'ālī, who was set free from his confinement at

<sup>82</sup> This word apparently denotes an office. In other inscriptions we find *duḥśādhyaśāddhanika*.

<sup>83</sup> The word here left untranslated is *bhammaha-deśyā* about the reading of which there is no doubt. *Deśī* apparently is used in the same sense which it ought to convey here in the Peheva inscription, *ante*, vol. I, p. 187, l. 8, and probably denotes 'a guild'; and in that case *bhammaha* should denote a class of traders. For *vimśopaka* see *vimśopaka*, *ante*, vol. I, p. 166. *Kūṭaka* probably denotes a certain weight or measure (of salt).

<sup>84</sup> The original has *keḍāvika* instead of *keḍāvuka*, which occurs in the *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya II, 30.

<sup>85</sup> The terms here left untranslated probably denote various kinds of grain.

<sup>86</sup> The words here omitted I do not understand.



Bayāna by Khān Khānān, dared to present himself before the emperor; but the latter was so greatly offended by this that he ordered the rebel again into imprisonment.

The town was almost ruined by the great famine of 1783 A.D., but has since regained its prosperity. The following twelve inscriptions belong to seven mosques in it, and date from the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Hijrat.

1. A loose stone (20½" by 18") from the destroyed Kālī Masjid, now in the house of Mardān 'Alī Shāh Bhattiān in the town of Jhajhar, bears the following inscription of four lines¹:—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنا مسجدا لله بنا الله له مثله في الجنة  
بنا كرد اين مسجد مجلس عالي خان اعظم بر كزيده رحمان مرثي جهان  
دارد خان بن مغفور مرحوم ملك الشرق علاء الدوله والدين ملك ميان افغان  
سلمه الله عن الحداثات و توج ثوابه بتاج الرضوان الخامس والعشرين من رمضان سنة تسع و تسعين  
وسبعماية

“The Prophet—may he be blessed!—says,—‘He who builds a mosque for Allāh, will have built for him a house like it by Allāh in Paradise.’

“This mosque has been built by the high *Majlis*, the great Khān, the chosen of the Merciful, the educator of the world,—

“Dāūd Khān, the pardoned deceased son of the Malik Ashsharq ('Aladdaula) Waddīn Malik Miyān, the Afghān;—

“May God preserve him from bad accidents and crown his reward with the crown of Paradise!—on the twenty-fifth Ramazān 799 [22nd June 1397].”

The date falls in the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh; an inscription of the same year has also been published by Blochmann in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 304.

2. Over the *mihṛāb* of the Bāzārwallī mosque in the middle of the town, a sandstone slab, measuring 28" by 15½", bears the following five lines:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
في زمانة عمدة الخلافت باسط العدل و رافت جلال الدين  
محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بناء مسجد ساخته مكرمه  
و محسنه بيكه لطباع نواب روميخان فرمايش سركار خواجه كتور  
في التاريخ السابع والعشرين ٢٧ من شهر رجب رجب قدره سنة سبعين تسعمائة ٩٧٠

“In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. There is no God, etc.

“In the time of the pillar of the Kalifat, spreading justice and clemency, Jalāladdīn Muḥammad Akbar *Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his

¹ Here, at Strassburg, I am unable to refer to the *Tārīkh-i Badaonī*, the *Jaunpūrnāma*, the *Miftāḥ attavārikh*, Stewart's *History of Bengal* and other works. I have retained in the transcriptions of the inscriptions the spelling of the originals, adding no wanting dots, *hamzas* or *tashdids*, the poetry excepted; but I have omitted the signs of the short vowels and the *jazmas* which often occur arbitrarily. For the short accounts of the places where the inscriptions have been found, I have consulted Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. To Dr. S. Landauer I am obliged for his kind assistance in the elucidation of some difficulties.



reign! the erection of the honoured

"And beautiful mosque<sup>2</sup>, the lady over natures (?), has been made by the *Nawâb* Rûmî Khân, governor of the *sarkâr* Khwâj Katôr<sup>3</sup> (?),

"On the 27th of the month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 970 [22nd March 1563]."

This inscription is interesting because it gives new information about Rûmî Khân, who is not often mentioned in the histories. Blochmann has noted two services of his in his translation of the *Âin* (No. 111, p. 424), the one from A.H. 971—one year later than the present inscription—the other of A. H. 983 (No. 146, p. 441). His full name is not certain. Blochmann styles him Rûmî Khân Ustâd Jalabî.<sup>4</sup>

3. Over the northern outside arch of the mosque of Shâh Bura in the north of the town, is a sandstone, measuring 22" by 19", bearing the six lines:—

براه حق رحمت افیق چون داد	بنا این مسجد را عزم افتاد
بدور شه جلال الدین اکبر	که ایام بکام از مقرر باد
چو کس برسد بدین توان نوکشت	محمد دوست ابراهیم دلشاد
یقین از همدم است با راصلان حق	که خاطر خستگان می سازد اباد
بتخصیص انک با قطب زمانه	سر خدمت بجا می آرد استاد
چو مقصود جهانست بده شاه	خدایا عر او را جاردان باد
که نه صد بود فزون شصت رده و پنجم	شهر رمضان که آنرا کرد بنیاد
	و صل الله علی محمد
ز هاتف خواستم اتمام تاریخ	ندایم جاء سجده فیض ده داد

۹۷۶

Metre: *Hazaj*.

"When God the only one, put away (*my*) misfortune, the building of this mosque was designed.

"In the time of the king Jalâl addîn Akbar—may his days be equal to his desire!—

"Everybody who comes to that mighty one, becomes a new one; Muḥammad Ibrâhîm (*also*) is happy through him.

"He is true and a companion of the followers of God, he exhilarates the afflicted.

"To him especially the pole and time devote their service, the masters.

"As the design of the world is for ten kings, so, O God! may his glory be eternal!

"When nine hundred was increased by sixty and ten and five, it was in the month Ramazân that he laid the foundation. May the friendship of God be over Muḥammad!

<sup>2</sup> *Liṭibâ'* has been distinctly engraved, but perhaps *aṭbâ'* is to be read and *Bêga-ya* (i.e. *Bêg-i*) *aṭbâ'* synonymous with *daryâ khânlarî*—Bâbar's *Memoirs*, p. 480.

<sup>3</sup> The reading Katôr is somewhat doubtful; the word may be Ganaur or Kanaum, but even if read thus, we get none of the well-known *sarkârs* of the Moghul empire. The same strange use of *farmâyiš* occurs in Nos. 4 and 44.

<sup>4</sup> More famous was the homonymous *mîr âtash* of Humâyûn (died 942), who effected in 942 the conquest of the fort of Chanâr by the practice of old Zopyrus' stratagem, after having quitted the service of his former master Sultân Bahâdur of Gujarât, which treachery has given matter for the anecdote of Sultân Bahâdur's parrot in Khâfi Khân's *Muntakhab allubâb*. The Turks of Europe were celebrated in Asia for their knowledge of artillery, which was always the most remarkable weapon of the Turks in their wars with the Persian Shâhs, a fact that Shâh Tahmâsp I. in vain attempts to deny in his *Memoirs* (see my German translation of them, p. 129. Strassburg, Trübner).



'From the heavenly speaker I asked the date of completion, a voice gave me 'já (-yî) *sijda fayz da*' (Bestow a place of adoration). 976.' [Ramazân 976 began on the 17th February 1569]."

The words of the *tárîkh* give only 975. The poetry is very poor and difficult to understand. I do not pretend that my readings are absolutely correct.

4. Over the central arch of the ruined mosque of Miyân Râib to the south of the Bâzârwallî Masjid is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 19" by 15", bearing the following five lines. This mosque is in the last stage of ruin, the yard being filled with filth and sweepings; it is no more used for religious purposes.

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

واشهد ان محمد عبده ورسوله

كرمه بناء عمارت مسجد میان رایب بن پیاره

فی التاریخ عشر من شر (sic) ذی الحج

سنه ۹۸۹ فرمایش میان دارد

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion;

"And I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The edifice of this mosque has been built by Miyân Râib, son of Piyâra,<sup>5</sup> on the tenth of the month Zi-l-Hajj,

"In the year 989 [5th January 1582]. His commander (*was*) Miyân Dâûd."

5. The graveyard of Miyân Râib is situated half a mile east of Jhajhar, near the Buawalla tank. A red sandstone over the eastern gateway (27" by 13") bears the following inscription of four lines; the lettering is very poor:—

بدری شاه اکبر کز عدالت مبارکه تاج جهان را

ساخن [؟] چون دین بهتر محیر میان رایب ابن پیاره

قصبة پر نور جگر سلامت کیان [؟] همرا

سنه الفه اتنه (sic) ماه رمضان محمد دولتیاره ارتاجی [؟] .....

"In the time of Shâh Akbar, by whose justice came blessing upon the crown of the world

. . . . . "Miyân Râib, son of Piyâra.

"The town full of light, Jajar, is the repose of all nobles;

"In the year 1002, in the month of Ramazân [began the 21st May 1591] . . . ."

The marble gravestone itself measures 3' 8" by 10½". It contains the *Kalima* and the words *qabr-î-Miyân Râib*; round the open middle space runs the *Fātiḥa*. At the foot of the stone the Persian sentence has been engraved 'هرچه آمد برفت' 'Whatsoever came has gone'.

6. Over the outside central arch of the mosque attached to the tomb of 'Abd as-Şamad, half a mile east of the town near the Buawalla tank, is a red sandstone slab (21" by 17"), containing the following six lines:—

خوش رواجیست دین اسلامي در زمانه خلیفه نور الدین

یا الهی بباد سال هزار عدل و انصاف استوار متین



کرد مسجد بنای اسمعیل      ایره رایب که ارست طالب دین  
 سال تاریخ از خرد جستم      خردم رهنمون هزار و عشرين  
 گوشه شیني فقير عبدالصمد      ابن مکن که قوم عباسين  
 از طفيلي محمد عربي      دين داران بر روضه خلد برين

Metre : *Khafif*.

"In a good career is the faith of Islâm in the time of the king Nûraddîn (Jahângîr) O God! may his justice and equity stand firm and solid a thousand years!

"This masjid has been built by Ism'aîl Îrah Râib, who is a student of the faith.

"I asked the mind the date-year, the guiding mind (*said*) to me '1020' [began 16th March 1611].

"(I), a hermit, the poor 'Abd as-Şamad, the son of Makan, who belongs to the family of the 'Abbassides,

"To the companions of Muḥammad the Arabian, the pious ones in the high Paradise."

In No. 11 'Abd as-Şamad's father is named Mankan.

7. Over the gateway of Rustam Khân in the south of the town, on a sandstone, measuring 4 feet by 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", are two lines, and flower arabesques:—

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له واشهد ان محمد عبده ورسوله  
 تاريخ دروازه رستم خان ابن محمد خان سربني سنه ۱۰۲۹

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion; and I testify that Muhammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The date of the gateway of Rustam Khân, son of Muḥammad Khân Sarbanî (*is*) 1029' [began 8th December 1619].

"Jahângîr elevated the builder from a commander of 60 to a chief of 5,000 foot and 4,000 horse and named him Rustam Khân; besides he bestowed on him the government of Gujarât. He put much confidence in him and placed him in 1032 as general under the command of Prince Parwêz, after he had abandoned the service of the rebel Prince Shâhjahân. *Iqbâl. Jah.* 209, *Waqi'ât-i Jah.* in Elliot's *History*, vol. VI, p. 388."

8. Over the central arch of the same mosque as No. 6, on a red sandstone measuring 4' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 9", is an inscription of two lines; (not *in situ*):—

بدر جهانگیر شاه جهان شد این روضه پر نور حسن شهید  
 تواریخ این روضه را کسی هزار و سی و پنج سالش کشید

Metre : *Mutaqârib*.

"In the time of Jahângîr, the king of the world, this light tomb of Ḥasan Shahîd has been made.

"The date of it for a tomb has been brought by somebody (?) in the year 1035" [began 3rd October 1625].

9. Over the central outside arch of the Shaikhânwalla masjid, a soft sandstone slab, measuring 4' 11" by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", contained originally four lines, but the first, in Arabic, has almost vanished. Also the other lines are much injured, and some words are



missing, so that it is not possible to decipher fully the eighteen Persian hemistichs. I give only the beginning and the date:—

بحمدالله که در جمهر کلام . . .	نهایت خوبی جمهر . . .
بدر شاه نورالدین جهانگیر	که عالی تر ز شاهان جهانست
بنای کرد رستم خان محمد خان	که در زمین بمثلش بی نشانست
(مرتب شد عمارت) بتاریخ دهم از ماه رجب	بسن الف و پنج و سی

Metre : *Hazaj*.

“In the time of Shâh Nûraddîn Jahângîr, who is more exalted than the kings of the world, Rustam Khân,<sup>6</sup> son of Muhammad Khân, has built it, who has not his like on the earth.”

In the verses that follow the beauty of the mosque is described. The building was completed on the 10th of the month Rajab in the year 1035 [the 7th April 1626].

10. Over the north-west arch of a small *burj* on the west side of the tank of Shâh Ghâzî Kamâl, a short distance north of the town, is a red sandstone, measuring 4' 11" by 8", and containing eight hemistichs, arranged in two lines:—

در زمانه خلیفه نور الدین	حرف نادر مثال کرد نشان
رای رایان رای در کهل	بهر راحت فراغ خلق جهان
سال تاریخ از خرد جست	خردم گفت در غلو بدان
کوشه شینی فقیر عبدالصمد	ابن منکن که صاحب عرفان
سنه هزار سی و شش بود	

Metre : *Khafif*.

“In the time of the king Nûraddîn the tank, which has scarcely its like, became a sign

“Of Râi Râyân Râi Darghal, for the benefit of the happiness of the people of the world,

“I asked the mind the date-year; the mind spoke to me ‘Know it in *ghulûw*’

“(I) the poor hermit 'Abd as-Samad, the son of Mankan, who is a master of knowledge.

“The year was 1036” [began the 22nd September 1626].

The name of the builder is not certain.

11. Over the central outer arch of Kalâl Khân's masjid, half a mile outside Jhajhar towards the east near the Buawalla tank, on a red sandstone measuring 2' 9" by 7½", sculptured at the ends, is an inscription of three lines:—

بلطف و کرم عنایات کارساز جهان	شده مرتب و موجود این بلند مکان
بنای مسجد عالی کلال خان کرده	بدر عهد 7 خلایق پناه شاه جهان
بسال سی و نهم یک هزار شد موجود	خدای عز و علا دادرش بامن و امان

<sup>6</sup> Concerning Rustam Khân, see above No. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Corrected from ناه خلایق



Metre: *Mujlass*.

“By the grace and favour of the aids of the settler of the world, this high place has been arranged and constructed.

“Kalâl Khân has built this high mosque in the time of Shâhjahân, the refuge of men.

“It was in the year 1039 [began the 21st August 1629]. God—may he be honoured and exalted!—keeps it in safety and security.”

## II.—PÂNÎPAT.

Pânîpat lies to the north of Dihlî, as the *Akbarnâma* (II, 35) says 30, according the *Munt. allub.* (I, 50) 40, *krôhs* distant. It dates back to the wars between the Pândavas and the Kauravas. The modern town stands upon a high mound composed of the *débris* of earlier buildings. Because of its importance in the Muḥammadan period it was frequented by the kings, especially by the Mughal emperors, so that its name occurs very often in the chroniclers. Bâbar, in his *Memoirs*, names it as a considerable city. Besides, it has at several times witnessed decisive battles which were fought on its plains and sealed the fate of the whole of Upper India. Tîmûr found it a place of consequence where were stored large provisions of wheat. In 933 A. H. Bâbar met Ibrâhîm Lôdî near Pânîpat and defeated him, his adversary himself being killed in the fight. The emperor considered the place of his victory a fortunate one and bestowed as a special favour the government of Pânîpat, together with the gift of the revenues due on one harvest, upon Sultân Muḥammad Anghulî, who had bravely assisted him in that battle (*Târîkh-i-salâtîn-i-Afûghina*; Elliot's *History*, vol. V, p. 34). Sixty years later, Akbar, or speaking more exactly Khân Zamân, conquered Hêmu on the same field. On account of these victories Jahângîr, in his *Tuzaq*, speaks of Pânîpat as of a place ‘which has always been a fortunate one for my ancestors’ (Transl. of Lowe, p. 47). In 980 it was plundered, together with Sonpat and Karnâl, by the rebel Ibrâhîm Husain Mîrzâ. When Nâdir Shâh entered India, battles were again fought in the vicinity of Pânîpat. In A.D. 1761 Ahmâd Shâh Durrânî gained there his great victory over the Marâṭhas.

The *Áin* states the area of the district to have been 568,444 *bîghas*, its revenues were 10,756,647 *dâms*, 3,540, 632 *say dâms*, and its contingent amounted to 100 horse and 2,000 foot. It had a castle built of brick. The principal tribes were Afghâns, Gûjars and Rangbars. Two learned men born at Pânîpat in Akbar's reign were Shaikh Zamân, author of a commentary on the *Lawâih* and other excellent works (Badâunî, II, 258), and of the renowned surgeon Shaikh Hasan (*Áin*).

12. Over the central arch in the western wall of the tomb enclosure of Hâfiz Jamâl, half a mile north of the town, is now fixed the sandstone (3' 8" by 13½") which bears the following inscription. It has been transported thither from Munk, where (from its contents) it seems originally to have belonged to a mosque. The middle of the second line has been completely destroyed by the weather, which has injured also other words and has taken away all dots:—

امر بنا هذه العماره في عهد السلطان المعظم علا الدین والدس ابوالمظفر

مسعود شاه سلطان و حلد ملکہ ... درکنه مرنک مظفر منصورعلا بدر الدوله والدس [اس]

سندالامرا بهلوان الشرف (?) . . . مرحوم (?) السلطانی اعرالله ... فی المنصف من سوال

سنة ثلث و اربعين و ستمائة



"This edifice was ordered to be built in the time of the honoured king 'Aladdunyâ waddîn Abu-l-Muzaffar Mas'ûd Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his reign . . . . . of Pargana Munk, Muzaffar Mansûr 'Alâ Badr addaula waddîn,

"(son) of the chief of the Amîrs, *Pahlawân ashsharq* . . . , the defunct, the royal—may God increase his . . . . .!—in the middle of Shawwâl 643" [began the 19th February 1246].

This is the first inscription of Mas'ûd Shâh, who reigned from 639 till 644 A.H. He was the son of Fîrôz Shâh and succeeded Bahrâm Shâh on the throne. The name of the father of the grandee is not quite certain; the latter bore the title *Badr addîn*, which Malik Badr addîn Şunqar-î-Rûmî (put to death in 639) had before him (*Tab. Nâş* 255). Afterwards the title was bestowed on Malik Nuşrat Khân Şunqar-i-Şûfî. As two persons could not have the same title at the same time—which is specially stated, *e.g.* in the *Riyâz assalâţîn*, p. 284—Malik Şunqar-î Şûfî must have been named Badr addîn, but in the reign of Maḥmûd Shâh, under which king he was more of a *persona grata* than under Mas'ûd, who permitted the Nizâm al Mulk Khwâja Muhazzab addîn to take all functions out of the hands of the Turkish Amîrs. It is not surprising that the name of the Malik of our inscription does not occur in the *Tabaqât-î-Nâsirî* among the Shamsî Maliks, for Minhâj addîn gives also a defective list of the Maliks of Maḥmûd Shâh's reign, from which Major Raverty concludes that the author intended to continue his work to the period falling within his own lifetime.

*Pargana Munk* has been identified by General Cunningham (*Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 186) with the old Nicæa of Alexander the Great. It is not mentioned in the *Âin*, but it occurs once in the *Akbarnâma*, vol. III, p. 604, where it is said that Akbar gave it to Ziyâ al Mulk.\*

13. Over the south door of the tomb of Shaikh Jalâl addîn in the east of Pânîpat is a sandstone slab (2' 8½" by 19") bearing four lines; the inscription is not visible from the enclosure owing to a high verandah which has been attached:—

باني اين عمارت فيروز محمد لطف الله افغان باني  
سكندر شاه بهلول شاه سلطان بكرم باري تعالى توفيق يافت تا كند حظيره بندكي شيخ  
المشايف والا ولياء شيخ جلال الحق والشرع والدين قدس الله سره  
العزیز برارد بتاريخ درم ماه شوال سنه اربع وتسعمائة

"The builder of this edifice is Fîrôz Muḥammad Luṭfallâh, the Afghân. The builder of this religious edifice, during the time of the king of kings Sikandar Shâh, son of Buhlûl Shâh, the king, by the kindness of God Almighty, found grace to erect the vault of the tomb of the revered Shaikh of Shaikhs and saints, Shaikh Jalâl alḥaq washshar' waddîn—may God sanctify his dear secret! Dated 2nd Shawwâl, 904" (13th May 1499).

\* Because Blochmann has overlooked the fact that Ziyâ al Mulk is mentioned several times in the *Akbarnâma*, I add here briefly what is there said about him, as a supplement to the *Âin* Translation, p. 497, No. 276. In 994, he served under Shaikh Farid Bakhshî; in 1000 A.H., he became Governor of Munk. Afterwards he and Abû Nâsir were sent as ambassadors to Shâh 'Abbâs of Persia. In 1011 he became *bakhshîgar* of the army sent against Bir Singh Dêv Bundêla, the murderer of Abu-l Fazl. In 1012 he was elevated to the rank of a commander of 700 foot and 300 horse. The *Âin* names him only as a chief of 350.



The words *Bānī-yī in khair* in the first line are doubtful, but, as I cannot make out the correct reading, I have recurred to that of Blochmann, who has published the inscription in the *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, July, p. 141. (Perhaps Pānīpatī should be read, written بانی بتی). In the same place is given an account of Shaikh Jalāl addīn. The inscription falls in the 11th year of Sikandar Shāh Lōdī's reign.

### III.—SEWĀH.

14. In Sewāh, 4 miles south of Pānīpat, is the tomb of Sayyid Bāyazīd. A sandstone, measuring 13" by 9", over the doorway of the dome, bears the following inscription of three lines :—

بنا نموده کنبد سید بایزید شهید  
بلر ولد نیت ساکن موضع سواه  
سنه ۴ فرخ سیري

"The dome of Sayyid Bāyazīd, the martyr, has been built by Balu, son of Nayat, an inhabitant of the village of Sewāh, in the fourth year of Farrukh Siyar."

Farrukh Siyar really became emperor in 1124 A.H., but he gave orders that Jahāndār Shāh's reign should be considered as rebellion, and that his own reign should date from the 1st Rabī' al' awwal 1123 [19th March 1711], *Munt. allub.* II, 737.

### IV.—SONPAT (سرنپتہ، سونی پت، سرنپت).

Sonpat is also a town of great antiquity which is said to have been founded by the earliest Aryan settlers. In the *Āin* it is registered with 283,299 *bīghas*, 7,727,323 *dāms*, 775,105 *say. dāms*, 70 horse, and 1,000 foot. It had a brick fort. The principal tribes were Afghāns and Jats. The following inscriptions are from three mosques and several tombs there. A celebrity buried at Sonpat is Sayyid Naṣīr 'Ābidallāh ibn Aḥmad, whose tomb is still extant, but no inscription relative to himself has been discovered. Khizr Khān, son of 'Alā addīn Muḥammad Khiljī, is said to have made a pilgrimage to the tombs of certain martyrs buried here (Ibn Baṭūta, French edition, vol. III, p. 187).

15. Over the central outside arch of a mosque attached to the tomb of Imām Naṣīr, just outside Sonpat to the south on the Dihlī road, is a sandstone slab (7' 6" by 17") which bears an inscription<sup>9</sup> of two lines, the letters being thick and clumsy :—

تجدد هذه العمارة المسجد المباركة الممورة في بركة السلطان الاعظم طلال الله في العالم عباد الدنيا والدن  
العايم بناسد الرحمن ابوالمطهر بن السلطان  
ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه العبد الصعيف مير بك ن اي بيك مقطع سرنپت  
في التاريخ دوازد هم ماه مبارك رجب عظم الله حرمه سنة ستعس و ستمانه

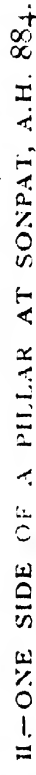
"The building of this blessed august mosque was renewed during the reign of the great king, the shadow of God on earth, *Ghiyāth addunyā waddīn*, who stands by the assistance of the merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Balban, the king, the aider of the

<sup>9</sup> See the facsimile No. i on the accompanying plate. The fact that the late Mr. Blochmann, the acknowledged authority for these inscriptions, has several times given faulty readings in the *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, May, p. 94, where he has published this inscription, may show how easily errors may be committed in deciphering.





Scale: 12-100ths.



Score: 7-78A.

### III.—MAHIM INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 949.



Scale: 1-100







Commander of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—by the weak slave Mîr Beg, son of Âî Beg, the *muqî* of Sonpat. Dated the 12th of the blessed month Rajab—may God increase its honour!—670" [13th February 1271].

Three other inscriptions of Balban's time are extant: the first from Barwâla, 680 A.H. (see No. 51); the second from Garhmukhtêsar in the Mîrat District, 682 A.H. (E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Dihlî*, p. 136); and the third from Sakî in sarkâr Qanauj, 684 A.H. (*Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1874, May, p. 104<sup>10</sup>).

16. In a part of the graveyard of Imâm Naşîr a square pillar, of coarse black sandstone, is standing, which has been inscribed on each side with Persian verses and some Arabic religious sentences. Its dimensions are 6' 2½" by 1' 3½" by 10¼". It is beautifully sculptured and copiously ornamented with flower arabesques and scrolls. The verses in the middle of each side have been written in a large handsome *Ta'alîq*; round these middle pieces run also verses in smaller letters. As there is no information about the builder or the name of the holy man buried in these, the historiographer loses nothing if I omit the marginal hemistichs—18 each on the top and on both sides, and 6 each on the two ends. That it is the tomb of some saint follows from the poetry, which throughout points to a pious man. The date of the erection has been inscribed on the left side of the stone, *viz.* the third Rajab 884 [20th September 1479], which falls in the reign of Buhlûl Lôdî.

It has been said that the stone was put up in the time of Aurangzêb, and that it is the tomb of some Pîr Yûsuf, but such local tradition is of no value compared with the statement of the stone itself. The stone is broken about 2 feet from the head; it is exposed to the weather, and the margin has thus been ruined in many parts. Besides being broken, the sides near the basement are crumbling and the stones forming the base are very rotten. This beautiful object should be protected.

At the head and foot of the stone the following verses are inscribed (Metre: *Ramal*):—

کر سرا پرده قدر تو بر افلاک بود عاقبت زیر سرت زبر خشت خاک بود

"Even if the curtain of thy power were near the heavens, in the end under thy head and armpit will be the dust."

راست کن کار خود امروز که عمرت برجاست که جو آخر شودت عمر بود کار تو راست

"Make ready thy work to-day when thou art in full life, so that thy work may be ready when thy life is finished."

Both sides contain two *Rubâ'is* each<sup>11</sup>:—

تاکی ز اصول دین کم ر کاست کنی از مطرب ساده نغمه درخواست کنی  
اهنگ نوای عین کم کن که اجل چندان نکذارد که نفس راست کنی

"For what length dost thou bid defiance to the fundamentals of the faith, requesting a smooth melody from the musician?"

<sup>10</sup> Besides those mentioned there exist the following two inscriptions of Balban; *viz.* at Kôh, or 'Aligarh, A.H. 652; and at Manglaur in tahsil Rurki, A. H. 683; see A. Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, pages 2 and 17.—Ed. E. I.

<sup>11</sup> See the facsimile No. ii of the right side of this stone on the plate.



“O eye! resign to thy new purpose, for death scarcely allows the soul to become ready.”

کر کار برسم صاحب هوش کنی      زیبا سخنان اهل دل گوش کنی  
با کس نکنی بدی و نسبت بترکس      هرچند بدی کند فراموش کنی

“If thou wilt do thy works as a man of judgment, thou must listen to the words of the wise.

“Do evil to no one and nobody will do evil to thee, or whatever evil they do thee forget it.”

خوش آنکه بآئین مروت کیشان      راحت رسد از روی بدل درویشان  
از خلق نکر همیست با خلق خدای      نیکی کند و عوض بجوید زیشان

“Happy is one by whose generous practice the heart of the poor receives quiet.

“He belongs to the good people, who does well to the creatures of God and gets reward from them.”

خواهی از صحرای فنا پیمودن      در ملک بقا رسیدن و آسودن  
باید سخت بذکر کردی جو خمش      خاموشی تو بفکر باید بردن

“If thou wilt pass from the plain of perishableness to the kingdom of eternity and become satisfied,

“Thou must preserve thy words and be like a silent one and always have silence in thy mind.”

On the top are inscribed the *Kalima, Qorán, Sûra II, 256*, and some other short sentences.

Respecting the Imâm Naşîr, near whose tomb the inscription has been found, Mr. F. G. Delmerick gives some information in the *Proceedings, As. Soc. Beng.* 1873, May, p. 95.

17. Over the eastern doorway of the enclosure of Khwâja Khizr's tomb, a quarter of a mile north of Sonpat, is a red sandstone, measuring 7' 1" by 1', containing two lines:—

مرتب شد عمارت دهلیز حظیره میان خواجه خضر بن دریا خان سررانی رحمة الله علیهما یرم الاثنین  
الخامس عشر من شهر شوال سنة ثمان عشرين

و تسعیة فی عهد السلطان العادل البازل الراق بتایید الرحمان ابرالمظفر ابراهیم شاه بن اسکندر شاه  
بن بهلول سلطان و سلطانه خلد لتناد<sup>12</sup>

“The portico of the tomb of Miyân Khwâja Khizr, son of Daryâ Khân Shîrwânî—may God have mercy upon both!—was erected on Monday the 15th Shawwâl, 928 [7th September 1522].

“In the time of the just and liberal king, who relies on the assistance of the Merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrâhîm Shâh, son of Iskandar Shâh, son of Buhlûl, the king—may his kingdom be perpetuated until the resurrection!”

<sup>12</sup> The second last words are uncertain.



18. Over the southern doorway of the same tomb is found another inscription of two lines; the stone measures 9' 5½" by 11". It runs—

بمعون الله تبارک و تعالی و فضله عمارت کنبد این حظیره بندکی میان معظم و مکرم میان خواجه خضر  
مرحوم مغفور بن دریا خان بن شیخ المشایخ شیخ احمد بن ملک المشایخ شیخ مندوکی درویش شیروانی  
علیهم الرحمة والغفران

مقطع قصبه سونپته در عهد حضرت سلطان السلاطین محمد قواعد الاسلام و الدین ظل الله فی العالمین  
الرائق بتایید الرحمن [ ابو ] المظفر ابراهیم شاه بن سکندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد ملکه و سلطانه تمام شد  
بفرمایش لنگر خان خضر در پانزدهم ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه ثلاثین و تسعمایه

“With the help of God, who is blessed and exalted, and by His grace, the building of the vault of this tomb of the great and noble saint, Miyân Khwâja Khizr, the deceased, the pardoned, son of Daryâ Khân, son of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Aḥmad, son of the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Mandûkî Darwêsh of Shîrwân—may God have mercy and pardon upon them!—

“The *muqti*’ of the town of Sonpath, was completed in the time of his Majesty the king of kings, who confirms the laws of Islâm and the faith, the shadow of God in both worlds, who trusts to the aid of the Merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrâhîm Shâh, son of Sikandar Shâh, son of Buhlûl Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—by order of Langar Khân Khizr, on the 15th Rajab—may its honour increase!—930” [19th May 1524].<sup>13</sup>

19. Over the central outer arch of a small *masjid* in the *sarâi* near the dispensary, on a brown sandstone slab (21" by 13"), are two lines. The stone belonged originally to a tomb which is now used as a police rest-house:—

یا الله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله یا عارف زنوبی (sic) یا الله

اس حظیره علیخان برادر محمود خان افغان مقطع قصبه سونپته راسب کنابد در عهد بابر بادشاه دوم ماه  
صفر سنه سبع و تسعمایه

“O God! There is no God, etc. O forgiving! forgive me my sins, O God!

This tomb has been built by 'Alî Khân, brother of Maḥmûd Khân, the Afghân, *muqti*’ of the town of Sonpath, in the time of Bâbar Pâdishâh, on the second of the month Şafar 937' [25th September 1530].

'Alî Khân belonged to the Farmulî tribe and is mentioned in Bâbar's *Memoirs* as 'Umdat al A'yân 'Alî Khân Shaikhzâda-ya Farmulî, in the battle against Rana Sanka (933); in 935 A.H., he was sent against the rebel Baban (pp. 416, 435, 452). Abu-l-Fazl has inserted the same statements in his *Akbarnâma*.

20. Over the outside of a doorway, leading to the west from the enclosure of Imâm Naşîr, is a sandstone slab (3' 5" by 1' 3") containing 16 hemistichs in four lines:—

بعالم هیچکس زینسان بنای ندیده تا بنای روزگارست  
بدوران شهنشاهی<sup>14</sup> بمانند که در میدان مردی شهریارست

<sup>13</sup> Both inscriptions have been published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* 1873, May, p. 94, *et seq.* Mr. Delmerick there identifies the Khwâja Khizr with the homonymous Khân, who is several times mentioned by Firishta.

<sup>14</sup> Corr. from نمایتد



جلال الدین محمد اکبر آن کل      که از بستان معنی یادگارست  
 جهانگیری که چون خاقان و قیصر      غلام و جاکرش مرسوم آرست  
 امیری کشته بانی این بنا را      که طرح درخت او استوارست  
 امیر کشور شوکت علی دوست      که روز رزم چون اسپندیارست  
 عدالت پیشه چون ار ندیدم      که در ملک عدالت شهریارست  
 جو جستم از خرد سال بنایش      بکفتا نهصد و شست و چهارست

Metre: *Hazaj*.

"In the world nobody has seen such a building since the beginning of time ;

"It suits to the time of a king who is a sovereign on the battle-field of manliness,—

"Jalāladdīn Muḥammad Akbar, the rose, which is a reminder of the spiritual flower garden ;

"A conqueror of the world, who makes (*men*), as the emperor of China and the Cæsar, his accustomed servants and slaves.

"An Amīr was the builder of this building, of whose power the foundation is solid,—

"The chief of the kingdom of the majesty, 'Alī Dōst, who is like Ispandiyār on the day of battle.

"I never saw a practiser of justice like him who is sovereign in the reign of justice.

"When I asked the mind the year of its erection, he said 'It is 964'" [began the 4th November 1556].

'Alī Dōst Khān Bārbēgī (master of the ceremonies), son of Hasan 'Alī, is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (II, 69), 963 A.H. as one of Tardī Beg's officers in the war against Hēmū. A.H. 951 he is named among other nobles who accompanied Humāyūn to Persia (I, 223). In 984 he was attached to Shihābaddīn Aḥmad Khān ; and in 991 he was intrusted with the care of the army and the pay of the soldiers (III, 404). For the last time he is mentioned A.H. 1006 (III, 644). He had a son, Faṭḥ Dōst, who died in 989 (III, 354).

21. Over the south outer arch of the masjid of the Qāzizādas, in the Maḥalla of the Qāzizādas, in the fort of Sonpat, is a rectangular soft sandstone slab, measuring 2' 6" by 10", which contains three lines :—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 خوشا تعمیر مسجد زیر افلاک      صفایی عرش جو خوش بوی عنبر  
 زمانی شد بشاهی جان عالم      جلال الدین محمد شاه اکبر  
 شده تاریخی (sic) بناء او مسلم      بامر قاضی احمد با بنج دگر  
 ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه تسع و ستین و تسعمایه

Metre: *Hazaj*.

"There is no God, etc.

"Well ! the repairing of the mosque—the clearness of its roof under the heavens is like fragrant ambergris—

"Was in the time of the kingdom of the soul of the world, Jalāladdīn Muḥammad Akbar Shāh.



“The date of the erection has been intrusted to the command of Qâzî Aḥmad and five others (?). ”

“In the month of Rajab—may God increase its honour!—A. 969” [began the 7th March 1562].

The Qâzîzâdas mentioned in the *Akbarnâma* were all rebels, or *bad-andêsh* (*malicious men*); one being a partisan of Ma'sûm Khân; another who had the surname *khabîtha-ya Mâwarannahr* (the impure from Transoxania) obeying Abu-l Ma'âlî's command and attempting to murder Mâh Chochuk Begum, Prince Muḥammad Hakîm's mother; a third being united with a pretended son of Mîrzâ Shâhrukh to murder Qâsim Khân.

22. Over the northern outer arch of the same mosque is a second inscription sculptured on a sandstone (measuring 2' 8" by 18") in five lines:—

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله

بعده شهنشاه شاهجهان که اسلام را زینت و زیب داد

چنان مسجد ساخت قاضی نصر که خلق آورد سوی سجده چکاد

چورتاریخش از عقل جستم بکفت که مسجد برای خدا نرنداد

مرتب شد عمارت هذه المسجد المباركة الميمونة في التاريخ يازدهم شهر ربيع الاول سنة الف و ستة و ستين

(Metre: *Mutaqârib*.)

‘There is no God, etc.

“In the time of the king of kings, Shâhjahân, who gave ornament and beauty to Islâm, Qâzî Naṣr has repaired the mosque that people might bow the forehead in adoration. When I asked the mind its date, he said ‘He has newly built the mosque for God's sake’. The edifice of this blessed and august mosque has been prepared on the 11th of Rabî'al awwal A. 1066” [8th January 1656].

23. In the southern wall, outside Imâm Naṣîr's tomb, is a stone which has been whitewashed so much that the letters of the inscription have been partly ruined. Nor has Imâm Naṣîr's tomb a right to the stone, which originally belonged to a mosque; the dimensions of the inscription, which is in one line, are 3' 8" by 4½". Above the letters there are ornaments in the form of Cufic characters:—

عمارة هذا المسجد بنى القائد الحامل السند ابى بكر (؟) محمد بن الحسن العسولى ادام الله نوابهما

فى المحرم سنة احدى وثمانى و الف و مائة

“The edifice of this mosque has been built by the leader, the guardian, the Sayyid Abû Bakr (?) Muḥammad, son of Hasan, the Fuzûlî—may God perpetuate their reward!—in the Muḥarram of 1181.”

The first name of the builder and the two last words are very doubtful; instead of 1100, it may also be 700 or 900.

#### V.—ROHTAK AND MAHIM.

The cities of Rohtak and Mahim have suffered in general the same fate during the Muhammadan period. In the environs of both are to be found many remains of antiquities, also of Hindu origin; in the vicinity of Rohtak have been excavated coins of



Rāja Samanta Deva from about 920 A.D.<sup>15</sup> These districts had the misfortune to be plundered by every invader who came to the Panjāb, from Maḥmūd of Ghaznī till the present century, so that there are everywhere remains of destroyed villages; they were laid waste by Maḥmūd the Ghaznavide, by Timur, by Shihāb addīn Ghōrī, by Bābar, by Nādir Shāh, by the Marāṭhas, and by the English under General Lake. Now Mahim belongs to the district of Rohtak lying 19 miles north-west of the town of Rohtak; also in former times, before Akbar, both appertained to one *sarkār*, the older name of the tract of country being Hariāna. 'Abbās Khān states in his *Tārīkh-i Shērshāhī* (Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 415) that Shēr Shāh 'gave the *sarkār* of Sirhind to *masnad* 'Alī Khawās Khān as *jāgīr*, who kept in that *sarkār* his slave Malik Bhagvant at the capital Dihlī. Miān Aḥmad Khān Sarvānī was *amīr*, and 'Ādil Khān and Hātīm Khān *shiqdār* and *faujdār*.' If Dihlī was the capital of Malik Bhagvant's *sarkār*, it is to be supposed that Rohtak and Mahim were also allotted to his province. Under Akbar they were separated: Rohtak fell to the Dihlī *sarkār*, and Mahim to *sarkār* Hiṣār Fīrōza. The *Āin-i Akbarī* has the following details concerning them: 'Mahim has a fort of burnt brick; 188,080 *bīghas*, 4,958,613 *dāms naqdī*, 84,202 *dāms sayurghāl*. The inhabitants were Tunvar Rājputs and Jats, 700 horse, 2,000 foot' (I, 527). 'Rohtak has a fort of burnt brick; 636,835 *bīghas*, 8,599,270 *dāms naqdī*, 428,000 *dāms sayurghāl*. Jats; 100 horse, 2,000 foot.' (I, 519). At Rohtak Kai Khosrau, grandson of Balban and designated heir of his throne, was murdered by Kai Qobād's emissaries.

Both towns, especially Mahim, bear traces of great importance in past times. The following inscriptions refer to five mosques at Mahim and four at Rohtak.<sup>16</sup> The most important and interesting of the nineteen Rohtak and Mahim inscriptions is No. 33. below.

24. Over the central outer arch of the new mosque in Rohtak, the tomb-stone of Fīrōz Khān is now placed. It measures 3' 8" by 8", and contains two lines. The letters are partly illegible:—

تمام شد این بقعه شیراز... [؟] [؟] در عهد نیکو [؟] حضرت بابر بادشاه غازي خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه  
روضه بنكا [؟] مسند عالي [؟]  
فیروز خان بن مسند عالي احمد خان بن ... جمالخان مرحومین بتاريخ دهم ماه ربیع الآخر سنه اربع  
و ثلثین و تسعمائه

"This tomb ... has been finished in the prosperous time of his Majesty Bābar Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—The tomb of ..... the high *Masnad*

"Fīrōz Khān, son of the high *Masnad* Aḥmad Khān, son of ..... Jamāl Khān, both defunct, on the 10th Rabī'al awwal 934" [4th December 1527].

Fīrōz Khān is mentioned in Bābar's *Memoirs* and in the *Akbarnāma*, 932 A.H., as a renowned officer who was generously rewarded along with other men of merit by Bābar after the victory over Ibrāhīm Lōdī. Besides one *krór* of *tankas*—(according to Bābar's *Memoirs*,—1 *krór* 46 *lakhs* and 5,000 *tankas*, p. 384) from Jaunpūr, he received some *jāgīr* (*chīzī jāgīr*). The emperor sent him afterwards against Itāwah.

<sup>15</sup> Cunningham's *Reports Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XVI, p. 136.

<sup>16</sup> It may be remarked incidentally that the mention of Rohtak in the text of the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, p. 217, is not correct, as Captain Raverty states in his translation of that work, p. 693, note 7.



25. Over the central outside arch of the mosque in the *garhî*, or fort, of the Pathâns at Rohtak the following inscription of three lines is engraved on a rectangular sandstone—size  $16\frac{1}{2}$  by  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The *garhî* of the Pathâns is in the north-west of the town, where the road comes in from Hânsî :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر أمثالها ومن  
جاء بالسئنة فلا يجزى إلا مثلها وما توفيقي إلا بالله قال عليه السلام  
من بني مسجداً في الدنيا فله قصر في الجنة ٩٤٥ ..... سنة ٩٤٥

“In the name of God the merciful and the compassionate! He who brings a good work shall have ten like it; but he

“Who brings a bad work shall be recompensed only with the like thereof.”<sup>17</sup> My grace does not come through any one but God.<sup>18</sup> He (*the Prophet*), upon whom may God's blessing be, has said :—

He who builds a mosque in the world will have a castle in Paradise.’ 96,251 .....<sup>19</sup> A. 945’ ” [began the 30th May 1538].

26. On a rectangular sandstone over the central outside arch of the *masjid* in the Khiâbân Mahalla, west of the town Rohtak, is a stone, which measures 13 by 12 inches: the inscription is in three lines, and is worn :—

بعمرة الله تعالى ورسوله بعمارة ابن مسجد در عهد دولت نصير ..... محمد همايون بادشاه غازي  
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه توفيق يافت الفقير برهان الجنة والدين  
محمد جمال ناگوري الجشتي سنة خمس و اربعين وتسعمائة ٩٤٥

“With the aid of God almighty and His apostle for the erection of this mosque in the time of the reign of Naṣir ..... Muḥammad Humāyūn Bādishāh-i Ghāzī—

“May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—found grace the poor, chief of the Paradise and the faith,

“Muḥammad Jamāl of Nāgôr, the Chishtî. In the year 945” [began the 30th May 1538].

The inscription being much defaced some words are doubtful. Humāyūn's common title *naṣir addîn* does not certainly occur here, though the word after *naṣir* is not clear.

The Chishtîs are a well-known family of Muhammadan saints. There exist shrines of divers members of it in several places. Chishtî saints—*khwājagân-t* *chishtî* in the inscription on the tombstone of Princess Jahânārâ at Dihlî (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for November 1872, p. 170)—are mentioned in the following published inscriptions:—Qutb addîn Khân Chishtî, commonly known as Shaikh Khubâ (Blochmann, *Atn-Translation*, p. 496), the foster brother of Shâh Jahāngir, in *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, for December 1873, p. 199; Shaikh Faiz Allāh Chishtî, *ib.*, p. 200; Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Shaikh Mahmūd Chishtî, *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, for April 1877, p. 94.

At Nāgôr, the birth-place of Muḥammad Jamāl of our inscription, was a Chishtî shrine.<sup>20</sup> A contemporary and fellow-countryman of his was Shaikh Mubâarak, the

<sup>17</sup> *Qorān*, Sûr. vi, 161 (E. H. Palmer's translation).

<sup>18</sup> *Qorān*, Sûr. xi, 90.

<sup>19</sup> There follows a group like a rupee sign turned upside down.

<sup>20</sup> See Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, vol. XIII, p. 41.



father of the poet Shaikh Faizî and of Abû'l Fazl, but in the year 945 Shaikh Mubârak had already left Nâgôr.

27. Over the central outer arch of a mosque at Gaokarân, about half a mile west of Rohtak, a red sandstone (3' 2" by 2' 5") contains three lines with one line going round the stone as a border. The stone is getting worn partly by the weather and partly by copies being taken from it, but the inscription is quite legible. In the midst of the stone the period of the erection has been engraved in a square در در جلال الدین محمد اکبر (in the time of Jalâl addîn Muḥammad Akbar)<sup>21</sup>:—

مست جان درویش سپهر مکرمت      کشته از جان بنده فرمان حق  
کرده از جان بقعه خیر الامور      شد از آن رخشا و قابل آن حق  
سوی آن مسجد هر آن کس رفته شد      عرق نحر لطف یابی (۹) نانو حق  
زاهدی تاریخ این مسجد نوشت      گفت بر کو معبد خاصان حق

Metre: *Ramal*.

"The Darwêsh Mastjân, the heaven of benignity, has gone out of life a slave of the order of God;

"He has made his soul a temple of good works, he became happy by it, and a receiver of the time of God (of eternity).

"Every man who has come to this mosque shall get a drop of the ocean of the kindness of God's banquet. (?)

"Zâhidî (or 'a hermit') wrote the date of this mosque; he said, 'Say. "A temple of God's favourites".' "

The letters of the *târikh* give 966 [began 14th October 1558].

28. A loose stone standing on a grave in the graveyard near the Dâk Banglâ of Rohtak, on the west side of the Dihlî road, bears an inscription of three lines; its dimensions are 17" by 16". On the left side the last letters of each line and the border have been lost:

ساخت شمشیر خان زلف الله کند

بر سر قبر پیر صافی دل عا

تسعمایه خمس سبعین سال است هجر [ت]

"Shamshêr Khân has made with the favour of God the vault over the tomb of Pîr Saft-Dil 'A...975 H. is the year" [began 8th July 1567].

Shamshêr Khân was *shiqqdâr* of *pargana* Rohtak, A. H. 973, as we learn from inscription No. 43. His name occurs several times in the *Akbarnâma*. In 987 he was *Khudâjasadî* and was sent to Bihâr to quell the disturbances which had broken out there; and to Bengal, together with Râi Purukhôt, Maulânâ Tayyib, and Shaikh Najm addîn (III, 284). When a rebellion arose in the same year at Pâtna, Shamshêr Khân was despatched to Banâras (III, 286). In 991 he was one of the four judges who were named for the four "meadows" of the empire, the others being Râi Bîr, Qâsim 'Alî Khân, and Hakîm Humâm (III, 405). Later he seems to have revolted, for it is related that in 1008 the besiegers of Ahmadnagar received 'the joyful tidings' of his death."

<sup>21</sup> The border contains the passage from the *Qordn*, Sûra II, 246.

<sup>22</sup> According to a notice on the inscription, a Shamshêr Khân lies buried at Battâ; I know nothing about him.



29. In the wall of the Dogawallî masjid in the north-east of the town on a soft red sandstone (19" by 16") is an inscription of four lines which has been so much eaten away by the weather that the decipherment is almost an impossibility. But the year of erection and the name of the king are legible. All I can read runs:—

اسهد [ ان لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ]  
 بانى . . . . . بنوفى الله در عهد ملك حلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه عازى  
 . . . . . حلد الله ملكه  
 . . . . . سنه ٩٧٩

"The builder...by the grace of God in the time of the reign of Jalâl addîn Muḥammad Akbar *Pādishāh-i-Ghāzî*,—may God perpetuate his kingdom!...anno 979" [began 26th May 1571].

The year is perhaps 972, instead of 979.

30. A sandstone partly cylindrical and partly octagonal, each face measuring 19 by 2½", in a graveyard on the west of the fort of Rohtak, near the western gate of the fort, bears an inscription of nine lines. The rubbing does not permit the decipherment of the fourteen engraved hemistichs; the first and last lines are the same, they contain the date—*sana* 998 (began 10th November 1589). On a brown sandstone (2' by 6") over the gateway of the same graveyard has been engraved, *Sûra* xlviii, 1.

31. In the south of Rohtak, near the Government school, is a tomb the pillars of which are connected by eight lintels of red sandstone, each measuring 4' 2½" by 9". The single lintels have been inscribed with the following sentences from the *Qorân*: *Bismillâh*, *Sûra* ii, 256-59 incl., *Kalima*, *Sûra* cxii. No details of the date or of the builder are found.

32. Over the Dhôbî Gate in the *Mahalla* of Wazîr Khân, is a sandstone (18" by 17") containing an inscription of four lines:—

بعون الله تعالى ورسوله بناء اين عمارت در عهد دولت  
 و خلافت ابوالفتح شهاب الدين محمد صاحب قران ثاني  
 . . . . . شاه جهان بادشاه غازي خلد الله ملكه باهدمام خادم المرا  
 پيرخان ابن سرخان سررا باتمام رسيد في غره ماه محرم سنه ١٠٤٤

"With the favour of God Almighty and His apostle, the erection of this building in the time of the reign

"And the Khalifat of Abu-l Fath Shihâb addîn Muḥammad, the second *Ṣāhib-qirdn*<sup>23</sup> (Timûr)

"*Shâhjahan Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî*—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—by the endeavour of the slave of the...

"Pîr Khân, son of *Sarkhân*, the *Sarwâ*[*nî* ?] has been finished. In the beginning of the month Muḥarram A. 1044" [began 27th January 1634].

33. About half a mile from the Khâna, on the Rohtak road to Mahim, is the tomb of Jamâl Khân. The door has fallen in, but the walls are well built, and will stand many

<sup>23</sup> Elsewhere *Shâhjahan* is named ثاني صاحب قران a phrase which is to be interpreted *Thânî-yî Ṣāhibqirdn*, see Rüchert-Pertsch, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, p. 240, note 1, and Tenfel, *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. XXXVIII (188), p. 253, note. Titles such as *Thânî-yî Iskandar-i-daurân* or *Thânî-yî Iskandar-i Zâl qarnain* and others occur very often.



years yet. A red sand-stone (size 14 by 10½ inches) fixed over the south arch of the tomb, bears the following important inscription :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
در عهد دولت سلطان السلاطين جلال الدين محمد اكبر پادشاه غازي

مقبول الرحمن جمال خان بن منصور روضه ترفيق يافت راست كنانيد جمال خان را اميد ثواب كه  
يابد من تاريخ ذى القعدة (٩) سنه الف و مائة

“In the name, etc. There is no god, etc.

“In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, Jalâl-addîn Muḥammad Akbar Pâdishâh-î-Ghâzî,

“The friend of the Merciful, Jamâl Khân, son of Manşûr, found grace to build this tomb. Jamâl Khân has hope that he will obtain reward. In the *Zi'lqa'da* A. 1100” [began the 17th August 1689].

This inscription is unique, as no other mention of Muḥammad Akbar, son of Aurangzâb, has till now been found. Prince Akbar proclaimed himself emperor, assisted by the Râjpûts, in 1089, and attempted to maintain the assumed title until 1100, when he fled to Persia. There exist no coins of his. The foregoing inscription shows that he adopted the *julûs* name of his great predecessor, whose name he bore. It is highly interesting to find a document of the rebel king's son in a place lying so far north as Mahim, because Prince Akbar fled to the Marâṭhas in the beginning of his insurrection and always lived in the Dekhan.<sup>24</sup>

34. In the north wall of the enclosure of the mosque of the Pîrzâdas is a red sandstone, measuring 19" by 16", which bears an inscription of five lines :—

در عهد حضرت دولت (sic) شهنشاه عالم بدها ظهردادس محمد ناصر  
غازي بادشاه خلدالله ملكه و سلطانه بنده درگاه مهري  
الفقيه حقير جانيو سنو اغا ابن شيخ سنو و ساكن حصار شادماني  
بترفيق الله تعالى ترفيق يافت مسجد در قصبه مهم راس كنانيد حق تعالى  
مجاب و مستجاب كرداند بمنه و فضله بتاريخ بحم ماه ربيع الاول سنه ست و بلنس و سعمانه

“In the time of the reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the refuge of the world Zahîraddîn Muḥammad Bâbar

“*Ghâzî Bâdishâh*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—the slave of the court of the sun,

“The poor, base Janyu Sunu Âghâ, son of Shaikh Sunu, an inhabitant of the town of the joy,

“Through the grace of God Almighty found grace to build<sup>25</sup> the mosque of the town of Mahim—May God Almighty

“Make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and His wisdom!—On the fifth Rabi'al awwal 936” [7th November 1529]

<sup>24</sup> It is not impossible, as I now see that the last word is *samân* and that the inscription belongs to Akbar himself.

<sup>25</sup> *Ras* or *râst kunânîdan* with the meaning ‘to build,’ occurs several times in the inscriptions. In 19 and 33 *râst* has distinctly been engraved.







در این مرتبه طبع شد و در این روز  
 خلا الله ابدا جنات و جنت و جنت  
 این روز و این روز و این روز  
 से पद्मिनी वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्  
 १५ नाडि ३० १५ १५ १५ १५  
 वादसकनपाजाकनाप्पसम  
 सेनधनमसदनामीवाइ-१  
 पेतादाससउर-१-मसम



35. On an arch over the pulpit of the Jâmi' Masjid in the centre of the town, is an inscription. It is inside the arch on the east side, so that no one can see it without entering the arch and crouching. The stone is a red sandstone; it measures 3' 1" by 2' 2½" and consists of five lines<sup>26</sup>:—

در عهد دولت سلطان السلاطین ظل الله فی العالمین مرئس السرب السلطنة  
والخلافة حصرت محمد همانین ناساه عاری حلاله ملکه و سلطانه راعلی امره و سانه حصرت معقول  
الدارس نکه بکم سلطان سرینده الدس کونده درگاه امیر بادکار طعاء برفعی الله تعالی  
برفعی نامب مسجد جامع قصه مهم راس کنانند الله تعالی محاب و مسحاب  
کرداند نمده وفصله و کمال کرمه بنارم هعهم ماه رحب سده سع و نلدس و بسعماده

"In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, the adorned of the throne of kingdom

"And Khalifat, his Majesty Muḥammad Humâẓûn *Pādishâh-i-Ġhâẓi*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign and exalt his condition and dignity!—his highness the admitted

"To the palace of Baga Bêgum Sultân,<sup>27</sup> the worthy of the faith, the chosen of the court Amîr Yâdgâr Ṭaghâi, by the grace of God Almighty

"Found grace to build the mosque of the town of Mahim—may God Almighty make him accepted and favoured

"Through His kindness and His wisdom and His perfect liberality!—On the 7th Rajab 937 [24th February 1531]."

Respecting Yâdgâr Ṭaghâi the *Akbarnâma* furnishes the following information: One of his girls (according to II, 243 a grand-daughter) gave birth to Prince Alamân, son of Humâẓûn, anno 934 (I, 113)<sup>28</sup>; and she most probably is the Baga Bêgum Sultân of our inscription. She made a pilgrimage to Makka and Madîna in 972 (II, 244), whence she returned in 975 (II, 329). This journey may probably have been why she was styled Hâjî Bêgum. Afterwards she lived at Dihlî, and was in 981 welcomed with great honours by Akbar, who loved her much because she had cured him as a child of six years of vehement tooth-ache by a potent drug (III, 77). Akbar visited her, anno 989, at Dihlî (III, 373). She died in the same year (III, 375). The Hâjî Bêgum, who with other Bêgums made the pilgrimage in 983, was probably not Prince Alamân's mother, who then was too old for such a toilsome journey. Blochmann mentions Hâjî Bêgum in his *Âin*-translation, but he is in error about her descent. In the *Akbarnâma*, II, 243 the words *dukhtar-i-Ṭaghâi* are to be understood 'a daughter of (Yâdgâr) Ṭaghâi.'

Over the *mihrâb* in the western wall of the mosque a sandstone (8' 5" by 10½") is fixed which contains in two lines *Qorân*, Sûra lxii, 1—8. Round the inside of an arch over the *mihrâb* runs the *Kalima* and *Qorân*, Sûra, iii, 16-17 (to *al islâmu*).

The Jâmi' mosque was repaired according to inscription No. 39 in A.H. 1078, by Aurangzêb's order.

36. On a rectangular sandstone—size 21 by 13 inches—originally belonging to the old mosque of the butchers, now fixed over the central outer arch of the new masjid at

<sup>26</sup> See the facsimile reproduction No. iv on the accompanying plate.

<sup>27</sup> The words *maghûl addrîn Baga Bêgum Sultân saz [â] yâda addîn* are perhaps uncertain.

<sup>28</sup> Bâbar mentions in his *Memoirs* the chronogram for the birth of the prince invented by Shaikh Abu-l Wahid, p. 359. According to the *Memoirs*, Alamân's mother was a daughter of Yâdgâr Ṭaghâi. For Bâbar's not agreeing with the name of Alamân see p. 451 (Pavet de Courteille, tome II, p. 363).



Mahim (finished in 1887 A.D.), is the following inscription of three lines, which is considerably worn by exposure to the weather :—

در عهد دولت شهنشاه عالم پناه حضرت محمد همايون بادشاه  
خلد الله ملكه عمارت هذه المسجد ترفيق يافت .....

.... قصابان قصبة مهم راس كنانيد بتاريخ ماه شعبان سنه اثني و اربعين و تسعمائة

“In the time of the reign of the king of kings, the refuge of the world, His Majesty Muḥammad Humâẕûn Bâdishâh—

“May God perpetuate his kingdom !—..... found grace to build the edifice of this mosque of the butchers of the city of Mahim. During the month of Sha’bân of the year 942” [began the 25th January 1536].

As some of the letters appear to be broken, it is not possible to decipher the whole inscription. A butcher’s mosque is also mentioned at Nâgôr.<sup>29</sup> The mosque was rebuilt in Aurangzêb’s time, see inscription No. 40.

37. The rectangular sandstone that bears the following inscription is no longer *in situ*. It is now fixed over the outer doorway of the court of the ruined mosque of the Qaṣṣâyân<sup>30</sup> at Mahim. The inhabitants know that it is not in its original place ; they say it belonged to a mosque in a quarter of the town called Daulatpûr, the Daulatâbâd of the inscription. The size of the stone which is yet entire is 4’ by 11½ :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انا فتحنا لك فتحا مبينا كشاد باد بشادي هميشه اين درگاه سخر اشهد ان لا اله الا الله  
در عهد دولت تند كحضرت سليماني شير شاه حسن سور سلطان ترفيق يافت ببناء اين مسجد  
و مقام دولتآباد يوسف ابن حسن سور سيد عالي درلنخان  
باميد ثواب حديث نبوي من بني مسجدا بني الله تعالى له قصر في الجنة والحنان ابقاه  
الله تعالى في الدنيا و رفته الله تعالى علي العدل والحسان  
في الحادي والعشرين من شهر المبارك المكرم شهر رمضان سنه نهصد جهل نه بود كه ميسر رسانيد  
الله الكريم الشعار

“In the name of the merciful and compassionate God ! Verily, we have given thee an obvious victory.<sup>31</sup> May this liberal door always be opened with joy ! I testify that there is no god but God.

“In the time of the reign of the king, powerful as Salomo, Shêr Shâh, the son of Ḥasan Sûr, Yûsuf ibn Hasan Sûr, the high Sayyid (surnamed) Daulatkhan, found grace to erect this mosque and the place of Daulatâbâd,

“In the hope of the reward of the prophet’s saying ‘He who builds a mosque will have a castle built for him by God Almighty in Paradise, and as for the merciful, God Almighty gives to him long life in the world and protects him for his justice and beneficence.’

It was on the 21st of the blessed and venerable month, month Ramazân of the year 949 [29th December 1542], when it became ready. God is the generous and the omniscient.’

<sup>29</sup> Cunningham’s *Reports of Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, p. 51.

<sup>30</sup> See facsimile No. iii, on the plate at p. 138. *Qaṣṣâi* and *qassâb* occur in *Hindûstânî* (Shakespeare); see No. 40.

<sup>31</sup> *Qorân Sûr.* xlviii, 1.



It is known that Shêr Shâh built numerous mosques and *kârawânsarâts*, but only very small remains of them have come down to our day. Besides his stately mausoleum at Sahsarâm there exist some ruins of his time at Dihlî.<sup>33</sup> If I am right, the above inscription is the second of Shêr Shâh's reign that is known, the first being published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for May 1874, p. 105 (947 A.H.)

Yûsuf, the builder of the mosque at Mahim, was one of the seven brothers of Shêr Shâh (*Târikh-i Shêrshâhî*, in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 310). He may be the same who built in 958 H. a door to the shrine of Khwâja Qutb addîn (*Journal Asiatique*, Vème Série, tome XVI, 426).

38. In the south wall of the enclosure of the masjid of the Pîrzâdas (No. 34) is a sandstone, measuring 17" by 6", which bears three lines :—

در عهد دولت حضرت بندگان خلافت بنده سلطان  
شهاب الدین محمد صاحب قران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی خلد  
خلافتہ ابدًا ترفیق یافت شیخ ناصر ابن شیخ الهداد ماهمی سنہ الف و خمسين واحد

"In the time of the reign of his Majesty the slave (*of God*), the asylum of the Khalifat, the king .

"Shihâbaddîn Muḥammad, the second lord of the conjunction, Shâhjahân, *Bâdshâh-i-Ghâzî*—may (*God*) perpetuate

"His Khalifat for ever!—Shaikh Nâsir, son of Shaikh Ilâhdâd of Mahim, found grace. A. 1051" [began 12th April 1641].

Khâfi Khân, in his *Muntakhab allubâb* (I, 550) and 'Abd al Hamîd in the *Bâdshâh-nâma* (I, 2, 337) have each inserted an account of Shaikh Nâsir, whom they mention among other saints and learned men of Shâhjahân's time.<sup>33</sup> Both authors evidently made use of the same sources, Khâfi Khân citing the *Shâhjahânnâma*.<sup>34</sup> I extract the following :—His original name was Nâsir Muḥammad; he was born at Ajmîr, and lived afterwards in Gujarât. He made many voyages, and at different times attended the emperor. Always, night and day, he was clothed in mail and with a garment of cotton, and he perpetually bore arms. Besides his daily alms, he gave, if urged, all his property to poor men, even the horses and elephants which he had received from the king, and was content if he could get a fire of straw and wood in the open air to care for his own body, eating roots and leaves. Many wonders were effected by him. He was a disciple of Sayyid Aḥmad, son of Sayyid Raff'addîn, son of Sayyid Ja'far, from Shîrâz.

39. On the south outer arch of the façade of the Jâmi' masjid is a red sandstone (3' x 1' 11½"), bearing nine lines :—

در عهد سعادت مہد حد و مد زمین  
و زمان خدیو مکین و مکان سلطان  
السلطین ظل اللہ فی العالمین محمد اور نکزیب

<sup>33</sup> See Garcin de Tassy: 'Description des monuments de Delhi en 1852 d'après le texte hindoustani de Saïyid Ahmad Khân,' *Journal Asiatique*, Vème Série, tome XVI, *passim*, e.g. pages 192 (No. xvii), 426 (No. lvii), and 428 (No. lviii).

<sup>34</sup> The printed text of 'Abd al Hamîd has Shaikh Nâzir.

<sup>35</sup> Many histories of Shâhjahân's reign are so entitled.



بہادر عالم کیر بادشاہ غازی خلد اللہ ملکہ  
 و سلطانہ تعمیر مسجد جامع قصبہ مہم حسب الحکم اقدس  
 باہتمام بندہ درگاہ خواجه رحمت اللہ باتمام رسید  
 اللہ تعالیٰ مجاب و مستجاب کرداناد بمنہ و فضلہ  
 فی التاريخ ہفدہم شہر محرم الحرام سنہ ثمان و  
 سبعین و الف ہجری و سنہ عاشر جلوس مبارک

“In the happiness-spreading reign, extended over all the earth  
 And the time of the master of authority and dignity, the king

“Of kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, Muḥammad Aurangzêb  
 Bahâdur 'Âlamgîr Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî—may God perpetuate his kingdom

“And his reign!—the repairing of the Jâmi' masjid of the town of Mahim,  
 according to the holy order,

“Was finished through the endeavour of the slave of the court, Khwâja Raḥmat  
 Allâh—

“May God Almighty make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and  
 wisdom!—

“On the 17th of the month Muḥarram, the holy, A.H. 1078 [9th July 1667], in the  
 tenth year after the blessed accession to the throne.”

Sarbuland Khân Khwâja Raḥmat Allâh was a man of great consequence  
 under Shâhjahân and Aurangzêb, and died in 1090. But, as Sarbuland Khân received  
 this title, which is omitted in the inscription, in the 30th year of Shâhjahân (*Maâsir al*  
*Umarâ*, II, 478), *i. e.* 1066, and as he was in 1078 in the Dakkan with Prince Mu'azzam,  
 whence he came back in 1080, it does not seem probable that both were the same person.  
 A homonymous person is named as a commander of 800 soldiers and 200 horsemen  
 under Shâhjahân (*Bâdshâhnâma*, II, 741).

40. The following inscription is engraved on a red sandstone (size : 11 by 7 inches),  
 now lying on a heap of bricks in the ruins of the former mosque of the Qaṣṣâyân at  
 Mahim ; the whole is in a bad condition and the stone will probably get lost in a short  
 time. The inscription contains eight lines, and is poorly cut:—

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم  
 در عہد دولت و زمان (?)  
 ظل سبحانی ابو الظفر  
 محیی الدین محمد اورنگ زیب  
 بادشاہ غازی خلد اللہ ملکہ  
 و سلطانہ مسجدرا قصابان  
 جہان کیر (?) .....

ترتیب کرد در شہر رمضان سنہ تسعین و الف

“In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. In the time of the reign and  
 the life of the divine shadow Abu'l Zafar, Muḥyiddîn Muḥammad Aurangzêb



Bādishâh-i-Ghâzî—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!— the mosque of the butchers . . . was rebuilt. In the month of *Ramazân* 1090" [that month began the 6th October 1679].

The two last lines being hopelessly worn, the name of the restorer is not legible; the year may perhaps have been *sab'in*. It is interesting to learn from this inscription that the butchers' masjid erected in 942 H. (Inscription No. 36) was repaired a century and a half afterwards.

41. An inscription of five lines is engraved on a rectangular red sandstone (size 17½ by 14 inches) over the northern outer arch of the mosque of Daula Khân in the *garhî* of the Pathâns in Mahim. The building being in a critical condition, the inscription, till lately safe, is now in danger of getting lost:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
يا الله يا فتاح	يا محمد يا نبي الله
ابن عمارت زبهر رب كريم	بانيش دوله خان والاشان
پدرش بختيار نامروري	مغفرت دستگاه دريا خان
سبال اتمان را بعقل و تمیز	مسجد مقبره زخان برخوان

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the apostle of God.

"O God! O opener!

"O Muḥammad! O apostle of God!

"This edifice for the merciful God<sup>35</sup>

"Its builder (*was*) Daula Khân of ele-

"His father (*was*) a celebrated Bakh-tiyâr,

vated rank;

"Daryâ Khân whose sins are forgiven.

The year of the completion—name with wisdom and discernment:

"*Masjid [i] miqbara zi Khân* 'mosque and tomb (*are built*) by the Khân.' "

The letters of the *târikh* give 1108 [began 31st July 1696)].

42. Daula Khân, the builder of the mosque of the preceding inscription, erected a tomb for himself in the same year as the masjid. It is now a ruin, and the inscription on its wall being engraved on sandstone (size 2' 8" by 1') will be destroyed when it falls. It runs in four lines—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله    بندۀ درگاه رحمانی  
دوله خان محمدی مرید کیلانی دانستم که چهار یار برحق این دنیا همه فانی توفیق یافت  
در هنگام زندگانی این مقبره ساز ساخت از لطف ربانی در عهد اورنگ زیب  
بادشاه ظل سبحانی بتاریخ ۱۴ شهر رمضان المبارک سنه یکهزار و یکصد و چهارده هجری باهتمام استا  
ابروالد طیب معمار

'In the name, etc. There is no god, etc. The slave of the court of the Merciful Daula Khân Muḥammadî Murîd of Gîlân—

"I knew that the four friends (*the Khalifs*) are over this wholly perishable world—found grace



"In his lifetime to erect this burial-place with the favour of the Lord, during the reign of Aurangzêh

"Bâdishâh, the shadow of God. On the 14th of the month *Ramazân*, the blessed A.H. 1114 [1st February 1703]. Through the effort of the architect *Ustâ Abû Valad Tayyib*."

The inserted *Sunnî* dogma in the first person seems to be an allusion to the formula *ashhadu an lâ ilâha illallâh*, etc.

#### VI.—KHÔKARAKÔT ( کھڑکھڑ )

43. Khôkarakôt is a village in ruins situated to the north of Rohtak. Over a gateway of the village, built by Shamsheh Khân, a stone was placed, which has been dug up out of the ruins and is now in the Museum at Lahore.<sup>36</sup> Its dimensions are 2' 2" by 1' 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " and it bears a bilingual inscription, three lines in Persian and five lines in Hindî.<sup>37</sup> The Persian text runs—

در آیام سلطنت بندگان حضرت جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی  
خلد الله ملكه ابدًا رفعتہ فی جنات ابا شمشیر خان شقدار پرکنہ رھتک عمارت  
این دروازہ بنیاد نہاد فی شہر المبارکۃ رمضان سنہ نہصد و سہ و ہفتاد باتمام رسید

"In the days of the empire of the slave (*of God*), his Majesty Jalâl addîn Muhammad Akbar Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî—

"May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever (*and*) his highness in Paradise!—Abâ Shamsheh Khân, the *shiqqdâr* of *pargana* Rohtak,

"Has laid the foundation of this gateway. In the blessed month *Ramazân* anno 973 it has been finished" [began 22nd March 1566].

The words *raf'atahu fi jannât Abâ* are not certain. There is no doubt that the Shamsheh Khân of this inscription and of No. 28 are the same persons.

#### VII.—BOHM.

44. The village of Bohm ( بھم ) is 4 miles east of Rohtak on the road to Dihlî. In the east wall of the tomb of one Mahmûd of Bohm, a stone (3' 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 9") has been recently fixed which contains an inscription of three lines not relative to its present place. The passage from the *Qorân*, Sûra ii, 256, is followed by these words:—

کا بحرف ابراہیم عرف مواسا خان فرمایش علی قاضی بہا خان

"The writer (*was*) Ibrâhîm, known as Muwâsâkhânî, by the order of 'Alî Qâzi Bahâikhân."

#### VIII.—HIŞÂR FÎRÔZA.<sup>38</sup>

45. From a mosque outside the Dihlî gate, situate in the Sarâi Nathûâ Bhatyârâ (a baker). Four lines on a stone 2' 5" by 1' 3".

<sup>36</sup> See the facsimile No. v, at p. 149.

<sup>37</sup> The Hindî inscription, as Professor G. Bühler informs me, is not quite intelligible. But it is of the same year, A.D. 1566. The date is *Samvat* 1623, *Vaisâkha vadi* 15, which corresponds according to Dr. Schram's approximate tables to the 20th April 1566, if the year is taken as an ended northern (*pârnimânta*) Vikrama-year; the 20th April was the last of *Ramazân*. Akbar, Shamsheh Khan and the gate are all mentioned in the Hindî version.

<sup>38</sup> For a short historical account of the town of Hişâr Fîrôza, see Blochmann, *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* 1877, April, p. 92, ff., where some of the following inscriptions have been published.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال النبي عليه السلام من بني مسجداً لله بني الله تعالى له بيتاً في الجنة  
بعد توفيق الله الملك العلام و بركت حضرت رسالت هم  
در عهد میمون و دولت ایام افزون خدایگان ناصر جهان عادل الزمان سلطان الهند و الخراسان رافع  
رايات المجاهدات و المغازي محمد همایون پادشاه غازي خلد الله ملكه  
و خلافته را بد علی العالمین عدله و رافته بنا کرد و مزین گردانید این مسجد مرغوب بعمارت خوب بمرضات  
حضرت معبود بنده امیدوار رحمت پروردگار المستعین بالله<sup>۳۹</sup> القوي الرحمان نظر قلبي ابن شاه قلیخان  
المعروف نظامالدين جانم ترکمان زادالله تعالى ما اعطاه و بلغه الى ما يتمناه بحرمه<sup>۴۰</sup> [سید] الابرار  
والخير مورخانی الرابع من شهر شعبان ختمه الله بالظفر و الامان سنه ۹۳۹ کاتبخروف عبدالله یوسف احمد  
بن رکن الدین

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house built for him by God Almighty in Paradise.' By the grace of God, the omniscient king, and the blessing of the Lord of prophetship—on whom be peace!—

"In the auspicious time, and the day-increasing reign of the sovereign, the helper of the world, the just one of the age, the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humâyûn, *Pâdishâh-i-Ghâzî*—may God perpetuate his reign

"And his khalifat and extend over both worlds his justice and his compassion! this fine mosque was built and adorned, in beautiful structure, in order to please the Lord, who is adored by the slave who hopes in the mercy of the All-nourisher, who seeks help from God, the strength of the merciful, Nazar Qulî, son of Shâh Qulî Khân,

"Who is known as Nizâm addîn Jânym, the Turkmân—may God increase what He has given him, and bring him to what he desires for the honour of the chief of the pious and the saints!—Dated 4th Sha'bân—may God allow the month to end in victory and security!—anno 939 [1st March 1533]. The writer of these letters is 'Abdallâh Yûsuf Ahmad, son of Ruknaddîn."

46. The inscription from the Jâmi' mosque of Hisâr consists of nine lines, and measures 1' 11" by 1' 5". The last line is written very closely, and is almost undecipherable on the rubbing, so that I can only accept Mr. Blochmann's readings, whose translation I have also adopted, so far as I approve of it,

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احداً و انه لما قام عبدالله يدعو كادرا  
يكونون عليه لبداً قال عليه السلام من بني لله مسجداً يبتغي به وجه الله بنى الله له في الجنة مثله  
تمام شد این مسجد در ایام دولت شهنشاه اعظم و النحاقان المعظم مالک رقاب طرایف الامم من الهند و الترك  
و العرب و العجم السلطان الفاضل الكامل الربی الوالی و النحاقان العادل العلی العالی الذی رجب اطاعته  
کاطاعة الله و رسوله بحکم اطيعوا الله و اطيعوا الرسول و اولی الامر منکم حافظ بلادالله  
ناصر عبدالله رافع رايات المجاهدات و المغازي محمد همایون بادشاه غازي خلدالله تعالى

<sup>۳۹</sup> By no means السلتجي

<sup>۴۰</sup> Added by Blochmann.



ملکه و فی بحار اللطف اجری فلک بسعی جناب سعادت فرجام زبده فضلا الانام نتیجہ (امراء العظام

امیر محمد بن

عالیجناب امارت مآب مملکت پناه نظام الدین بیلک میرک بن جناب المغفور المبرور خوشکیلدی ...

بن جناب مغفرت مآب ... ...<sup>41</sup> فردرس مکانی [ ؟ ]

شد بنای مسجدی بهر خدا اندر حصار کو رفیع القدر آمد همچو کیوان سر بلند

پس کہ عالی قدر و کیوان هیئت و مرزوں فتاد هرکه دید افتاد اورا طرح این مسجد پسند

چون پسند آمد تمام اهل دل [ ؟ ] تاریخ از باب . . . . رحمت گفته اند

کاتبه و قایله نظام . . . . سنه ۹۴۲

“ In the name of the merciful and compassionate God ! [ *Qorân*, Sûra lxxii, 18, 19] ‘the mosques are God’s.’ You should not call on any one with God, and ‘when God’s servant stood up to pray they (*the jinns*) called out to him and well-nigh crowded upon him.’ The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, ‘He who builds a mosque for God desiring thereby God’s honour, will have one like it built for him by God in Paradise.

“This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king of kings, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, the accomplished Sultân, the perfect, the chief, the ruler, the just prince, the high, the exalted, whom to obey is as necessary as to obey God and the Prophet, according to (*Qorân*, Sûra iv, 62) ‘Obey God, and obey the Apostle and those in authority amongst you,’ the guardian of God’s countries, the helper of God’s servants, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî*—may God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and guide his ship in the seas of His favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amîrs, Amîr Muḥammad, son of the distinguished noble, the meritorious Nizâmaddîn Beg Mîrak, son of the pardoned and purified Khushgeldi . . . . ., son of his highness, whose sins are forgiven . . . . .

(Metre: *Ramal*). “A mosque has been built in Hişâr for the sake of God, which is as high in dignity as the seventh heaven.

“Because it is high in dignity, and has the aspect of the seventh heaven, and has turned out well-adjusted, every one who saw it has approved of the style of this mosque. Because all people of sense approved of it, its chronogram is . . . . .

“Its writer and composer is Nizâm . . . . . A. 942” [began 2nd July 1535].

The father of the builder was already, in Bâbar’s time, an officer of Prince Humâyûn (Bâbar’s *Memoirs*, p. 402), who afterwards employed him during his own reign in several situations. In 942, the year of the above inscription, he appointed him commander of the fort of Chanâr, then just conquered (*Akbarnâma*, I, 151). In the report of the victory gained over Rana Sanka (Bâbar’s *Memoirs*, pp. 410 ff.) ten grandees bear the title Nizâmaddîn, but that was probably not their proper title, and is only a declamatory addition of the learned composer of the letter.

<sup>41</sup> I do not think that these words are correct.



47. The ruins of Ulugh Beg's mosque are near the Commissariat in the town of Hişâr. The inscription consists of five lines; it measures 1' 4" by 2':—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عليه السلام من بني لله مسجدا  
يتنغي به وجه الله تعالى بني الله له بيتا مثله فى الجنة در عهد  
ميمون و دولت افزون حضرت سلطان السلاطين ناصر الدنيا و  
الدين رافع رايات المجاهدة و المغازي محمد همايون بادشاه غاضى خلد خلافته بانيه  
بتوفيق الله الصمد امير معظم امير الغ بيلك ابن امير يوسف احمد مير اخور دكان فى ٩٥١

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! He upon whom may be peace! says, 'He who builds a mosque for God

"Desiring thereby God Almighty's honour, will have a house like it built for him by God in Paradise.' In the auspicious time

"And the increasing reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the helper of the world

"And the faith, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn *Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî*—may God perpetuate his khalifat!—its builder,

"By the grace of God the eternal (*was*) the great Amîr, Amîr Ulugh Beg, son of Amîr Yûsuf Aḥmad, the master of the horse. Dated in 951' [began 25th March 1544].

48. On a dome outside Hişâr, about a mile to the east, inside the commissariat godowns, on a slab, measuring 1'5" by 1'10", are four lines of very bad poetry—

خوشاروضه كند چون بهشت كل رخشيت ار مشك و عنبر سرشت  
زانفاس باغش معطر دماغ روان سلسبيلي ز اشجار كشت  
ديبر فلک كشته بر كرد او كه تاريخ بر كند آمد نوشت  
سنه ٩٧٥  
هزار آفرين بر اباي يزید كه حكمش بنياد بنهاد خشت  
كاتب كبير

(Metre: *Mutaqârib*). "How beautiful is the dome of the paradise-like mausoleum; its mortar and bricks are like musk and ambergris.

"From the scent of its garden the brain is perfumed; and a *salsabîl* (a spring in paradise) flows from its trees.

"The secretary of heaven (*Mercury*) turned round it, when the date was written on the dome: A. H. 975 [began 8th July 1567].

A thousand praises are due to Bâyezîd, by whose order the bricks were placed on the foundation. The writer was Kabîr."

49. On a mosque in the yard of 'Shêr Buhlûl's mausoleum' outside Hişâr, one mile to the south, is an inscription, 2' 5" square, in six lines of well-formed *Nasta'liq*:—

پيروي شرح رسول مجتبي عبد النبي  
آنكه دیدارش دهد آئینه دلرا جلا  
پیش صحن روضه بهلول شاه افکند طرح  
مسجدی عالی که باشد مسکن اهل دعا



بي تكلف هاتفي زد بانك كايں مصرع نريس  
در هزار ريكصد و شش يانت اتمام اين بنا

Metre: *Ramal*.

"The follower of the law of the Prophet, the chosen one,' Abd-annabi,  
" Whose sight gives brightness to the mirror of the heart,  
" Erected, before the courtyard of Shâh Buhlâl's mausoleum,  
" A grand mosque, which is to be the dwelling of worshippers.  
" A heavenly speaker said without hesitation, ' write the hemistich  
" This building was completed in 1106 ' " [began 22nd August 1694].

An inscription from a tomb near the Commissariat godowns, 6' 2½" by 10½ inches, is of no value, as it consists only of *Qorân*, *Sûra* V. 98.

#### IX.—BARWÂLA.

Barwâla is now the head-quarters of a *tahsil*, distant 18 miles north-east of Hisâr. In the *Âin-i-Akbari*, Pargana Barwâla is mentioned as belonging to *Sarkâr* Hisâr. Its area was 136,799 *bighas*; the revenues were 1,097,807 *dâms* (109,052 *Say. dâms.*); the tribes were Sayyids, Malikzâdas, Baqqâls; the military contingent consisted of 100 horse, 1,500 footmen.

50. An inscription from an old mosque, measuring 2' 5" by 8" is in very bad preservation:—

امر ببناء هذه المسجد في عهد السلطان المعظم معز الدين ولد ملكه  
ابراهم كعباد السلطان محمد الاول والعرا تاج الدوله والدس . . .  
السلطاني دام امداله في العره [?] من ربيع الاول سنة ثمان و ستمائة

" This mosque was ordered to be built in the time of the noble king Mu'izzaddunyâ waddîn—may (*God*) perpetuate his reign!—

Abu-l-Muzaffar Kaiqobâd, the king, by the glory of the saints and the poor, Tâjaddaula waddîn . . the royal—may his prosperity be perpetual!—at the beginning of the Rabi' al awwal 688" [began 25th March 1289].

The inscription is important, as it is the first known of Kaiqobâd,<sup>42</sup> son of Bughrâ Khân, viceroy of Bengal, the last emperor of the Balbanî Turks, after whom the kingdom was transferred to the Khiljîs.

51. A second Barwâla inscription is of Balban's reign; it consists of two lines. It has also been much injured by the weather. The dimensions are 3' 3" by 11 inches:—

روز [?] الاسلام والمسلمين ابو المظفر بلبن السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه  
دام اقباله في العشر من شهر المبارك رمضان عمت مدامه سنة ثمان و ستمائة

"The light of Islâm and of the Muslims Abul-Muzaffar Balban, the king, the helper of the Lord of the Muslims—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—  
may his prosperity be perpetual!—on the 20th of the blessed month Ramazân—may its blessing be general!—680" [2nd January 1282].

The extant Balban inscriptions have been mentioned above under No. 15.

<sup>42</sup> Another inscription of Kaiqobâd, dated A.H. 686, exists in the Saddo masjid at Amrohâ, Murâdâbâd district, North-Western Provinces, (see A. Führer; *l. c.*, page 35).—*Ed. E. I.*



## X.—FATHÂBÂD.

52. In the town of Fathâbâd is a round sandstone pillar, 10' 2" high and 6 1¼" in circumference. It is a pity that it is not possible to decipher this evidently most important document, which consists of thirty-six lines going round the pillar. The letters have been much injured and many patches of the stone have fallen off. Only single words are here and there legible on the rubbings (in five pieces). The inscription belongs to a king of the Tughluq dynasty, and contains long historical accounts. Tughluq Shâh himself is mentioned. An occurring date, the reference of which is not clear, is the first Sha'bân 725 [13th July 1325], which falls in the first year of Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shâh.<sup>43</sup>

XI.—HÂNSÎ.<sup>44</sup>

53. On the Dînî mosque, near the Sarâogyân mandir, is an inscription in three lines, measuring 2' 9" by 1' 4"—

بترقى حدای علام و برکت مصطفی علیه السلام در عهد ممدن و دولت همانن  
 حدانکن عالمند بادساره اسلام راعی الانام فیروز ساه السلطان خلدالله ملکه  
 و سلطانه بنده درگاه ساهن سلطانی بناربخ غره دی العده سنه سبع و ستنی و سبعمانه ابن مسجد بنا کرد

"Through the grace of God the omniscient and the blessing of the chosen Prophet—upon whom be peace!—in the auspicious time and the august reign

"Of the lord, the refuge of the world, the king of Islâm, the shepherd of the people, Fîrôz Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom

"And his reign!—this mosque was erected by the slave of the court, Šâh(i)n, the royal, on the beginning of Zilqa'da, 767" [10th July 1366].

54. From the middle arch of Ja'far Beg's mosque. Two lines, 1' 3" by .1", evidently a fragmentary piece, containing the words—

و مظهر کلمه [ الله ] ناصر امیر المرو

".....and who manifests the word of God,<sup>45</sup> the helper of the Lord of the faithful."

There is also a defective inscription found on the middle arch of the Jod Goh (?). It consists of two lines (2' 13" by 30") and belongs to the reign of Iltimish (Altamsh), whose name it contains.

Finally, a third inscription, which is found on the back corner of the mosque of Makhdûm Ashraf, measuring 1' 22" by 12", contains some words from *Qordn*, Sûra ix, 19.

<sup>43</sup> I cannot let this opportunity pass of recommending this interesting document to travellers visiting Fathâbâd. From rubbings alone it cannot be deciphered. An examination of the original may perhaps be more successful. It would be necessary to make a transcript directly from the original which would assist in the reading of the rubbing. Ghulâm Husain, one of Mr. C. J. Rodger's staff, who prepared the copies of all the Panjâb inscriptions in this paper, says in a note that Zin ud Dîn, Extra Assistant Commissioner, spent more than a month at Fathâbâd trying to decipher the inscription, but he had not been able to see what he did.

<sup>44</sup> For the history of the town of Hânsî, see *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1877, 117, fig.

<sup>45</sup> These words occur as an epithet of Husain Shâh in an inscription from A.H. 908 (see *Journal As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLIII (1874), p. 304, note).



## X.—BADAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAYANAPALA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

In November 1780 Charles Wilkins discovered in the vicinity of the town of Badāl,<sup>1</sup> in the Dinājpur District of the Province of Bengal, a stone pillar, about 12 feet high, which was found to contain, at a few feet above the ground, an inscription engraved in the stone. Some years afterwards he succeeded in deciphering and translating this inscription; and his translation was published in 1788, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. I, pages 131-144, with a drawing of the pillar and a specimen of the characters, and accompanied by some valuable remarks of Sir William Jones. In 1874 Mr. E. V. Westmacott obtained a careless and mutilated transcript of the original text from Pandit Harachandra Chakravartī, which, with a translation by Mr. Pratāpachandra Ghosha, will be found in the *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLIII, part i, pages 356-63. I now edit the inscription, of which a complete and trustworthy text has not yet been published, from impressions which at Dr. Burgess' request the Government of India has had prepared by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

The inscription contains 29 lines of writing—28 full lines and one line only 5" long,—which cover a space of from 1' 8½" to 1' 10" broad by 1' 7¾" high. With the exception of two *aksharas* each at the commencement of lines 1 and 2, and altogether sixteen *aksharas* at the commencement of lines 25-28, which have become illegible by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and a few slightly damaged *aksharas* in the body of the inscription, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between ⅞" and ½". The characters are of the same type as, but decidedly more modern than, those of the Ghosrāwā inscription, of which a photolithograph is published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 310, and may be assigned to about the end of the 9th or commencement of the 10th century A.D. They are skilfully formed and well engraved. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the short line 29, which merely records the name of the engraver, Vishṇubhadra, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Before *v* the consonant *m* has been retained, instead of being changed to *anusvāra*, in *samvṛita*, line 6, *bhrāntam* = *vikaṭam*, line 8, *samvalgitās*, line 9, *satām* = *vismayah*, line 10, *vāchām* = *vaibhavam*, line 20, and *tā-dṛīsam* = *vyadhita*, line 24; and instead of *anusvāra* the guttural nasal has been used in *vaṅśe*, lines 1 and 26, and *vaṅśasya*, line 21; and the dental nasal in *pāṅsuḥ*, line 7. We also have *-saṅśī* for *-śaṁśī*, line 17, and *-saṅghater* for *-saṁghater*, line 4. Besides, it may be noted that the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in *vidhivat Rallā*-, line 11, and *-pītān chatur*-, line 13; and that the sign of *avagraha* has been exceptionally employed in *'bhidhā'bhavat*, line 17, and *'tāro'vadat*, line 21. As regards grammar I need draw attention only to the first compound in verse 11, which is formed incorrectly.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record (in verses 27 and 28) the erection of a pillar, bearing on its top a figure of the mythical bird Garuḍa,—the pillar on which the inscription still is, but the upper part of which is now missing,—by a Brāhman,

<sup>1</sup> See Montgomery Martin's (Buchanan Hamilton's) *Eastern India*, vol. II, page 672. [Badāl Kacheri is in the south of the Dinājpur district, 3 miles south-west from the village of Mangalbārī, which is on the borders of the Sagunā pargana of the Bagurā (Bogra) district and 7 miles south-west from Damdamā station on the Northern Bengal State Railway. Badāl is in Long. 88° 58' E., Lat. 25° 5' N. (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 119), and the pillar is about a mile north from it. (Conf. Hunter's *Stat. Acc. Bengal*, vol. vii, p. 451, and vol. viii, p. 198)—J. B.]



named Râma Guravamîśra. But the inscription is really a *praśasti*, or laudatory account, of Guravamîśra and his ancestors, and it is of some value mainly because it furnishes the names of four of the so-called Pâla kings of Bengal, of whom some of the said Brâhman were counsellors or ministers.

In the race of Śāṇḍilya there was one [Viṣṇu?]; in his lineage was Viradeva; in his family Pāñchâla; and his son was Garga, the adviser of Dharma (or Dharma-pâla), 'the regent of the east' (vv. 1-2). Garga married Ichchhâ, and their son was Darbhapâni, who became minister of the king Devapâla (vv. 3-7). He, again, married Śarkarâdevî, who bore to him Someśvara (vv. 8-9). Someśvara married Rallâdevî (v. 10); and their son was Kedâramîśra, by whose counsel the lord of Gauḍa (whom I understand to be Devapâla)<sup>2</sup> is represented to have defeated or held in check the Utkalas, Hûṇas, Draviḍas and Gurjaras (v. 13), and who is intimated to have consecrated the king Śûrapâla (v. 15). And, finally, Kedâramîśra married Vavvâ, a lady born at Devagrâma (v. 16), and she bore to him Râma, called Guravamîśra (v. 18), who was held in high esteem by the king Nârâyaṇapâla (v. 19). There can be no doubt that this last-named Brâhman is the Bhaṭṭa Gurava who is mentioned as *dûtaka* in the Bhâgalpur copper-plate inscription of Nârâyaṇapâla.<sup>3</sup>

Of the four kings mentioned in this inscription three, Dharma[pâla], Devapâla and Nârâyaṇapâla, are well known to us from copper-plate inscriptions. As to Śûrapâla, I readily adopt Dr. Hôrle's suggestion<sup>4</sup> that he is identical with the Vighrahapâla of the Bhâgalpur copper-plate, the immediate predecessor of Nârâyaṇapâla. But regarding the Pâla kings in general my views differ from those of Dr. Hôrle, and I hope to prove before long that the successors of Nârâyaṇapâla were: his son Râjyapâla; his son Gopâla II.; his son Vighrahapâla II.; his son Mahîpâla; his son Nayapâla; and his son Vighrahapâla III.

TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

L. 1. . . .<sup>6</sup> शाण्डिल्यवङ्गेभूद्वीरदेवस्तदन्वये ।

पाञ्चालो नाम तन्नोत्रे गर्गस्तस्मादजायत ॥<sup>8</sup> — [1.]

शक्रः पुरोदिशि पतिर्न दिगन्तरेषु तत्रापि दैत्यपतिभिर्जित एव

2.

— उ : [1\*]

धर्मः कृतस्तधिपस्वखिलासु दिक्षु स्वामी मयेति विजहास ह(बृ)हस्पतिं यः ॥<sup>9</sup> — [2.]

पत्नीच्छा नाम तस्यासीदिच्छेवान्तर्ध्ववर्तिनी ।

निसर्गनिर्मलस्त्रिधा कान्तिसुन्द-

3.

मसो यथा ॥<sup>10</sup> — [3.]

विद्याचतुष्टयसुखाम्बु(म्बु)रुहात्तलक्ष्मा नैसर्गिकोत्तमपदाधरितत्रिलोकः [1\*]

सूनुस्तयोः कमलयोनिरिव द्विजेशः श्रीदर्भपाणिरिति नाम निजन्दधा-

See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, page 308, v. 6.

<sup>8</sup> See *ib.*, page 307.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society Bengal*, Part II, Appendix II; and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, pages 162—165.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions prepared by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick, and supplied to me by the editor.

<sup>6</sup> The word which has almost entirely disappeared here was probably विष्टः; and it may have been preceded by the symbol for ची.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'बृ'.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).



L. 4.

नः ॥<sup>11</sup> — [4.]

आ रेवाजनकान्ततङ्गजमदस्तिम्यच्छिलासङ्गते-<sup>12</sup>  
 रा गौरीपितुरीश्वरेन्दुकिरणैः पुण्यस्तिस्तिस्त्री गिरिः ।  
 मातृण्डास्तमयोदयारुणजलादा वारिरा-

5.

शिवया-

नीत्या यस्य भुवं चकार करदां श्रीदेवपालो नृपः ॥<sup>13</sup> — [5.]  
 माद्यन्नानागजेन्द्रस्रवदनवरतोहामदानप्रवाहो-  
 न्मृष्टक्षोणीविसर्पिप्रव(व)ल-

6.

घनरजःसम्भृताशवकाश<sup>14</sup> ।

दिङ्गाक्रायातभूभृत्परिकरविसरद्वाहिनीदुर्विलोक-  
 स्तस्थौ श्रीदेवपालो नृपतिरवसरापेक्षया द्वारि

7.

यस्य ॥<sup>15</sup> — [6.]

दङ्गाप्यनल्पमुडुपञ्चविपीठमग्रे यस्यासनं नरपतिः सुरराजकल्पः ।  
 नानानरेन्द्रमुकुटाङ्कितपादपान्शुः सिङ्गासनं<sup>16</sup> सच-

8.

कितः स्वयमाससाद ॥<sup>17</sup> — [7.]

तस्य श्रीशर्करादेव्यामत्रेः सोम इव द्विजः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 अभूत्सोमेश्वरः श्रीमान् परमेश्वरवत्सभः ॥<sup>18</sup> — [8.]  
 न भ्रातृस्त्विकटं<sup>19</sup>

9.

धनञ्जयतुलामारुह्य विक्रामता ।<sup>20</sup>

वित्तान्यर्थिषु वर्षता स्तुतिगिरो नोद्गर्भमाकर्णिताः ।  
 नैवोक्ता मधुरस्वडु<sup>21</sup> प्रणयिनः सम्ब[लि]ताश्च त्रि-

10.

या ।<sup>21</sup>

येनैवं स्वगुणैर्जगद्विसदृशैश्चक्रैः सताम्बिजयः<sup>22</sup> ॥<sup>23</sup> — [9.]  
 शिव इव करं शिवाया हरिरिव लक्ष्म्या गृह्णाश्रमप्रेप्सुः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 अनुरूपाया विधि-

11.

वत्<sup>24</sup> रक्षादेव्याः स जगद् ॥<sup>25</sup> — [10.]

आसन्नाजिह्वाराजह(ह)लशिखिशिखाचुम्बि(म्बि)दिङ्गाक्रवालो  
 दुर्वारस्फारशक्तिः स्वरसपरिणताशेषविद्या-

12.

प्रतिष्ठः ।

ताभ्यां जन्म प्रपेदे त्रिदशजनमनोनन्दनः स्वक्रियाभिः

श्रीमान् केदारमिश्रो गुह इव विकसज्जातरूपप्रभावः ॥<sup>26</sup> ॥ — [11.]

<sup>11</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>12</sup> Read °सङ्गते.<sup>13</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>14</sup> Read °सङ्गता°. Originally विकारा was engraved, but the sign for i is struck out.<sup>15</sup> Metre: Śragdharā.<sup>16</sup> Read °पांसुः सिङ्गासनं.<sup>17</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>18</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>19</sup> Read भ्रातृ विकटं.<sup>20</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.<sup>21</sup> Read मधुरं बहु प्रणयिनः संव°.<sup>22</sup> Read सतां विजयः.<sup>23</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>24</sup> Read विधिवद्गङ्गा°.<sup>25</sup> Metre: Āryā.<sup>26</sup> Metre: Śragdharā.



- L. 13. सकृद्दर्शनसम्पीतान्<sup>27</sup> चतुर्विद्यापयोनिधीन् [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 जहासागस्त्यसम्पत्तिमुद्गिरन्वा(न्वा)ल एव यः ॥<sup>28</sup> — [12.]  
 उत्कोलितोत्कलकुलं हृतङ्गणगर्वं खर्वीक-  
 14. तद्रविडगुर्जरनाथदर्पं ।  
 भूपीठमब्धि(ब्धि)रशनाभरणम्(म्)भोज गौडेखरश्चिरमुपास्य धियं यदीयां ॥<sup>29</sup> — [13.]  
 स्वयमपहृतवित्तानर्थिनी यो-  
 15. नुमेने द्विषति सुहृदि चासीन्निर्विवेको यदात्मा ।  
 भवजलधिनिपाते यस्य भीष त्रपा च।<sup>30</sup> परिमृदितकशा(षा)यो<sup>31</sup> यः परे धान्नि रेमे ॥<sup>32</sup> — [14.]  
 यस्ये-  
 16. ज्यासु वृ(वृ)हस्यतिप्रतिकृतेः श्रीशूरपालो नृपः  
 साक्षादिन्द्र इव क्षताप्रियव(व)लो गत्वैव भूयः स्वयं ।  
 नानाभोनिधिमेखलस्य जगतः  
 17. कल्याणसङ्गी<sup>33</sup> चिरं  
 अद्याम्भःपुतमानसो नतशिरा जग्राह पूतम्पयः ॥<sup>34</sup> — [15.]  
 देवग्रामभवा<sup>35</sup> तस्य पत्नी वव्वाभिधाऽभवत् ॥ [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 अतुल्या चलया ल-  
 18. क्ष्मया सत्या चाप्य[नपत्य]या<sup>36</sup> ॥<sup>37</sup> — [16.]  
 सा देवकीव तस्माद्यशोदया स्वीकृतम्पतिं लक्ष्म्याः ।  
 गोपालप्रियकारकमसूत पुरुषोत्तमस्तनयं ॥<sup>38</sup> ॥ — [17.]  
 19. जमदग्निकुलोत्पन्नः सम्पन्नक्षत्रचिन्तकः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 यः श्रीगुरवमिश्राख्यो रामो राम इवापरः ॥<sup>39</sup> — [18.]  
 कुशलो गुणान्विवेक्तुं विजिगीषुर्यन्मृप-  
 20. स व(व)नुमेने ।  
 श्रीनारायणपालः प्रशस्तिरपरास्तु का तस्य ॥<sup>40</sup> — [19.]  
 वाचास्वैभवमागमेष्वधिगमं<sup>41</sup> नीतिः परान्निष्ठतां ।<sup>42</sup>  
 वेदार्थानुगमादसी-  
 21. समहसो वङ्गस्य<sup>43</sup> सम्बन्धितां ।  
 आसक्तिङ्गुणकोर्त्तनेषु महतान्निष्णाततां ज्योतिषो  
 यस्यानल्पमतेरमेययशसो धर्मावतारो ऽवदत् ॥<sup>44</sup> — [20.]  
 22. यस्मिन्मिथः श्रीभृति वागधीशे विहाय वैराणि निसर्गजानि ।  
 उभे स्थिते सख्यमिवादि(धि)गन्यावेकत्र लक्ष्मीश्च सरस्वती च ॥<sup>45</sup> — [21.]  
 शास्त्रानुशील-

<sup>27</sup> Read °पीताम्भु°.

<sup>28</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>30</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>31</sup> Originally °कश्यी, altered to °कशायी.

<sup>32</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>33</sup> Read कल्याणसङ्गी.

<sup>34</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>35</sup> Originally °भव, altered to °भवा.

<sup>36</sup> The lower portion of the akṣharas in brackets is damaged.

<sup>37</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>38</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>39</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>40</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>41</sup> Read वाचा वैभव°.

<sup>42</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>43</sup> Read वङ्गस्य संव°.

<sup>44</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>45</sup> Metre: Upajāti.



- L. 23. नगभीरुगणैर्व्वचोभिर्व्विहसभासु परवादिमदावलेपः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 उद्भासितः सपदि येन युधि द्विषाच्च निस्त्रीमविक्रमधनेन [भ]टाभिमानः ॥<sup>4</sup> — [22.]
24. [आविर्व्व(र्व्व)भू]व सहसैव फलं न यस्य यस्तादृशस्वप्रधित<sup>47</sup> कर्णसुखं किञ्चित् ।  
 यत्प्राप्य दानपतिमर्थिजनोन्धमेति तत्केलिदानमपि यस्य न जातु  
 25. — उ ॥ — [23.]  
 अतिलोमहर्षणेषु<sup>48</sup> [च<sup>x</sup>] कलियुगवाल्मीकिजन्मपिण्डेषु ।  
 धर्मेतिहासपर्व्वसु पुण्यात्मा यः श्रुतीर्व्वग्रहणोत् ॥<sup>49</sup> — [24.]  
 असिन्धुप्रसृता यस्य स्वर्धुनी
26. . उ — उ [धा] ।  
 वाणी प्रसन्नगम्भीरा धिनोति च पुनाति च ॥<sup>50</sup> — [25.]  
 पितृत्वं स्वयमास्थाय पुत्रत्वमगमत्सुयं [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 ब्र(ब्र)ह्मेति पुरुषान् यस्य वक्त्रे<sup>51</sup> यच्च प्रपेदिरे ॥ — [26.]  
 शोभो-
27. — उ उ — स्वकीयवपुषो लोकेक्षणग्राहिणि  
 स्वाभिप्राय इवातुलोन्नतिमति स्वप्रेमव(व)न्धस्थिरे ।  
 स्पष्टं शल्य इवार्पिते कलिहृदि स्तम्भेन ते-
28. [न?] उ उ  
 — — — फणिनां हरेः प्रियसखस्तास्योयमारोपितः ।(॥)<sup>52</sup> — [27.]  
 भ्रात्रा दिगन्तमखिलं गत्वा पातालमूलमप्यस्मात् ।  
 यय इ[ह]<sup>53</sup> तस्योत्तस्थौ हताहिगरुडच्छलादमल[म्] ॥<sup>54</sup> — [28.]
29. सूत्रधारविष्णुभद्रेण<sup>55</sup> प्रशस्ति क्षणितं<sup>56</sup> [1<sup>x</sup>]

## TRANSLATION.

[ Om ! ]

(Verse 1.) In Śāṇḍilya's race was . . . <sup>57</sup>, in his lineage Vīradeva, in his family Pāñchāla; from him was Garga born.

(2.) As he made Dharma<sup>58</sup>, the regent of the east, sovereign over all the regions, while Indra ruled no other than the eastern quarter, and was even there defeated . . . by the Daitya chiefs, he laughed Brihaspati to scorn.

(3.) His wife was Ichchhā<sup>59</sup>, like love dwelling in his heart. By nature pure and tender, she was like the beauty of the moon.

(4.) Their son was the illustrious chief of the twice-born, named Darbhapaṇi, who, by his innate high rank rising above the three worlds and distinguished by his

<sup>46</sup> Metre of verses 22 and 23 : Vasantatilakā.

<sup>47</sup> Read °दृशं व्यधित.

<sup>48</sup> The *akshara* म was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line. The following च, which I have added, is not in the original.

<sup>49</sup> Metre : Āryā.

<sup>50</sup> Metre of verses 25 and 26 : Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>51</sup> Read वक्त्र.

<sup>52</sup> Metre : Śāṇḍilavikrīḍita.

<sup>53</sup> The *akshara* in brackets looks like च, altered to च.

<sup>54</sup> Metre : Āryā.

<sup>55</sup> The *akshara* म was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>56</sup> One would have expected प्रशस्तिरन्वीर्षा.

<sup>57</sup> The name, here missing, probably is Viṣṇu.

<sup>58</sup> i. e. the king Dharmapāla, whose adviser Garga is represented to have been.

<sup>59</sup> i. e. 'desire, love.'



knowledge of the four Vedas, was like the lotus-born Brahman, the possessor of four lotus-like faces.<sup>60</sup>

(V. 5.) By his policy the illustrious prince Devapâla made tributary the earth as far as Revâ's parent<sup>61</sup> whose piles of rocks are moist with the rutting-juice of elephants, as far as Gaurî's father,<sup>62</sup> the mountain which is whitened by the rays of Ísvara's moon, and as far as the two oceans whose waters are red with the rising and setting of the sun.

(6.) At his gate stood, awaiting his leisure, the illustrious prince Devapâla, scarce visible among the vast armies attending on princes who had come from all quarters, (*in such numbers*) that the prospect of the regions was hidden by thick clouds of dust rising from the earth, (*though*) swept by the constant and abundant streams of rutting-juice, flowing down from lustful elephants of various breeds.

(7.) Though the prince, who resembled the king of the gods, and the dust of whose feet was marked with the diadems of sundry kings, first offered to him a chair of state with a seat bright as the moon, he ascended his own throne with trembling.

(8.) To him was born, of the illustrious Śarkarâdevî, the twice-born Someśvara, the illustrious, a favourite of the supreme lord, as the moon had sprung from Atri.

(9.) Never exulting, though like Dhanañjaya<sup>63</sup> he displayed unlimited prowess; never listening proudly to words of praise, though he showered riches upon suppliants; and never addressing friends with many honeyed words, though he made them leap with joy by his bounties,—he roused the wonder of good men by such qualities of his, not common in the world.

(10.) Desirous of attaining the state of a householder, he in due form took the hand of Rallâdevî, a suitable spouse, even as Śiva had done of Śivâ, and Hari of Lakshmi.

(11.) From them took his birth the illustrious Kedâramiśra. Filling the circle of the quarters with the flames of abundant (*sacrificial*) fires, radiant with the presence of the gods, of irresistible great might, of a pre-eminence in every branch of knowledge matured from within, and brilliant as glowing gold, he, like unto Guha, delighted the minds of gods and men by his deeds.<sup>64</sup>

(12.) Pouring forth, even as a boy, the oceans of the four Vedas which he had drunk at a single draught, he laughed at Agastya's proficiency.<sup>65</sup>

(13.) Attending to his wise counsel the lord of Gauḍa long ruled the sea-girt earth, having eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūnas, and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Draviḍa and Gurjara.

(14.) He allowed suppliants to take freely away his riches; his mind made no

<sup>60</sup> Darbhapâpi was *chaturvidya* (or *chaturvedin*), as Brahman is *chaturmukha*; and the epithet *divijesa*, applied to him, besides suggests that he was like the moon.

<sup>61</sup> i.e. the Vindhya mountains.

<sup>62</sup> i.e. the Himâlaya.

<sup>63</sup> i.e. Arjuna.

<sup>64</sup> The general meaning of this verse, in which Kedâramiśra is compared to the god of war, Guha or Kârttikeya, is clear enough; but two difficulties are presented by the compound which forms the first line. Since that compound is a *Bahuvrîhi*, we should have expected a past passive participle, conveying the sense of 'touched' or 'filled,' in the place of *chumbin*, 'kissing,' which is the reading of the original. Besides, when the compound is referred to Kedâramiśra, none of the ordinary meanings of *ajîhma* ('not crooked, straightforward, a frog, a fish') appears very appropriate. I therefore incline to think that the writer has confounded the word with *animisha* ('a fish, a god'), and I have translated accordingly. Applied to Guha, the first two compounds of the verse would mean: 'who fills the circle of the quarters with the big crest of his peacock which shines brightly when frogs are near, and who wields an irresistible, large spear'.

<sup>65</sup> Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.



distinction between friend and foe; he was both afraid and ashamed to fall into the ocean of worldly existence; and having crushed the attachment to the pleasures of this life, he took delight in the supreme abode.

(V. 15.) At the sacrifices of him, the image of Bṛihaspati, the illustrious prince Śūrapāla, having destroyed the forces of his enemies, often attended of his own accord, like Indra himself, the destroyer of the demon Vala; and ever desirous of the welfare of the earth, girt by the several oceans, he there with bent head received the pure water,<sup>66</sup> his soul being bathed in the water of faith.

(16.) His wife was Vavvā, born at Devagrāma, unlike the fickle Lakshmi and the childless Satī.

(17.) As Devakī gave birth to Purushottama<sup>67</sup>, the adopted son of Yaśodā, Lakshmi's husband, who delighted the cow-herds, so she bore to him a son, famous and compassionate, who was a lord of fortune, and who caused pleasure to the king, being the most excellent of men.

(18.) He, Rāma,<sup>68</sup> called Guravamiśra, the illustrious, born in Jamadagni's race, and conversant with the constellations which bode good fortune, was like another Rāma Jāmadagnya, to whom the thriving Kshatriya order caused anxious thought.

(19.) Since the illustrious prince Nārāyaṇapāla, desirous of victory, skilful in discerning excellent qualities, held him in high esteem, what need is there of further eulogy?

(20.) The spread of holiness told that he, of no mean intelligence and of immeasurable fame, possessed great power of speech, knowledge of traditional lore, and profound skill in politics; that he belonged to a family which had acquired boundless lustre by searching after the meaning of the Vedas; that he was eager to celebrate the virtues of great men, and was well versed in astronomy.

(21.) In him, who was possessed of fortune, as well as a master of speech, Lakshmi and Sarasvatī resided both together, having forsaken, as it were, their natural enmity and joining in friendship.

(22.) In the assemblies of the learned he at once confounded the pride of self-conceit of opponents by his speeches to which the constant study of the Śāstras imparted deep meaning, just as, possessed of boundless wealth of valour, he did in battle the conceit of bravery of enemies.

(23.) He never uttered words gratifying to the ear of which the fruit became not at once apparent, nor did he ever bestow a gift which the suppliant having received went to another more bountiful donor.<sup>69</sup>

(24.) This pious-minded man expounded the Vedas in books of moral tales, which excited a thrill of joy and showed that he was born a Vālmīki of the Kali age.

(25.) Being a river of heaven which does not proceed to the ocean . . . , his pellucid and profound language both delights and purifies.

(26.) To his ancestors and to him people were wont to resort, considering that (*in them*) Brahman himself had first become a father, and that the same Brahman (*in him*) had again become their offspring.

<sup>66</sup> i.e. the prince, at those sacrifices, was as it were consecrated as sovereign of the earth.

<sup>67</sup> i.e. the god Viṣṇu-Kṛiṣṇa.

<sup>68</sup> Or perhaps, 'this pleasing person, called Guravamiśra.'

<sup>69</sup> In other words, he never made a promise which he did not at once fulfil, nor did he mock suppliants with valueless gifts.



(V. 27.) He has placed Târkshya,<sup>70</sup> [the foe] of serpents and dear friend of Hari, here on the top of this pillar, the . . . beauty of which, like that of his own person, attracts the eyes of people, which like his own aspiration rises to an unparalleled height and is firm like his affection, and which clearly is as it were a stake planted in the breast of the Kali age.

(28.) Having roamed to the furthest ends of the world, and hence descended even to the bottom of the lower regions, his spotless fame has risen here in the guise of this Garuḍa with a serpent in his mouth.

This eulogy was incised by the artisan Viṣṇubhadra.

### XI.—ATAKUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KRISHNA III. ; DATED SAKA-SAMVAT 872.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice, in 1889, in his *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgola*, pp. 19, 21 (see note 6 below). It is now published in full for, I believe, the first time. I edit it from inked estampages, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hultsch.

Ātakûr is a village about fifteen miles to the north-east of Maṇḍya, which is the head-quarters town of the Maṇḍya Tāluka of the Maisûr District in Maisûr. It is shown in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 60, as 'Atcoor,' in Lat. 12° 40' N., Long. 77° 8' E.;<sup>1</sup> and it is entered, as 'Atagur,' in the map given in Mr. Rice's *Gazetteer of Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. II, pp. 190-91. In the inscription the name occurs in the slightly different form of Ātukûr. The inscription is on a stone slab, set up in front of a temple known as that of the god Challêśalinga, about a quarter of a mile to the north of the village. The temple is mentioned in the inscription, by the name of Challêśvara.

Towards the top of the stone there are, in connection with part of the record, the sculptures of a dog and a boar fighting with each other; the dog is on the proper right, and the boar on the proper left; they occupy a space of about 3' 2" broad by 1' 6" high.—Below this lies the inscription proper, lines 1 to 19, covering a space of about 4' 11" broad by 4' 0" high. At each side, however, of the boar and the dog, and along the top of the stone, there were left blank spaces, which were subsequently utilised for a slightly later additional record, consisting of four lines, which I have numbered 20 to 23. Lines 20 and 21 run up the proper right margin of the stone, curve round at the corner, run right along the top, and then curve down into the proper left margin. Line 22 breaks off on the proper right margin with the *ppa* of *ppanneradum*, and continues on the proper left margin, below the ends of lines 20 and 21. Line 23 is a short line, lying below the ends of lines 20, 21, and 22, on the proper left margin. The writing is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout; and, with the exception of two *aksharas* in line 4, the whole record can be made out with perfect certainty. The

<sup>70</sup> i. e. the bird Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu.

<sup>1</sup> The name seems to be not an uncommon one. The maps show an 'Atagur,' forty-nine miles north-east of Maisûr, and an 'Adagur,' eleven miles north by west of Hassan.



estampages, however, are not suitable for lithography; and, the surface of the stone being apparently rather rough, it would probably be very difficult to obtain impressions which would serve that purpose.— The characters belong to the so-called Old-Kanarese alphabet, and are of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The average size of the letters, both in the original inscription and in the addition, is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ".— The language is Old-Kanarese; and, except for two verses in lines 15 to 19, the whole record is in prose.— In respect of orthography the only points that call for special notice are (1) the use of *ri* for *ri* in *nripa*, line 1, *prithuvī*, line 2, and *krishṇa*, line 3; (2) the use of *b* for *v* in the word *bīra*, lines 16, 18; (3) the occasional use of *s* for *ś*, e.g. in *saka*, line 1, and *saktiy-āge*, line 16; and (4) the doubling of *s* after *r*, in *ār=ssagara*, line 17.

The inscription refers itself to the time of a king named Kṛṣṇarāja, whom, partly from the date that is given, and partly from the mention of a predecessor, we know to be Kṛṣṇa III., a son of Amôghavarsha III., of the Râshtrakûṭa dynasty of Mâlkhêḍ: in the body of the inscription, he is also called Kannaradêva; and in the addition at the top of the stone, this form only of his name is used. We are told that he was making a display of triumph, after fighting against and killing a Chôḷa king or chief named Râjâditya, at a place called Takkôla.<sup>2</sup> The inscription then introduces a Gaṅga feudatory of his,<sup>3</sup> called in the body of the record Permânâḍi, and in the addition Bûtuga,<sup>4</sup> who, as we learn from the addition, had killed a certain Râchamalla,<sup>5</sup> the son of Eṇeyapa, and (as the result) was ruling over a Ninety-six-thousand district, which is evidently the well-known Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand. From the addition we also learn that it was Bûtuga himself who slew Râjâditya; treacherously, and while they were out taking the air together: and that, in approbation of the deed, Kṛṣṇa III. gave to Bûtuga the districts known as the Banavase Twelve-thousand, the Belvola Three-hundred, the Purigere Three-hundred, the Kisukâḍ Seventy, and the Bâgenâḍ Seventy.<sup>6</sup> The record then introduces a follower of Bûtuga, named Maṇalarata, of the Sagara lineage, with the hereditary title of "lord of Valabhi." And it proceeds to state that, in recognition of his valour in battle, Permânâḍi-Bûtuga granted some land to a temple of the god Challêśvara (a form of Śiva) at the village of Âtukûr; a stone,— evidently the one bearing this

<sup>2</sup> The fact that Râjâditya died in battle with Kṛṣṇa III., is mentioned also in the large Leyden copper-plate grant (see Dr. Hultzsch's Report No. 79, dated the 6th April 1891); the passage speaks of the "lordly elephant," on which Râjâditya was riding.

<sup>3</sup> The use of the paramount title in *dharma-mahârâjâdhirâja* must be taken, with the use of the name Satyavâkya-Koṅṅuṇivarman, to be only an hereditary custom. The construction of the whole record, and the subject-matter of it, show clearly the nature of the relations between Permânâḍi-Bûtuga and Kṛṣṇa III.

<sup>4</sup> This name occurs also in the body of the inscription, among the titles of Maṇalarata. That passage (l. 9) is probably enough to show that Permânâḍi and Bûtuga were one and the same person. But the point is rendered quite certain by the other reference to Bûtuga and Maṇalarata in ll. 21-23.— When I wrote the preceding remarks, I overlooked the fact that Bûtuga is distinctly called Permânâḍi-Bûtayya in the Hebbâl inscription (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 270).

<sup>5</sup> One might perhaps expect the name of Râjamalla, rather than Râchamalla. But the original very distinctly has *cha* in the second syllable.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.*, p. 21) summarised this part of the record thus:— "Moreover, from a subsequent addition engraved at the top of the same inscription, we learn that this Gaṅga king" [*viz.* the Satyavâkya-Koṅṅuṇivarman, or more specifically the Permânâḍi-Bûtuga, of lines 5, 6, 8] "was Râchamalla, the son of Eṇeyappa; also, that he defeated a rival named Bûtuga, who then proposed to Râjâditya, the Chôḷa prince mentioned in the previous part of the inscription, to join him in attacking Kannara Dêva. His treachery becoming thus known, he was defeated and slain, and the provinces of which he was governor absorbed into the Gaṅga territories."— Mr. Rice's extract from the text (*loc. cit.*, p. 21, note 5) showed that this summary could not be correct, but did not suffice to indicate the real meaning with any completeness and certainty.



inscription,— being set up, to commemorate the grant, on the spot where, a dog having been loosed against a boar, the boar and the dog killed each other. The inscription proper ends with two verses descriptive of the prowess of Maṇalarata. And from the addition we learn that Bûtuga also granted, to Maṇalarata himself, the group of villages known as the Âtukûr Twelve, and the village of Kôṭeyûr of the Belvola country.

In the date the only details given are the Saumya *saṃvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Saṃvat 872 (current) (A.D. 949-50), expressed in words. This falls within the limits of the dates already obtained for Kṛishṇa III. And all else that can be said is that, as, by the southern luni-solar system of the cycle, which is the only one that can be made applicable in this case, the Saumya *saṃvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Saṃvat 871 as an expired year, we have in this record another clear instance of the use of a current Śaka year.

This record refers to a variety of places. Âtakûr itself is mentioned, as Âtukûr, in the inscription proper (l. 12), and in the addition at the top of the stone (l. 22); and the latter passage shows that it was the chief town of a group of twelve villages. The inscription also mentions (l. 10) a neighbouring village named Belatûr, in the Kelale *nâḍ*; but for these names I cannot find any representatives in the map. It gives Takkôla (l. 4) as the name of the place where Râjâditya was slain; this, again, I cannot identify. In the titles of Permânaḍi-Bûtuga it mentions the town of Koḷâla and the Nandagiri mountain (l. 5). Mr. Rice (*e. g. Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxviii) has taken Koḷâla to be the same with the Kôlâhalapura of the Eastern Gaṅga records, and has identified it with “Kôlâr, in the east of Maisûr.” The identity of the two names, Koḷâla and Kôlâhala, is probably established by the statement, in the eastern grants, that Kôlâhala was in the Gaṅgavâḍi *viśhaya* (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII., p. 170). The identification of the place with Kôlâr may be correct; but I do not know of any conclusive proof of this point: and I notice, in the map, a small village named ‘Kolala’ close to Dêvarâyadurg in the Koṭṭagiri Tâlukâ of the Tumkûr District, Maisûr; this seems to me to suggest that Koḷâla may possibly be the ancient name of Dêvarâyadurg itself. Nandagiri has been identified by Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xlv) with Nandidurg, a fortified hill in the Chikballâpur Tâlukâ of the Kôlâr District, Maisûr. And finally, in the titles of Maṇalarata, the inscription mentions the town of Valabhi (l. 7-8), which is, of course, the well-known Valabhî in Kâṭhiâwâḍ. The reference is of interest, as being the only one from Southern India that is known to me; but, whether it may be taken as implying that, like Maṇalarata, the rulers of Valabhî themselves claimed to belong to the lineage of Sagara, seems not very clear. The addition at the top of the stone first mentions a province called the Ninety-six-thousand: this is undoubtedly the well-known Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand, which probably included the whole of Maisûr, and is known, from many other inscriptions, to have been the hereditary territory of the Western Gaṅgas; towards the north it extended as far as Iakkundi, near Gadag, in Dhârâwâḍ (*Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 53). It then mentions a province and four districts which were given by Kṛishṇa III. to Bûtuga; *i. e.* the feudatory government of which was entrusted to Bûtuga. The province is the well-known Banavase Twelve-thousand, which took its appellation from one of the ancient forms of the name of the modern Banawâsi in North Kanara. Of the districts the



first is the Belvola Three-hundred. This district is equally well-known; and its name, being derived from the Kanarese *bele*, 'growing corn, a crop,' and *pola*, *hola*, 'a field,' means 'the country of luxuriant crops,' with reference to the fertility of the rich black-soil which constitutes one of its chief features. It included Gadag in the Dhârwâḍ District (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 297), Anṇigere in Dhârwâḍ (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 220; apparently Anṇigere was then, A.D. 866, the capital of the district), Kurtakôṭi in Dhârwâḍ (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 218), Nargund in Dhârwâḍ and Hûli in Belgaum (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 47; here the name is written Belvala, and the district is said to be a part of the Kuntala *vishaya*), and Kukkanûr in the Nizam's Dominions (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 275; here the name is written Beluvala, in Nāgarī characters). From the wording of the passage in line 22 of the present inscription it seems not to have included Âtakûr. The second is the Purigere Three-hundred. This, again, is a very well-known district, taking its appellation from the ancient Kanarese name of Lakshmêshwar in the Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârwâḍ District. The third is the Kisukâḍ Seventy. This was in later times one of the divisions of the hereditary territory of the Sindas of Erambarage; and the chief town of it (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XII, p. 272) was Kisuvolal or Paṭṭada-Kisuvolal, which is the modern Paṭṭadakal in the Bijâpur District, near Bâdâmi. To the south it included (*id.*, p. 257) Kîru-Narayangal, which is to be identified with Kodikop, a hamlet of Naregal in the Rôn Tâlukâ, Dhârwâḍ. And the fourth is the Bâgenâḍ Seventy. This is plainly identical with the Bâgaḍage Seventy, or Bâgaḍige *nâḍ*, which was another of the divisions of the Sinda territory. I have only recently obtained the means of localising precisely the position of this district, and of determining the town from which it took its name. That town is Bâgalkôṭ in the Bijâpur District. It has long been known to me that the rustics call this place 'Bângaḍîkôṭe;' the popular explanation of which is that some Nawâb assigned it to his wife for pin-money (*lit.* for bangles, *bângaḍî*). And I had a suspicion, but no more, that it might be the ancient Bâgaḍage or Bâgaḍige. All doubt has now been removed by my examination of an inscription on a stone which stands in the courtyard of the Tâlukâ Kachêri at Bâgalkôṭ, and was brought, I understand, from the neighbouring village of Hêrkal, and which mentions "the famous capital, Bâgaḍageya-kôṭe," (*śrîma[d-r]âjadhâni Bâgaḍag[e]ya-kôṭeya śrî-mûlla*)-[*sthân-â*][*dhi*][*pati*] *Nilakanṭha-panḍitadêvaru*; lines 9-10). Taken with the rustic appellation, this is quite sufficient to establish the identity of the two names, Bâgaḍage and Bâgalkôṭ. And finally, in line 22, the addition mentions the village of Kôṭeyûr of the Belvola country. This place I cannot identify with any certainty; but it may possibly be either Kurtakôṭi in Dhârwâḍ, or the small village of 'Kotoor,' 8 miles west of Koppal in the Nizam's Dominions (Lat. 15° 20' N., Long. 76° 10' E.).

There can be, I think, no doubt that the Eṛeyapa of this inscription is the Gaṅga king Eṛeyapa or Eṛeyapparasa, ruler of the Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand, of the Bêgûr inscription (edited by me, *ante*, Vol. I, p. 346 ff). This record, therefore, fixes the period of the events recorded in the Bêgûr stone, and adds another interesting link in the history of the Western Gaṅgas. It shows internal dissensions among them; for Permânâḍi-Bâtuga, himself a Gaṅga (see lines 5, 6), acquired the province by killing Râchamalla, the son of Eṛeyapa; and Eṛeyapa, though he has been stamped by Mr. Rice as an "usurper" (e.g. *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. xlv, xlv), was most distinctly of the



Gaṅga lineage (see *ante*, Vol. I, p. 349). Also, the construction of the record, and the grant of districts to Bûtuga by Kṛishṇa III., distinctly prove that at this period the Gaṅgas were feudatories of the Râshtrakûṭas.

Incidentally it may be noted that, as the period of Eṛeyapparasa is now known to be about A.D. 949, it follows that there is some real probability of the Ayyapadêva of the Bêgûr record being identical with the Western Chalukya Ayyaṇa I., whose period was two generations before A.D. 973-97.

Among the territory given by Kṛishṇa III. to Bûtuga was the Banavase Twelve-thousand. This point is of interest, because this province was the principal component of the territory of the Kâdambas of Banawâsi and Hâṅgal; and the present record shows that they had not the ancient, or at least the uninterrupted, enjoyment of their possessions, which their inscriptions seem to imply.

TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

- 1 Svas[t]i Sa(śa)ka-nri(nṛi)pa-kâl-âtîta-samvatsara-sa(śa)taṅga|=eṇṭu-nûṛ=el patt-craḍa-  
neya Śau(sau)myam=emba
- 2 samvatsaram pravarttise [I\*] Svasti Amôghavarisha<sup>8</sup>dêva-śrîprithuvi<sup>9</sup>vallabha-  
paramêśvara-parama-
- 3 bhaṭṭ[â]raka-pâdapaṅkaja-bhramara[m] n[ri]pa-Tri[nê]tran=âne-vedeṅgam vana-  
gaja-mallam kachehegam Kri(kṛi)shṇarâjam śrîmat
- 4 Kan[n]aradêva[m] . . lû(?)vajaṁ Chôla-Râjâdityana môle [ba]ndu  
Takkôlado|=kâdi kondu bijayam-geyyutt-ildu [I\*]
- 5 Sva[st]i [S]atyavâkya-Koṅṇunivarmma-dharm[m]amahârâjâdhirâjam Koḷâla-pura-  
var-êśvaram Nandagiri-nâtham
- 6 śrîmat Permmânaḍigaḷ nanneya-Gaṅga jaya[d=u]ttaraṅga Gaṅga-G[âṅgê]ya  
Gaṅga-Nârâyaṇa tan<sup>10</sup>=âlu
- 7 Svasti Sakaḷa-lôka-paritâp-âvi(?)hata-[pra]bhâv-âvatâri[ta]-Gaṅga<sup>11</sup>-pravâh-ôdâra-  
Sagara-vaṁśa Va-
- 8 labhi-puravar-êśvaran=udâra-Bhagîrathan=iṛiva-bedeṅgam Sa[gara]-Triṇêtram  
senase-mûgarivom
- 9 kadan-aika-Su(śû)drakam Bûtugan-aṅkakâram śrîmat Maṇalarata[ṅg=a]nuvaradoḷ  
mechchi bēḍi-kol|=endo-
- 10 de dayeya mere-vol(?)|=emba Kâliyam daye-geyy=endu koṇḍanâ nâya[m]  
Keḷale-nâḍa Beḷatûra paḍu-
- 11 yaṇa deseya morâḍiyol piri[dum pa]ndige viṭṭode pandiyum nâyum=oda-  
sattuvadarkke-
- 12 y=Atukûroḷ Challêśvarada munde kallaṇ=naḍisi piriya kereya keḷago Malti-  
kâlâṅgadoḷ=ir-kka(kkha)ṇḍuga-
- 13 maṇṇa[m] koṭṭar=Â maṇṇan=okkal nâḍan=âlvom<sup>12</sup>=ûran=âlvor=f maṇṇan=  
alidon=â nâya geyda pâpama[m] koṇḍom-

<sup>7</sup> From the inked estampages.

<sup>8</sup> Read °varsha°.

<sup>9</sup> Read °prithivî° or °prithvi°.

<sup>10</sup> We should expect tann(a), with the double nn. But I

notice that Sanderson's Kanarese Dictionary gives *nana* as a variant of *nanna*.

<sup>11</sup> Read gaṅgâ or gâṅga.

<sup>12</sup> Read °âlvon°.



- 14 n<sup>13</sup>=â sthânaman=â|va goravan=â kallam pûjisad=undar=appode<sup>14</sup> nâya geyda  
pâpamam konḍa[n] [II\*] Ôm [II\*]  
15 Urad<sup>15</sup>=idir-ânta Chôla-chaturanga-balangalan=aṭṭi muṭṭi taṭt=iriv-eḍeg=ōrvvar=  
appodam=idirchchuva  
16 gaṇḍaran=âmpev=endu poṭṭaṭisuva<sup>16</sup> bî(vî)raram nereye kôṇe(ṇa)me Chôlane<sup>17</sup>  
sa(śa)ktiy-âge taṭt=iridudan=âve(? me) ka-  
17 ṇḍev=ene mechchador=âr=Śsagara-Trinêtranam || Narapati bennoḷ=ilḍon=idir-  
ântudu vairi-samûham=illi  
18 machcharisuvâr=ellarum seraguv-âḷdapor=int-ire nendu singad=ant-ire Hari  
bî(vî)ra-Lakshmi nerav-âg-ire Chô-  
19 la[na]-kôṭey=emba sindhurada śir-âgramam biriye pâyidam<sup>18</sup> kadan-aika-  
Su(śû)drakam [II\*] Ôm [II\*]

THE ADDITION AT THE TOP OF THE STONE.

- 20 Svasti Śrî-Ereyapana magam Râchamallanam Bâtugam kâdi konḍu tombhatt-  
aru-sâsiramumam<sup>19</sup> âḷutt-ire [I\*] Kannaradêva[m] Chôlanam kâduvandu  
Bâtugam Râjâdityanam bisugeye kaḷḷan-âgi gurig=iridu  
21 kâdi konḍu Banavase-pannirchchâ(? rehchhâ)siramum Beḷvola-mûnûrum  
Purigere-mûmnûrum<sup>20</sup> Kisukâḍ-elḷattum Bâgenâḍ-elḷattuva(ma)m Bâtugange  
Kannaradêvam mechchu-goṭṭam [II\*]. Bâtuganum<sup>21</sup> Maṇalarata-  
22 na munde nind=iridudarkke mechchi Âtuk[û]r-ppanneradum Beḷvolada  
Kôṭeyûrumam bâlga[m]  
23 [me]<sup>22</sup>chchu-goṭṭam [II\*] Maṅgala-mahâ-śrî [II\*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! The *saṃvatsara* named Saumya, (*which is*) the eight hundred and seventy-second (*in*) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, being current:—

(Line 2).— Hail! When Kṛishṇarâja (III.), the glorious Kannaradêva,— a very bee at the water-lilies which (*were*) the feet of Amôghavarshadêva (III.), the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramêśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*; a very Trinêtra (Śiva) among kings; a marvel in giving support (or, in resistance); a hero against wild elephants; a (*real*) fighter (or, disputant), — having . . . . . come upon the Chôla, Râjâditya, and having fought and killed (*him*) at Takkôla, was going in triumph:—

(L. 5).— Hail! (*He who has the hereditary titles of*) the pious *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Satyavâkya-Koṅgunivarman; the lord of Koḷâla, the best of towns; (*and*) the lord

<sup>13</sup> Read *konḍon*°.

<sup>14</sup> This seems to be the reading; but °*appod*=â would be better.

<sup>15</sup> Metre: Champakamâlâ; and in the following verse.

<sup>16</sup> The *prâsa* is wrong here; in the third syllable of this word, there ought properly to be *ri*, instead of *li*.

<sup>17</sup> This *ne* was omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

<sup>18</sup> Read *pâyidan*=â.

<sup>19</sup> Read °*sâsiramam*; the copulative ending is not required here.

<sup>20</sup> Read °*mûnûrum*.

<sup>21</sup> Read *bâtugam*; here, again, the copulative ending is not required.

<sup>22</sup> I cannot find the place where this syllable, *me*, stands in the original; perhaps the *akshara* was omitted altogether.



of the mountain Nandagiri,— (*viz.*) the illustrious Permāṇaḍi, the truthful Gaṅga, the arch of victory, a very Gāṅgēya among the Gaṅgas, a very Nârâyana among the Gaṅgas,—

(L. 7).— Hail !,— being pleased in battle with his follower, the illustrious Maṇalārata,— who is of the lineage of Sagara, which brought down the stream of the (river) Gaṅgâ through (*its*) prowess that was unimpeded in causing the affliction of all mankind ; (*who has the hereditary title of*) the lord of Vaḷabhi, the best of towns ; who is as noble as Bhagīratha ; who is a marvel among men who pierce ; who is a very Triṇētra among the Sagaras ; who cuts off noses when he is angry ; who is a very Śūdraka (*devoted*) only to war ; (*and*) who is the arithmetician of Bûtuga,— said “ Prefer a request ! ” Thereupon, Kāliya, who is called “ the shining river (?) of kindness,” said, “ Do (*this*) favour ! ” Then they loosed his dog at a [great] boar, on the hill in the western quarter of (the village of) Beḷatūr of (the district called) Keḷale nāḍ. And then, having set up a stone in front of the temple of (the god) Challēśvara at Âtukûr, at (*the place where*) the boar and the dog killed each other,<sup>23</sup> he (Permāṇaḍi) gave<sup>24</sup> land yielding two *khaṇḍugas* (*of grain*), at the site called Maltikālaṅga below the large tank.

(L. 13).— Any cultivator (*who destroys*) that land, (*or*) the ruler of the district (*if he does so*), (*or*) any governors of the village who destroy<sup>25</sup> this land,— he incurs (*the guilt of*) the sin committed by that dog ! If the *Gorava*, who presides over that locality, eats without doing worship to that stone, he incurs (*the guilt of*) the sin committed by (*that*) dog ! Ôm !

(L. 15).— Saying “ We ourselves saw how powerfully the Chôḷa, like a male buffalo *in coitu*, approached and pierced the heroes who were vaunting (*their*) prowess<sup>26</sup> in saying ‘ Pursuing and besetting the forces of the army of the Chôḷa which, blazing (*with wrath*), have opposed (*us*), we will resist the valiant men who confront (*us*), if (*indeed*) there be any (*to make a stand*) at the place of meeting and piercing,’ ”— what people have failed to express approbation of him who is a very Triṇētra among the Sagaras ? The king was at (*his*) back ; a multitude of enemies opposed (*him*) in front ; all the people here, emulously rivalling each other, are bathed (*in perspiration*) to the (*very*) edges of (*their*) garments ;— under these circumstances he, a very Śūdraka (*devoted*) only to war, dripping (*with sweat*), with the assistance of (the god) Hari (*and*) the brave Lakshmî, passed on like a lion, cleaving open the forehead of the elephant that was called “ the fortress of the Chôḷa.”<sup>27</sup> Ôm !

#### THE ADDITION AT THE TOP OF THE STONE.

(L. 20).— Hail ! When Bûtuga, having fought and killed Râchamalla, the son of the glorious Ereyapa, was governing the Ninety-six-thousand :— At the time when Kannaradêva was warring against the Chôḷa, Bûtuga treacherously,<sup>28</sup> while (*they*) were taking the air (*together*), aimed at and pierced, and thus fought against and killed,

<sup>23</sup> *lit.* “ died together.”

<sup>24</sup> *lit.* “ they gave ” (*kottar*) ; the word is in apposition with *permmāṇaḍigaḷ* (l. 6).

<sup>25</sup> *lit.* “ who destroys ” (*aḷidon*) ; this sentence illustrates well the change of construction from the singular to the plural, and back again (compare *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 146, note 15). The words “ this land ” are rather unnecessary after the ‘ that land ’ which stands at the beginning of the sentence.

<sup>26</sup> *poṭṭaliṣuva* seems to be some derivative from *pōṭari*, ‘ a brave man ; ’ see note 16 above, regarding the *prāsa*.

<sup>27</sup> See note 2 above.

<sup>28</sup> *lit.* “ as a thief.”



Rājāditya; and then Kannaradēva gave to Bûtuga, in token of approbation, the Banavase Twelve-thousand, the Belvola Three-hundred, the Purigere Three-hundred, the Kisukād Seventy, and the Bāgenād Seventy.

(L. 21).— Being pleased with the manner in which Maṇalarata stood out in front and pierced (*his foes*), Bûtuga gave (*to him*), in token of approbation, for subsistence, the Âtukûr Twelve, and the village of Kôṭeyûr of (*the*) Belvola (*country*). (*May there be*) auspicious and great good fortune!

### XIII.—KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF THE CHEDI LAKSHMANARAJA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription<sup>1</sup> was found at Kâritalâi, a village in the Muḍwârâ Subdivision of the Jabalpur District of the Central Provinces (*Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 89, Latitude 24° 3' North, Longitude 80° 46' East), whence it has been removed to the Jabalpur Museum. And an account of the contents<sup>2</sup> of the inscription has been given in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol. IX, page 81. I now edit the text from a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

The inscription is only the concluding portion of an apparently much longer inscription the upper part of which is missing. The writing of what remains covers a space of 3' 8" broad by 4' 3½" high; but of this, again, a large piece, about 1' broad by 1' 8" high, is broken away at the lower proper right corner, and a small piece at the upper left corner. Besides, the stone is broken in several pieces, and some *aksharas* have thereby become damaged or illegible in the body of the inscription. The average size of the letters is 1". The characters, well formed and skilfully engraved, are Nāgarî of about the end of the 10th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the words *yaś=cha*, in line 5, and *kim vahunā*, in line 26, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography it will be sufficient to state that *b* is throughout written by the sign for *v*, and that the sign of the *jihvāmālîya* once occurs in line 9, and the sign of the *upadhmānîya* once in line 30.

The missing introductory portion of the inscription in all probability contained a number of verses eulogising the earlier Chedi (or Kalachuri) rulers of Tripurî, especially Yuvarâjadeva and Lakshmaṇarâja, who are actually mentioned in the sequel. In verses 2-6 of the extant text we are told that in the family of the sage Bharadvâja there was a Brâhman, named Bhâkamiśra, who was chief minister of the king Yuvarâjadeva; and in verses 7-17 that he had a son, Someśvara (in verse 9 described as *bhaṭṭa-Someśvara-dikshita*), who became minister of the Chedi lord, the illustrious Lakshmaṇarâja. And the proper object of the inscription is to record that this Someśvara built a temple of Vishṇu, at which the inscription evidently was put up, and which is glorified in verses 18-29. Beyond this, verses 1-29 contain nothing of interest.

<sup>1</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol. IX, p. 8; also Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> This account, which no doubt was furnished by some native assistant, is very incorrect. Here it will be sufficient to say that the word, which was interpreted to denote a place called *Pâtangir*, is really a name of the planet Saturn; see line 24 of the text.



From verse 30 it appears that near the temple there was a *pura* (or *brahmapura*, as it is more commonly called) for eight learned Brâhmans; and the rest of the inscription enumerates various donations, made for their maintenance and in favour of the temple generally. To the Brâhmans mentioned the king, apparently Lakshmanarâja, gave the village of Dîrghasâkhika (verse 30). To the temple he assigned, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, another village, the name of which has not been preserved (verse 31); while his queen, Râhādâ, gave the village of Chakrahradî (verse 32). Another donation was made, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, by the illustrious Śaṅka[raṅga, the king's son(?)], a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu (verse 33); and at a solar eclipse were given (it is not certain by whom) the village Chhallipâṭaka in the district of Dhavalaharâ and the village Antarapâṭa (verse 34). Several fields, and the village Vaṭagartikâ in the Mâlâ 'group of twelve,' are besides mentioned among the donations to Viṣṇu, after the founder of the temple called 'the holy *Somasvâmidēva*, in the mutilated verses 35-37<sup>3</sup>. And finally verses 38-42 enumerate various taxes and tolls<sup>4</sup> which had to be paid in favour of the temple.

The kings Yuvarâjadeva and Lakshmanarâja, mentioned in this inscription, undoubtedly are Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva and his son Lakshmanarâja, the father of Śaṅkaragaṇa, of the Bilhari inscription (*ante*, vol. I, page 253); and accordingly the present inscription is older than the Bilhari inscription, and must have been composed some time between the middle and end of the 10th century A.D.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, none have been identified with certainty; but I suspect Dîrghasâkhika to be the village Dighee of the maps, about 6 miles south-east of Kâritalâi (or Kareetullae).

TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

L. 1. . . . .<sup>6</sup>

2. 'मेस्त्रोणि पदानि वामनमहापात्राय कृष्णादौ ।

प्र[त्य]क्षीकृतदान एष तु जनैः प्रादादनभ्यर्त्थितो

ग्रामान्त्रा(न्त्रा)क्षणाजातये व(ब)हु[तरांस्तु]ष्टान्तरा[त्मा] ८ — [॥<sup>x</sup>]<sup>8</sup>—[1].

3. वंशाङ्गराजमुनेरननाङ्गणानतो<sup>9</sup> धर्म इवापरो[भू]त् ।

श्रीभाकमिश्रः क्षितिपप्रणम्यः शश्वत्कृतात्थीकृतमार्गणौघः ॥<sup>10</sup> —[2].

कुण्डितधिषणो धिष[णो] . .<sup>11</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The mutilated state of verse 37 makes it impossible to say whether the word *khârivâpa*, which occurs in it, should be explained to mean 'a field sown with a *khârî* of grain', or taken as a proper name. If it were a proper name, we should probably have here the older name of Kâritalâi.

<sup>4</sup> I am unable to explain fully all the particulars stated in the mutilated verses 38-42. Verse 40 again contains the word *desi*, mentioned *ante*, p. 130, note 83.

<sup>5</sup> From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by the editor.

<sup>6</sup> Of this line only the lower part of about half the number of *aksharas*, which it contained, is preserved; but what remains is sufficient to show that this was not the first line of the inscription.

<sup>7</sup> The last *akshara* of the preceding line must have been नभू. The poet is speaking of the Daitya Bali, with whom he evidently compares a king (probably the Chedi Lakshmanarâja), who must have been spoken of in the lost portion of the inscription.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

<sup>9</sup> I should have expected to read here वंशे भरद्वाजमुनेरनने गुणीकृतो.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>11</sup> The *aksharas*, here broken away, probably were सौम्यः, i.e. पौम्यः.



- L. 4. सौम्यो वु(बु)धो न वु(बु)धः ।  
 अकविः कविरपि यस्मादतिग्रहोप्येवमग्रहश्चित् ॥<sup>12</sup> —[3].  
 यदनवधिवितानप्रज्वलज्जातवेदस्ततरखरतापोत्तसगात्री धरित्री ।  
 दिगिभभुज[ग]-
5. राजानन्तकूर्मैः समूहे कलितदवयुपोडानष्टधैर्यैः कथंचित् ॥<sup>13</sup> —[4].  
 यश्च ॥  
 अचीकरत्कुत्र<sup>14</sup> न देववेश्मान्यचीखनत्कुत्र न वा सरांसि ।  
 अविव्यधत्कुत्र<sup>15</sup> न कूपवा[पी]-
6. ररुरूपन्नाम्नणानि कुत्र ॥<sup>16</sup> —[5].  
 अवाप्य यं त्रियुवराजदेवो धराधरं प्राच्यमिवांशुमाली ।  
 प्रापोन्नतिं व्यस्तसमस्तदोषां मन्त्रिप्रधानं कुलगोत्रचारुं ॥<sup>17</sup> —[6].  
 न संदिग्धे वे-
7. दे द्रवदवधिवो(बो)श्चा पदविधेरतर्क्यस्तर्केष्वप्यनवममतिस्तन्मृगतिषु ।  
 य आद्यो वेदान्ते स्मरणनिपुणः काव्यसरणे<sup>18</sup> स तस्यासीत्सूनुः प्रथित इह सोमेश्वर इति ॥<sup>19</sup> —[7].  
 पुस्ते-
8. नपास्तमतिरप्रतिमश्चरित्रे तौर्यत्रिके किमपि यः कुशलो व(ब)भूव ।  
 हस्यश्चपालनपरीक्षणकर्मशास्त्रे रत्नत्रयेप्यनुपमो धुरि धीमतां च ॥<sup>20</sup> —[8].  
 एका कला मूर्ध्नि श[शा]-
9. इमौलेरिन्दोः कलाः पञ्चदश प्रसिद्धाः ।  
 श्रीभट्टसोमेश्वरदीक्षितस्य कल्याः<sup>21</sup> कलाक्लार्त्तयितुं कृती कः ॥<sup>22</sup> —[9].  
 मेरुः सञ्चितकाञ्चनैकनिचयः पुण्यतुषारोत्करै-  
 रुद्धतो[दुर]जा-
10. अ एव हिमवान्नीद्रो गिरिः स्फाटिकः ।  
 अर्थिप्रप्तसमस्तहेमनिवहः प्रेक्षैकवो(बो)धावधिः  
 सौम्योसावुपमीयते कथमिव क्षामृन्मयेणासुना ॥<sup>23</sup> —[10].  
 अपा[स्तकुं]कुमं ये-
11. न नवनीतमनीयत ।  
 वपुःप्रणयितां यज्ञे वशिभिर्दुःकरं<sup>24</sup> हि किं ॥<sup>25</sup> —[11].  
 अपास्तकाञ्चिर्धृत[मंज]रञ्जुर्गलद्गुली [ध?]त[दू?]रवासाः ।  
 अलौकि[कत्वेन][विशे]षचार्य[यो]-
12. पितां पर्वणि वेष एषः ॥<sup>26</sup> —[12].  
 अग्नीदग्नीन्विहर विधिवद्गन्धि होमोपयुक्ता-  
 मध्वर्यो गां सूचमपि समं चालयाशु सुवेण ।  
 तसैर्वार्भिर्भवतु सविधे गार्हपत्यस्य प-

<sup>12</sup> Metre: Udgiti.

<sup>13</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>14</sup> Originally अचीकरकरत्कुत्र was engraved, but the first aksharas कर are struck out.

<sup>15</sup> Originally अविव्यध°, but altered to अविव्यध°.

<sup>16</sup> Metre: Upendravajrā.

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>18</sup> It is somewhat doubtful whether °सरणे: or °सरणि: was engraved.

<sup>19</sup> Metre: Śikharinī.

<sup>20</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>21</sup> Originally कल्याः, altered to कल्याः.

<sup>22</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

<sup>23</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>24</sup> Read वपुष्° and °दुःकरं.

<sup>25</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>26</sup> Metre: Upajāti.







L. 21.

व सुदर्श(र्श)नः ॥<sup>40</sup> —[22].

ध्वजपटविकटान्तभ्रान्तिसर्पत्समीरे मिलदमरसरत्नैवश्यमस्योत्तमाङ्गे ।  
तरणिरननुभूतं यामयुग्माभिगम्ये निजरथतुरगाणां वातपृष्ठन्द-<sup>41</sup>

22.

[दा]ति ॥<sup>42</sup> —[23].

अस्योत्तुङ्गो[त्त]माङ्गानवरतगमनोद्भृष्टिसीदद्रथाङ्गः  
प्रातः प्रातर्दिनेशो घटयति युगलं चक्रयोर्वीतसंख्यं<sup>43</sup> ।  
शङ्के कूटान्तरालस्थपुटनिपतनोत्था-

23.

७ — — ७ [द]ण्डः

सायं सायं जनानां<sup>44</sup> कलयति नितरामक्षवर्गं समग्रं ॥<sup>45</sup> —[24].  
नयति रथममुञ्चेद्दक्षिणेनोत्तरेण स्मरति हि दिवसानां कुञ्चनप्राञ्चनानि ।  
त-

24.

७, ७ ७ ७ ७ — — [मे]रुयातेष्यभिन्नो ध्रुवमनभिविलंघं प्राप्य सोदत्यमन्दं ॥<sup>46</sup> —[25].

अलङ्घ्यशिखरश्रेणिलङ्घनव्यसनादिव ।  
पातङ्गिरङ्ग(ङ्गि)व्यापत्तिरसपात्रमभू-

25.

७ — [॥\*]<sup>47</sup> —[26].

— — — ७ ७ — [व]राहचरणक्षोदादुदञ्चत्किणं  
पृष्ठं मे तव तत्त्व[णोद्भृ]तविसप्राया शिरःसन्ततिः ।  
मा गाङ्गङ्गमितोपसर्प्य निदधे तत्तावदेतद्भुवं  
कूर्मस्यापि [व]-

26.

— ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — — ७ वाहे भवन् ॥<sup>48</sup> —[27].

किं व(व)हुना ॥  
सर्व[प्रासा]दराजोयं नियतं प्रतिभाति नः ।  
यदस्य केतुदण्डाग्रलग्नश्छत्रा(चा)यते विधुः ॥<sup>49</sup> —[28].  
स्थेयादाकल्पमेतत्सु-

27.

७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — — [रमुख्य]-

व्र(व्र)ह्माण्डाधारमूर्ध्नी [दृढ]तरजगतीनिचलोभावशङ्कोः ।  
कल्पस्यावस्थिति स्तान्मुररिपुशरणं यावदेतच्चकास्ती-  
त्येतच्चाशंसनं

28.

— ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — — [क्र]रूपं ॥<sup>50</sup> —[29].

न्यवीविश[त्युरे] चास्मिन्नष्टौ भट्टान्वसूनिव ।  
दीर्घशाखिकनामानमेभ्यो ग्राममदावृपः ॥<sup>51</sup> —[30].  
श्रीमन्नक्षत्रराजो ग्रामं देवा-

<sup>40</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>41</sup> Read °भूतां and वातपृष्ठन्द°.<sup>42</sup> Metre, Mālinī.<sup>43</sup> This may have been altered to °संख्यं in the original.<sup>44</sup> Possibly this has been altered to चतानां.<sup>45</sup> Metre, Śragdharā.<sup>46</sup> Metre, Mālinī.<sup>47</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>48</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭa.<sup>49</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>50</sup> Metre, Śragdharā.<sup>51</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).



L. 29.

. . . . . [1<sup>x</sup>]. . . . . दादस्मै ग्रहे भानोः ॥<sup>52</sup> —[31].

नृपानुमत्या भक्त्या च स्वीयया तस्य राहडा ।

ग्रामं चक्रहदीमस्मै महादेवी व्यशिश्रणत् ॥<sup>53</sup> —[32].

श्रीशङ्क-

30.

. . . . . स्मै ।

देवाय दानशीण्डो ग्रहणे सोमस्य वैष्णवोपरमः ॥<sup>54</sup> —[33].

धवलहारासंव(ब)वं प्रायश्चच्छिपाटकं ग्रामं ।

भानोरन्तरपाटं ग्रहणे देवा-

31.

. . . . . [11<sup>x</sup>]<sup>55</sup> —[34].

. . . . . [लक्षेत्र]कं ददौ ।

तत्समीपे वराहाय क्षेत्रं द्वादशखण्डिकं ॥<sup>56</sup> —[35].

मालाद्वादशके ग्रामं शासनं वटगर्त्तिकां ।

स्वकीये शासने श्रीमान्व[ल्ले]

32.

. . . . . [11<sup>x</sup>] —[36].

. . . . . [यतेः] ।

श्रीसोमस्वामिदेवाय खारीवापमिहागतः ॥ —[37].

पुरपत्तनयोः स्थानः<sup>57</sup> शुक्लामेकादशीं ददौ ।

द्वादशीमपि यात्रायाः षो-

33.

. . . . . [11<sup>x</sup>] —[38].

. . . . . का तथा ।

नित्यमेकां घटीं गोण्यां षोडशोदितयं तथा ॥ —[39].

कषायपञ्चके देशिर्द्दानमध्ये न्यवेदयत् ।

सार्द्धद्वाविंशमंशं च वा(बा)ह्यं पाद-

34.

. . . . . [11<sup>x</sup>] —[40].

. . . . . ।

[वागू]लिकप्रधानस्य पर्णपञ्चाशतं ददौ । (॥) —[41].

पर्णपञ्चाशदपरा दत्ता पायटिभिस्तथा ।

खलभिश्चाशतस्रस्य मण्डलं सकलं ददौ ॥ —[42].

<sup>52</sup> Metre, Āryā.<sup>53</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).<sup>54</sup> Metre, Udgitī.<sup>55</sup> Metre, Āryā.<sup>56</sup> Metre, from here to the end, Śloka (Anushtubh).<sup>57</sup> All this is quite clear in the rubbing.



## XIII.—NAGPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE RULERS OF MALAVA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1161.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription, which is on a slab of stone in the Nāgpur Museum, was first edited and translated into English, in 1843, by Bāl Gaṅgādhara Śāstrī, from a copy sent to him by Dr. Stevenson, who had received it from Mr. L. R. Reid.<sup>1</sup> And a few years later it was re-edited, with a German translation, by Professor Lassen.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the previously published text Lassen was enabled to use a copy of the text sent to him by Sir W. Erskine, which was reported to have been taken from a copper-plate at Sattārā.<sup>3</sup> On the value of the two published editions it is unnecessary to express an opinion, but I may say that Professor Lassen once or twice has unjustly censured the Hindu translator for having misunderstood the original, in passages where the English translation, if not altogether correct, shows its author to have had a fairly accurate idea of what the writer of the original meant to say. And I must add that, for the proper understanding of some really difficult verses, more help may be derived from the English than from the German translation. I now re-edit this inscription from excellent estampages, prepared and supplied to me some time ago by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess.

The main body of the inscription contains 40 lines of writing which cover a space of 4' 5½" broad by 2' 8¼" high; and beneath it, and separated from it by a narrow empty space, is an additional line about 4' 11½" long. No part of the writing is entirely lost, but the lower half of the stone has suffered greatly, apparently from exposure to the weather, and in consequence many single *aksharas* and whole groups of words are either badly damaged or only faintly visible. I nevertheless hope that, with the exception of about a dozen syllables (in lines 24, 33, and 37) which I have been unable to restore, and a few others which have been marked as doubtful, my transcript may be taken to be an accurate and trustworthy copy of the original text. The size of the letters in lines 1-40 is about ⅝", in the separate line 41 about ⅞". The characters are Nāgarī of the beginning of the 12th century A. D.; they include the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya*<sup>4</sup> in *vāshpāmbhalikāṇa*, in line 12. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the introductory *om om namo Bhāratyai* and the date *saṁ 1161* at the end of line 40, the inscription is throughout in verse. The whole has been written and engraved with such care and accuracy that the orthography is almost perfect and calls for very few remarks. Except in the word *nirbbhara*, in line 18,<sup>5</sup> the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Besides, attention need only be drawn to the wrong spellings °*shanna* for °*shanna*, in lines 6 and 10, *nistrīmśa* for *nistrīmśa*, in line 16, *chakshuḥkarnṇam* for *chakshushkarnṇam*, in

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal, Bombay Asiatic Society*, vol. I, p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> See *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. VII, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> According to Lassen his copy was marked on the title page 'Sanskrit No. 57,' and he believed it to have belonged to a collection of transcripts of inscriptions at Bombay. Having studied Lassen's text as well as his notes, and compared his various readings with my estampages, I feel certain that, what Lassen was told about the origin of the copy sent to him, was incorrect, and that there never has existed such a copper-plate as is mentioned by him. In my opinion, what he received from Sir W. Erskine was simply another transcript of the stone inscription, made by a Paṇḍit and brought to Bombay. To prove this in detail would be a waste of time. It will be sufficient to say that Lassen's copy furnishes no help wherever the stone is damaged, and that its readings in these places are just such as might be suggested by an intelligent Paṇḍit.

<sup>4</sup> This sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* is hardly to be distinguished here from the sign for *sh*.

<sup>5</sup> But not in line 41, where we read *nirbbharau*.



line 24, *tajñair* for *tajjñair*, in line 35, and *vidhadhvam* for *vidhaddhvam*, in line 41. The language is correct.<sup>6</sup> It contains several uncommon words; but the only word which is used in a sense for which I can find no authority is *brahmāṇḍakhaṇḍa*, apparently denoting 'the vault of heaven' or 'the firmament,' in lines 5, 7, 11, and 13. As regards versification, the author has twice offended against an elementary rule of metrics, in line 3 of verse 28 and line 1 of verse 31. The style of the whole poem is highly bombastic and artificial, and the author has not without reason (in verse 57) exhorted his readers to exert themselves well and to make their intellect sharp as the point of *kuśa* grass.

The inscription is a *Prasasti* or laudatory account of the Paramāra rulers of Mālava, from Vairisimha (II.) to Lakshmadeva, the son of Udayāditya and (probably elder) brother of Naravarmadeva; but, compared with its great length, the actual facts reported in it are few indeed. Beginning with seven benedictory verses, the poet (in verses 8-15) tells the well-known fable how on mount Arbuda (or Âbû) the sage Vasishṭha, when his wonderful cow Nandinî was being carried off by Viśvāmītra, produced from the sacred fire the hero Paramāra, who defeated Viśvāmītra and became afterwards the founder of the royal family here eulogized. The first king of this family, mentioned by the poet, is Vairisimha (vv. 16-19). He was succeeded by his son Siyaka (vv. 20-22); and after him came his son Muñjarāja (vv. 23-25), Muñjarāja's younger brother Sindhurāja (vv. 26-28), and Sindhurāja's son Bhojadeva (vv. 29-31). The description of these five kings is purely conventional and for the historian worthless. In verse 32 the poet intimates that Bhojadeva's end was unfortunate; and he relates that, during the troubles which then had befallen the realm, Bhojadeva's relative Udayāditya became king, whose great achievement was that he freed the land from the dominion of (the Chedi) Karna who, joined by the Karnaṭas,<sup>7</sup> had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean (vv. 32-34). Udayāditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmadeva, the glorification of whom takes up no less than twenty verses (vv. 35-54). According to the poet's account Lakshmadeva subjugated the earth in all directions; but the only tangible and probably true facts mentioned are an expedition undertaken against Tripurî (v. 39), the well-known capital of the Chedi kingdom, and perhaps some fights with the Turushkas or Muhammadan invaders alluded to in verse 54, which speaks of the king's encampment on the banks of the river Vaṅkshu, and contains a well-known play on the word *kîra*.<sup>8</sup>

To the above laudatory account verses 55 and 56 add, that Lakshmadeva, at the time of a solar eclipse, had granted, it is not clear to whom, two villages in the Vyâpura *maṇḍala*, and that his brother, the king Naravarmadeva, afterwards assigned the village of Mokhalapâṭaka instead. Naravarmadeva, moreover, ordered (the architect) Lakshmîdhara to build the temple at which this inscription was put up, and which is said to have been adorned with many eulogies and hymns composed by (the king) himself. From this last remark I feel strongly inclined to believe that this *prasasti*, the author of which is not mentioned, was likewise composed by no less a personage than the king Naravarmadeva.

<sup>6</sup> The use of *udbhavat* in the first compound of verse 20, for *udbhava*, I ascribe to an error of the writer.

<sup>7</sup> As Karna is joined here with the Karnaṭas, so the lord of Chedi apparently is joined with the Karnaṭas in the Udaypur *Prasasti*, *ante*, vol. I, p. 235, line 20.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., above, p. 15, verse 12.



This main part of the inscription closes with the date, the (Vikrama) year 1161 = A. D. 1104-5. The additional line 41 (vv. 57 and 58) appeals to the reader to study carefully and with impartiality and to appreciate properly the poem, here set before him.

The history of the earlier Páramāras of Málava, down to Udayāditya, has been fully treated of by Professor Bühler, *ante*, vol. I, pp. 223-233. The names of the later rulers of the same dynasty I have given from their copper-plate grants in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, pp. 346-347. All these later records make Naravarman the immediate successor of Udayāditya, and so does the inscription from Madhukargadh, the substance of which is given in *the Transactions Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. I, p. 226. But from the present inscription it is clear that Udayāditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmadeva, and he by his brother Naravarman; and the dates available show that Lakshmadeva's reign falls between the years A. D. 1080 and 1104.

TEXT.<sup>9</sup>

L. 1. श्री<sup>10</sup> [॥\*] श्री नमो भारत्यै ॥

प्रसादौदार्यमाधुर्यसमाधिसमतादयः ।

युवयोर्यं गुणाः सन्ति वाग्देव्यौ तेषां सन्तु नः ॥<sup>11</sup>—[1].

एक एव भुवनत्रयेऽपि स श्रीपतिर्भवतु वो विभूतये ।

यस्य मध्यमपदश्चितीष्यमी भास्करप्रभृतयश्चासति ॥<sup>12</sup>—[2].

जातिं वृत्तञ्च वि[भ्राणा]<sup>13</sup> गु-

2. णालंकारचारवः ।

सरसाश्च प्रसीदन्तु सूक्तयः सूरयश्च नः ॥<sup>14</sup>—[3].

दुर्द्वारारिपुरभङ्गभीषणो भूरिभूतिसविशेष[भूषणः]<sup>15</sup>।

[रा]जराजकृतसत्क्रियः क्रियाहृद्भिरवशसदृशः शिवः शिवं ॥<sup>16</sup>—[4].

जाता महार्णवीत्यन्ने ब्र(व्र)ह्माण्डशक्तिसंपुटे ।

महेश[स्यार्चि]-

3. ता सुक्ता जयन्त्यभोजयोनयः ॥<sup>17</sup>—[5].

वैराग्यं च सरागतां च नृशिरोमालां च माल्यानि च

व्याघ्रानेकपचर्मणी च वसने चाहींश्च हारादि च ।

यज्ञं च विलिपनं च भजते भीमं च भव्यं च त-

द्विष्टाद्रूपमुमारमारमणयोर्भुक्तिं च सुक्तिं च वः ॥<sup>18</sup>—[6].

वैश्वरूप्यं सम[भ्य]-

4. स्य मीनाद्याकृतिकैतवात् ।

स्वाभिन्ननिर्मिताशेषविश्वो विष्णुः पुनातु वः ॥<sup>19</sup>—[7].

<sup>9</sup> From impressions supplied to me by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess.

<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>11</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>12</sup> Metre, Rathoddhatā.

<sup>13</sup> Read विभ्राणा. The aksharas in brackets are much damaged, but I believe the reading to be correct. There is no doubt about the words जातिं वृत्तञ्च.

<sup>14</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>15</sup> The aksharas in these brackets are almost entirely illegible.

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Rathoddhatā.

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).



अस्ति यस्तुगिरीन्द्रगर्वगरिमा नीलाश्मसानूत्तस-  
त्कान्तिव्रातविडम्बि(म्बि)ताम्ब(म्ब)रतलः श्रीमान्नगेन्द्रोर्वु(र्वु)दः ।  
यस्य व्योमतलोद्विलङ्घिशिखरप्राग्भारपद्माकर-  
प्रेङ्खत्पद्मपरागचक्रमि-

L. 5. तरत्र(त्र)ङ्गाण्डखण्डायते ॥<sup>20</sup>—[8].

देवैरावृतमभ्रमण्डलमिदं मर्त्यैश्च भूमण्डलं  
कृत्वा धर्मतुलायमानवपुषो यस्यान्तयोर्न्यस्य च ।  
जाने यावदवैतुमिच्छति विधिः किं शुद्धमित्येतयो-  
रूर्ध्वं तावदगादमर्त्यशिखरिस्तम्भान्नभोमण्डलं ॥ —[9].

लेभे विभिद्य जलधिप्र-

6. धि भूमिचक्रमाकाशचक्रमपि येन दिगन्तनेमि ।  
संसारवर्त्मनि महाविषमे निषन्न(ण)भग्नोन्नतैकतटविश्वरथाक्षलक्ष्मीः ॥<sup>21</sup>—[10].  
तस्मिन्वेदविदां वरः स भगवानाकाशगङ्गापयः-

पूरप्तावितकान्तकोमलतटेतिष्ठद्वसिष्ठो मुनिः ।  
यस्त्रेतानलधूमवर्त्तियसु-

7. नां प्रीत्यै पितुर्व्र(र्व)ङ्गाणो  
गङ्गासङ्गमसिद्धये समनयद्ब्र(र्व)ङ्गाण्डखण्डं प्रति ॥<sup>22</sup>—[11].  
विद्यामहासरिदुपान्तविवर्त्तिघोरसंसारसैकतविषक्तमसक्तमेते ।  
यस्य त्रिलोकरथमुत्पथसंप्रवृत्तमुत्तारयन्ति शतशोप्युपदेशधुर्याः ॥<sup>23</sup>—[12].  
आयातस्य कदाचन क्षितिपतेराच्छिन्दतः कौशिक-  
स्याति-

8. थ्योचितवस्तुजातजननादानन्दिनीं नन्दिनीं ।  
निर्जिता कुपितेन तेन हविषा संहर्षिताह(ह)र्षिघो  
वीरः श्रीपरमार इत्यनुपमः सत्याभिधानोभवत् ॥<sup>24</sup>—[13].  
राज्यवर्द्धनविशालधर्मभृत्सत्यकेतुपृथुकीर्त्तिपार्थिवः ।  
वर्द्धतेयमहिमांशुचन्द्रमःसंततिप्रतिष्ठातिर्यदन्वय-

9. : ॥<sup>25</sup>—[14].

वराजरामराजितोनलोद्भवः सभारतः ।  
ग्रहेन्द्रचन्द्रयोरिव व्यजायतायमन्वयः ॥ ❀ ॥<sup>26</sup>—[15].  
वंशेस्मिन्वैरिसिंहः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूरिभूतिप्रभाव-  
प्रागल्भ्यौदार्यशौर्यप्रचयपरिचयप्राज्यसौराज्यसिद्धिः ।  
नम्रक्षमापालभालस्थलदलितलुलत्कान्तको-

10. टोरकोटि-

द्रुत्यन्माणिक्यचक्रस्थपुटितमणिमत्पादपोठोपकण्ठः ॥<sup>27</sup>—[16].  
सर्व्याशाविजयप्रयाणसमये यस्येन्द्रनीलप्रभै-

<sup>20</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Rathoddhatā.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.



र्मायूरातपवारणैः शुशुभिरे नष्टावकाशा दिशः ।

सर्प्यन्मत्तकरीन्द्रचक्रचरणप्राग्भारदीर्णस्थिरा-

रन्ध्रीद्वूतविषन्न(ण)शेषसविष-

L. 11.

श्वासावरुद्धा इव ॥<sup>28</sup>—[17].

पाताले वडवामुखानलमिषात्पृथ्वीतले च स्फुर-

त्तौवर्णाचलकैतवाहियति च व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डखण्डच्छलात् ।

[च]ञ्चत्काञ्चनचक्रवालवलयव्याजाञ्च दिक्षण्डले

यस्याद्यापि समुल्लसत्यविचलीभूतः प्रतापानलः ॥ —[18].

स्वर्लोकेषु च विद्विषत्क्षितिषु च व्यालेन्द्रगेहेषु च

12. स्वाराजं च रिपुव्रजं च सुरजिन्नागाधिराजं च यः ।

ऐश्वर्येण च विक्रमेण च धराभारक्षमत्वेन च

न्यकुर्व्वंश्च पराभवंश्च समतिक्रामंश्च पृथ्वीमपात् ॥ ❀ —[19].

तस्माद्दैरिन्टपावरीधनवधूवैधव्यदुःखोद्भव-

द्वा(वा)प्याम्भ७कणशान्तकोपदहनः श्रीसीयकोभूवृषः ।

13. आविर्भावितनूतनस्थितिरयं व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डखण्डच्छला-

यस्याद्यापि विलोक्यते विद्य[द]धोधूमः<sup>29</sup> प्रतापानलः ॥ —[20].

अनुगगनमुदस्यः स्थूलमुक्तोच्चया ये यदसिदलितकुप्यत्कुम्भिकुम्भस्थलेभ्यः ।

सततमपि पतन्तस्तेद्य यावन्न पृथ्वीं पृथुलतरलताराव्या-

14.

जभाजो भजन्ते ॥<sup>30</sup> —[21].

अत्याश्चर्यमदृष्टमश्रुतमिदं कर्त्तुं समाचक्ष्महे

को न्वेतत्प्रतिपद्यते च तदपि प्रस्तूयते कौतुकात् ।

उद्युत्यापि वसुंधरामसदृशीं लब्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा)पि लक्ष्मीं च यः

कुर्व्वन्कार्यमनेकशः सुमनसामागात्न वैकुण्ठतां ॥ ❀ ॥<sup>31</sup> —[22].

तस्माद्दै-

15.

रिवरूथिनीव(व)हुविधप्रारब्ध(ब्ध)[यु]द्धाध्वर-

प्रध्वंसैकपिनाकपाणिरजनि श्रीमुञ्जराजो नृपः ।

प्रायः प्रावृत्तवान्निपालयिषया यस्य प्रतापानलो

लोकालोकमहामहोदधवल्यव्याजान्महोदधमण्डलं ॥ —[23].

यस्मिन्सर्पति लीलयापि ललितैः सैन्यैः समुज्ज-

16.

न्धितं

वाङ्मयूहविसारिधूलिपटलव्यालुप्तदिग्मण्डलैः ।

अत्यद्री[न्द्र]करीन्द्र[सञ्च]यपदप्रेङ्खोलनोच्छृङ्खल-

प्रेङ्खळलनादनिर्भरभृतव्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डभाण्डोदरैः ॥ —[24].

यन्निस्तुं(स्त्रिं)शनिरस्तमस्तकतया लब्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा)न्यथा दुर्लभं

देवत्वं स्वकव(व)न्यमु[ह]तमधो दृष्ट्वा भटै-

<sup>28</sup> Metre of verses 17-20, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>29</sup> Originally विद्यदधौ<sup>०</sup> was engraved, but it has been altered to विद्यदधी<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>31</sup> Metre of verses 22-26, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.



L 17.

वैष्टितं ।

संहर्षात्पततो विमानशिखरादास्त्रिष्व कण्ठे हठा-

हीरा[म्भ]ररागिणी रुधिरं संभूय सिद्धाङ्गनाः ॥ ❀ ॥ —[25].

तस्यासीदथ पार्थिवः पृथुयशाः श्रीसिन्धुराजोनुजः

स्फूर्जद्वाडवपावकस्फुट[म]हः[सौन्द]र्यशौर्यान्तः ।

यः संग्रामयु-

18. गान्तवलिताभुजादुर्ध्वतदूरोक्षस-

त्क्षोलायितमण्डलाग्रप[ट]लिनामज्जयद्भूतः ॥ —[26].

व्रजति जयिनि यत्रामित्रजातेन जज्ञे तरलतुरगवेगोद्भूतभूरेणुराजिः ।

विकटकरटिभारभ्रष्टभूष्टरन्धादुदित इव समस्तादन्तकालाग्निधूमः ॥<sup>32</sup>—[27].

गाम्भीर्यं प्रल-

19. याणवस्य च व(ब)लं कल्पान्तवातस्य च

स्थेमानं कमठेशितुश्च [गुरु]तां [व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्ड]भाण्डस्य च ।

तेजः कालहुताशनस्य च महीयस्त्वं द्युचक्रस्य च

स्वीकृत्येव विनिर्मितं यमविदुः प्रत्याजि पृथ्वीभुजः ॥ ❀ ॥<sup>33</sup>—[28].

तत्सूनुर्भुवनैकभूषणमभूद्भूपालचूडामणि-

20. ष्छायाडम्ब(म्ब)रचुम्बि(म्बि)ताङ्गिकमलः श्रीभोजदेवो नृपः ।

यस्याद्या[पि] स[माश्र]यन्ति चरणौ शक्रासना[ध्या]सिनः<sup>34</sup>

सर्धाव(ब)न्धविनम्रनिर्जरनटत्कोटीरकोटित्विषः ॥ —[29].

रटत्पटहपाटवप्रकटभर्ज्जरस्फूर्जितस्फुरड्डमरुडम्ब(म्ब)रोड्डमरडिण्डिमोड्डामरा ।

स्फु-

21. टत्करटकुञ्जरप्रपदसंपतत्संभ्रमभ्रमद्भवन[म]भ्रमज्जग[ति] यच्चमू[रुच]कैः ॥<sup>35</sup>—[30].

वकुण्ठः कमलासनाय चतुरास्याय स्वयंभूः पुनः

पञ्चास्याय हराय शम्भुरपि षडङ्गाय पुत्राय च ।

सनानीरपि दन्दशूकपतयेजस्रं सहस्रानना-

याद्यापि स्पृहय-

22. त्यमर्त्यसमितौ य[त्कीर्त्ति]मुत्कीर्त्तयन् ॥ ❀ ॥<sup>36</sup>—[31].

तस्मिन्वासव(ब)न्धुतामुपगते राज्ये च कुल्याकुलि

मग्नस्वामिनि तस्य व(ब)न्धुदयादित्योभवद्भूपतिः ।

येनोद्धृत्य महापर्णवोपममिलत्कर्ण्णटकर्ण्णप्र[भु]-

सुखीपालकदर्शितां भुवमिमां श्रीमहराहायितं ॥ —[32].

य-

23. स्मादुग्रतरप्रताप[पवनो]पारूढदुर्गता-

सादृश्योत्तरविभ्रमादभिमुखैः प्रापश्च यैः पञ्चता ।

<sup>32</sup> Metre, Mālinī.<sup>33</sup> Metre of verses 28 and 29, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The third line of verse 28 has no cesure after the 12th syllable.<sup>34</sup> The *akṣara* in brackets looks as if originally श्री had been engraved.<sup>35</sup> Metre, Prithvī.<sup>36</sup> Metre of verses 31-37, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Here, again, the first line of verse 31 has no cesure after the 12th syllable.



मन्ये सोयमिति प्रतीतिविततामर्षप्रकर्षेण ते  
भि[क्षा] भास्करमण्डलं रिपुभटाः प्रापुः परां निर्वृतिं ॥ —[33].  
एकस्यां समितौ विलोक्य विजयं य-

L. 24.

स्थापरस्यां स्तुव-

[न्स्त्री?] — — [वक्त?]तां समर्थयति दृग्जिह्वासहस्रद्वये ।  
किंत्वानन्दनिमीलितेक्षणतया श्रुतैः सुखैर्व्यञ्चित-  
<sup>37</sup>श्चक्षुःकर्णमकर्णमप्यहिपतिः स्वीयं वपुर्निन्दति ॥ ❀ ॥ —[34].  
पुत्रस्तस्य जगत्त्रयैकतरणेः सम्यक्प्रजापालन-  
व्यापारप्र-

25.

वणः प्रजापतिरिव श्रीलक्ष्मदेवोभवत् ।

नीत्या येन मनुस्तथानुविदधे नासी न वैवस्वतः  
सर्वत्रापि सदाप्यवर्द्धत यथा कीर्त्तिर्नैवैव स्वतः ॥ —[35].  
संभूय ध्रियतां गुरुर्व्व(र्व्व)लभराडूः कूर्मराजादयः  
सद्यो नश्यत [वा दु]तं नमत वा प्रत्य-

26.

र्थिपृथ्वीभुजः ।

चक्षुर्मक्षु पिधीयतामनिमिषाः पांसुः पुरा पूरय-  
त्येवं व्याहरति प्रयाणपटङ्गो यस्य स्वनच्छद्मना ॥ —[36].  
यस्मिन्सर्प[ति] वा(वा)न्धवोपि विधुरैः पूर्वैः परित्यज्यते  
कल्याणस्य कथापि कातरतया नापेक्ष्यते दक्षिणैः ।  
आशावक्षिरस-

27.

त्फलेति विकलैर्निश्चीयते पश्चिमै-

र्मर्त्तुं केवलमुत्तमैर्नृपतिभिर्द्वेधाप्ययोध्यास्यते ॥ —[37].  
प्रयाति यस्मिन्प्रथमं दिशं हरेर्जिह्वीर्षयानन्यसमानदन्तिनां ।  
यथाविशङ्गोडपतेः पुरं दर[स्तथा]शशङ्के सहसा पुरंदरः ॥<sup>38</sup>—[38].  
उत्साहोन्नतिसन्निमित्तजनि-

28.

ताजस्रप्रयाणक्रमे-

णाक्रम्य त्रिपुरीं रणैकरसिकान्वि[ध्वं]स्य विद्वेषिणः ।  
येनावस्यत विन्ध्यनिर्भरमरुत्संचारचारुलस-  
ल्लोलोद्यानलतावितानवसतौ रेवोपकण्ठ[स्य]लि ॥<sup>39</sup>—[39].  
जातानि जन्यश्रममार्जनानि वीजानि यत्कुञ्जरमञ्जनानि ।  
तटाचलो-

29.

चाटनतत्पराया रेवाप्रवाहोर्भिपरंपरायाः ॥<sup>40</sup>—[40].

ये व्यालोलकरालनिर्भरकराः कुम्भायमानोन्नम-  
त्कूटान्ताः कटकान्तभागविगलहानायमानाभसः ।  
प्रायस्तेपि विरोधिसिन्धुरधिया यद्वाहिनीवारणै-  
रुन्मीलनमदमेदुरैर्व्वि(र्व्वि)भिदिरे विन्ध्यस्य

<sup>37</sup> Read चक्षुः°.<sup>38</sup> Metre, Upendravajrā.<sup>39</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrāṇḍita.<sup>40</sup> Metre, Upajāti.



L. 30.

पादाचलाः ।(॥)<sup>41</sup>—[41].

स्फार[त्वक्ता]रवारस्थगितगुरुतटीकूटकुट्टाकटङ्क-

प्रायप्रेङ्कत्थुरायत्वरित[ह]रिचमूचक्रच[ङ्क]म्यमाणाः ।

येनालङ्घ्यन्त सेनाकरिकरटतटोहामदानाम्बु(म्बु)गन्ध-

व्याविष्ठागण्यवन्धद्विपकुलपटलध्यामला विन्ध्यपादाः ॥<sup>42</sup>—[42].

ये दिक्विन्धुरव(व)-

31.

न्धवः क्षयमरुहोलाद्रिस[त्ता]भृतः

क्रीडाक्रीडकुटुम्ब(म्ब)का[न्ति]जलमुक्त्वा(व)क्षत्राचर्याशुषः ।

यत्सेनानृपगन्धसिन्धुरमरुन्मैत्रीविहस्तीकृतै-

स्तैरप्यङ्ककलिङ्गकुक्षरकुलैर्युद्धा[य] व(व)द्वोक्षलिः ॥<sup>43</sup>—[43].

देवासौ पुरुषोत्तमः स भगवानाश्विनिये यः श्रिया

32. येनेदं व(व)लिर्वैरिव(व)न्धविधिना विष्णं समाश्वासितं ।

येनाधारि वसुन्धरेति दधतः सानन्दमन्दाक्षतां

यस्य प्राच्यपयोनिधौ वु(वु)धजनैर्व्याजस्तुतिः प्रस्तुता ॥ —[44].

ये कल्पानलधूममण्डलनिभाः कादम्बि(म्बि)नीविद्विषः

संवर्त्तोक्षसितान्धकारसुहृदस्त्वय-

33.

द्वियद्वा(द्वा)न्धवाः ।

[व] — — — [आहव]अमनुदे पा[थो]वगाहोद्यतै-

र्यत्सामन्तमतङ्गजैरधरितास्तेष्वम्बु(म्बु)धेरुर्मयः ॥ —[45].

कुम्भसंभवसोदर्यं यत्पापाचीमुपा[च्छ]ति ।

चोलाद्यैर्त्री[च]कै[र्भूत्वा] विन्ध्यवा(वा)न्धवतादधे ॥<sup>44</sup>—[46].

ली[ला]भःप्लवने यदीयपृतनासामन्त-

34.

सीमन्तिनी-

ओणि[अ]णि[विशी]र्यमाणर[श]नामुक्ताः पतन्ति स्म याः ।

ताभिः संप्रति पप्रथेनु पृथिवीं यत्ताम्रपर्णीपयः

पश्चाद्यापि तदेव पाण्ड्यनृपते[र्जी]वातवे [जा]य[ते] ॥<sup>45</sup>—[47].

स्वामिन्नेष स सेतुरवभवतो रामस्य यो मारुति-

प्रायोपाहृत-

35.

शैलशृङ्गरचितो वर्द्धि[ष्णु]विन्ध्या[यते] ।

इत्या[दृ]त्य कुतूहलेन कथितं तन्नै(जन्मै)रवन्नाय यः

सेनाहास्तिकसेतुनैव विदधे द्वीपान्तरोपक्रमं ॥ —[48].

अथावभज्योभयथा यमाशां यस्या[नघे] सर्पति सैन्यसङ्घे ।

अभूत्स्वकीयां ककुभं व्यपायाहो-

36.

पायितुं पाशभृदप्यपाशः ॥<sup>46</sup>—[49].

मैनाकप्रमुखा वसन्ति कुहचिक्कालाग्निरास्ते क्वचि-

त्सन्ति क्वापि तिमिङ्गिलप्रभृतयः कुत्वापि शेते हरिः ।

<sup>41</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>42</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.<sup>43</sup> Metre of verses 43-45, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>44</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>45</sup> Metre of verses 47 and 48, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>46</sup> Metre, Upajāti.



एतद्देति न कोपि यत्र जलधौ [त]स्याप्य[शेषं] पय[:]

[पीत्वा] यत्करिभिः कृतैकचुलुकैस्ते-

L. 37.

रगस्त्यायितं ॥<sup>47</sup>—[50].

यैः संभूय तिमिङ्गिलप्रभृतिभिः संसर्पिणस्त[न्व]ते

पोताधानसव(ब)न्धुतां शिखरिणो मैनाकमुख्या अपि ।

भ्राम्यन्मन्दरडम्ब(म्ब)राणि दधिरे<sup>48</sup> तैरप्यशेषेभ्यु(म्बु)धौ

यत्केनागजराज[पीव]रकरा — — ८ नोच्छृङ्खलैः ॥ —[51].

अथातितिच्छोरिव राज-

38.

राजमन्यं तदाशां प्रति यस्य यातुः ।

द्विधापि भीत्युज्झितवित्तपाशैर्भूपैः प्रतीपैर्विभयैर्व(ब्ब)भूवे ॥<sup>49</sup>—[52].

आरामाः समरा मरावपि तदा पुन्नागपूगादिम-

हुल्मान्तर्व्वनदेवतायितजयश्रीमद्यशःपादपाः ।

यस्यासन्भुजदण्डच[ण्ड]मलसङ्गोलासिलचीकृत-

चोणीपालक-

39.

पालमण्डलगलत्कीलालकुल्याकुलाः ॥<sup>50</sup>—[53].

खेलोत्स्वाततुरुष्कदत्तविलसद्वाहावलोवेक्षण-

क्लाम्यत्कुङ्कुमकेसराधिकमृदौ वञ्चूपकण्ठस्थले ।

येनावास्य सरस्वतीसविधतासाधिक्यवाक्पाटव-

श्चाटूनुत्कट[प]त्रिपञ्चरगतः कीराधिपोध्याप्यत ॥ —[54].

तेन व्यापुरमण्डले सुकृति-

40.

ना यस्मै ग्रहेन्द्रग्रहे

यद्ग्रामद्वयमग्रियेण विधिना विश्राणितं श्रद्धया ।

तद्ग्राता नरवर्म्मदेवनृपतिः पश्चात्परीवर्त्त्य त-

द्ग्रामं मोखलपाटकाख्यमदिशद्देशत्रयस्येच्छया ॥ ॐ ॥ <sup>51</sup>—[55].

तेन स्वयंकृतानेकप्रशस्तिस्तुतिचित्रितं ।

श्रीमन्नक्ष्मीधरेणैतद्देवागारमकार्यत ॥<sup>52</sup>—[56].

सं ११६१ ॥

41.

श्री

हंहो वु(वु)धाः साधु समुत्सहध्वं कुशाग्रकर्षां च धियं विधध्वं<sup>53</sup> ।

मध्यस्थभावं च समान्ययध्वं सुखं च नः सूक्तिसुधासुपाध्वं ॥<sup>54</sup>—[57].

वन्दनीयावुभौ सूक्तिश्रोतारौ तौ विपश्चितौ ।

यावन्मु मुञ्चतः सान्द्रमानन्दालस्यनिर्व्वर्म्म(वर्म्म)रौ ॥ ॐ ॥ <sup>55</sup>—[58].

<sup>47</sup> Metre of verses 50 and 51, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>48</sup> Originally धिधरे seems to have been engraved.

<sup>49</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>50</sup> Metre of verses 53-55, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>51</sup> Originally °हृदय° was engraved.

<sup>52</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>53</sup> Read विधध्वं.

<sup>54</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>55</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).



## TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Bhârâtî !<sup>56</sup>

(Verse 1). O goddess of speech and divine Durgâ ! Let simplicity,<sup>57</sup> force, sweetness, depth, harmony, and whatever other qualities you possess, let them all be shared by us !

(2). May Lakshmî's husband, that sole lord of fortune in all the three worlds, grant you prosperity,—he from whose middle stride even<sup>58</sup> the sun and the other luminaries yonder shine forth !

(3). May good utterances, clad in *jâti* and *vṛitta* metres,<sup>59</sup> pleasing by their style and by figures of speech, and expressive of poetical sentiment, be gracious to us ! And may sages be so, men of taste, of noble birth and good conduct, who charm with the qualities that adorn them !

(4). May Śiva grant whatever is auspicious,—he who, terrific when he destroys the irresistible foe Pura, singularly embellished with copious ashes, and revered by the lord<sup>60</sup> of the Yakshas, resembles this fire-born race,<sup>61</sup> which is terrible when it breaks the strongholds of irresistible foes, is exquisitely adorned with abundant good fortune, and paid homage to by the kings of kings !

(5). Glory be to the lotus-born Brahman who, engendered in the mundane egg which was produced in the great ocean, and, when set free, an object of reverence for Śiva, is like the pearls which grow in the oyster-shells of the sea, and are prized by great lords !

(6). May that form<sup>62</sup> of the husbands of Umâ and Lakshmî grant you both enjoyment and salvation, which, both passionless and passionate, wearing both a wreath of human skulls and flower-garlands, clad both in tiger and elephant skins and in costly garments, adorned both with serpents and with pearl-strings and other ornaments, and both smeared with ashes and anointed with perfumes, is fearful as well as auspicious !

(7). May Vishṇu purify you, who, in the guise of a fish and other creatures having assumed one after another all forms, made the whole universe not differing from himself !

(8). Well-known is the glorious mount Arbuda, which utterly humbles the pride of the noblest of mountains, and rivals the firmament with the rich splendour radiating from its sapphire crest. The circle of the pollen of the lotuses that swing to and fro in the pools on its broad sky-piercing top looks as if it were indeed another vault of heaven.

(9). I fancy, it was when the creator, wishing to know whether the gods or the mortals were purer, attached the round of heaven, filled with the former, and this orb of

<sup>56</sup> *I.e.*, the goddess of speech or eloquence.

<sup>57</sup> For the exact definitions of *prasâda*, *audârya*, *mâdhurya*, *samâdhi* and *samatâ*, denoting certain qualities of style, see, *e.g.*, *Kāvya-darśa* I, 45, 76, 51, 93, and 47. But these terms should be understood here, not only in their technical, but also in their ordinary senses, 'serenity of disposition,' etc.

<sup>58</sup> The *madhyamam* *Vaiṣṇavam* *padam*, 'Vishṇu's middle stride,' is the air. The idea which the poet intends to convey apparently is, that, if Vishṇu's *madhyama-pada* already is so high, his *uttama-pada* must be infinitely higher still.

<sup>59</sup> See *Indische Studien*, vol. VIII, pp. 180 and 192.

<sup>60</sup> *I.e.*, the god Kuvera.

<sup>61</sup> *I.e.*, the Paramâra family which will be eulogised in the following.

<sup>62</sup> *I.e.*, the form of Hari-Hara or Vishṇu-Śiva ; see *ante*, vol. I, p. 311, note 47.



the earth, filled with the latter, to the two extremities of this mountain, using it as a balance of virtue, that the round of heaven rose higher even than the top of mount Meru!<sup>63</sup>

(V. 10). Piercing with one end the ocean-surrounded orb of the earth, and with the other the horizon-encircled round of the sky, this mountain has assumed the glorious appearance of an axle of the chariot of the universe, one side of which lies down, broken on the rugged road of this world, while the other is lifted upwards.

(11). On this mountain, whose slopes, bathed by the streams of water of the heavenly Ganges, are pleasant and soft, dwelt that chief of those versed in the Vedas, the venerable sage Vasishṭha, who, to delight his father Brahman, led the Yamunâ, enveloped in the smoke of the three sacred fires, up to the vault of heaven, to effect her junction with the Ganges.

(12). His hundreds of precepts, like horses, extricate the chariot of the three worlds, so that it may proceed without hindrance, when, turned into a wrong road, it has stuck fast in the terrible quicksand of worldly affairs, bordering on the great stream of knowledge.

(13). Once upon a time, when the royal descendant<sup>64</sup> of Kuśika visited him and took by force the cow Nandinî, which caused delight by yielding all things suitable for hospitable entertainment, Vasishṭha, enraged, pleased the fire by an oblation, and from that fire sprang, to conquer Viśvâmitra, the unparalleled hero, the illustrious Paramâra, rightly so named.<sup>65</sup>

(14). Ever prosperous is his family here, which, made up of rulers illustrious for having increased the realm, who were supporters of the law, whose banner was truth and whose fame is widely spread, is an image of the solar and lunar lines, in which there were the princes Râjyavardhana, Viśâla, Dharmabhṛit, Satyaketu, and Prithukîrti.

(15). This family, unsurpassed by the blessed never-aging immortals, sprung from fire, and taking delight in the assemblies of the learned, has been propagated like those of the Sun and the Moon, which are adorned by the eminent Aja and Râma, gave birth to Nala, and include the descendants of Bharata.

(16). In this race there was the king Vairisimha, whose rule was supremely prosperous, because he was abundantly endowed with good fortune, might, resoluteness, generosity and bravery; while the ground around his jewel-inlaid foot-stool was made uneven by the mass of rubies, broken from the edges of the tremulous handsome diamonds which fell from the foreheads of kings who bowed down before him.

(17). When he set out to conquer all the quarters, the regions of space, withdrawn from view, were beautified by his umbrellas of peacocks' feathers, shining like sapphires, so that they seemed enveloped in the poisonous breath of the distressed serpent Śesha, rising up through the fissures of the earth, rent as it was by the massive feet of the arrays of his marching ruddy elephants.

(18). Not to be interfered with, the fire of his prowess shines forth even now, in the lower regions under the guise of the fire proceeding from the mare's mouth, on the earth under that of the glittering golden mountain, in the sky as the starry firmament, and near the confines of space as a range of mountains of quivering gold.

<sup>63</sup> Literally, 'higher than the pillar-like mountain of the immortals.' What the poet wishes to convey is, the mount Arbuda is higher even than the fabulous mountain Meru.

<sup>64</sup> *I.e.*, Viśvâmitra.

<sup>65</sup> *Viz.*, 'the slayer of enemies.' See *ante*, vol. I, p. 236, verse 6.



(V. 19). He ruled the earth, humbling Indra in heaven by his majesty, defeating host of enemies in hostile lands by his valour, and surpassing Vishṇu's lord of serpents in his serpent-home by his ability to uphold the earth.

(20). From him sprang the illustrious king Śiyaka, the fire of whose wrath was extinguished by the tears, caused by the pangs of widowhood, of the royal ladies of hostile princes; while the fire of his prowess even now is perceived here, in the guise of the starry firmament, presenting a novel appearance inasmuch as the smoke, in the guise of the atmosphere, is beneath it.

(21). The clusters of big pearls, which flew up into the air from the frontal globes of furious elephants cleft by his sword, though constantly falling down, have, disguised as they are as large sparkling stars, not even now reached the earth.

(22). To whom shall we tell this great unseen and unheard-of wonder? Or who will understand it? Yet for curiosity's sake we report it: Although he delivered the earth, although he wedded the unique goddess of fortune, although again and again he did the work of the gods, he never was Vaikuṇṭha.<sup>66</sup>

(23). From him was born the illustrious king Muñjarāja, who alone, with the bow in his hand, put an end to many a fight commenced by hostile armies, as Śiva did to (Dakṣha's) sacrifice;<sup>67</sup> and the fire of whose prowess, to protect the orb of the earth, used to envelop it under the guise of the belt of the lofty Lokāloka mountains.

(24). Even when he was marching for mere pleasure, his frolicsome soldiers turned out in such numbers that the horizon was obscured by the clouds of dust, raised by the squadrons of his cavalry, and that the cavity of the universe was completely filled with the excessive noise of the trembling chains, swung to and fro by the feet of the arrays of his huge elephants, taller than the hugest mountains.

(25). When, having their heads struck off by his sword, heroes had obtained the rare fortune of being transformed into divine beings, and when, proudly viewing their bodies below surrounded by champions, eager for the fray, they were throwing themselves from the aerial cars, they were joyfully embraced and forcibly held back by the Siddha women, clustering round them.

(26). After him his younger brother, the far-famed illustrious Sindhurāja, became king, the fire of whose bravery bore the brilliant beautiful lustre of the roaring submarine fire. As the mass of waves, raised by the fierce blast which springs up at the destruction of the world, submerges the mountains, so the broad scimitar, brandished by his arm, when it was lifted in war, dealt out destruction to princes.

(27). When this prince marched forth victoriously, the cloud of dust raised by the onset of his fleet horses appeared to the host of his enemies like the smoke of the all-devouring fire rising all round from the fissures of the surface of the earth, broken by the weight of his formidable elephants.

(28). In every battle princes found out that the creator had as it were combined in him the depth of the ocean and the might of the wind, as they are at the destruction of the world, the firmness of the lord of tortoises, the weight of the whole universe, the splendour of the all-destroying fire, and the magnitude of the celestial vault.

<sup>66</sup> Vaikuṇṭha, i.e., Vishṇu, uplifted the earth, obtained Lakshmi, and did the work of the gods; the king freed the earth from troubles, secured fortune, acted for the benefit of well-minded people, and never indeed showed dullness or indolence (*āgān na vai kuṇṭhatām*).

<sup>67</sup> See the first verse of the first act of Kālidāsa's *Sākuntala*, and Sir M. Monier-Williams' note on it.



(V. 29). His son was the unique ornament of the world, the illustrious king Bhojadeva, whose lotus-feet were richly adorned with the lustre of the crest-jewels of kings, and on whose feet rests even now, while he is occupying Indra's throne, the vivid splendour of the edges of the diadems of the immortals, bowed down with envy.

(30). His army, distinguished by the sharp sound of roaring kettle-drums, by the thunder of loud *jharjharas*,<sup>68</sup> by a multitude of shrill *damarus*, and by tabors heard above the tumult, roamed, filling the world with its noise, over the whole earth, thrown into confusion under the footsteps of his ruddy elephants.

(31). Even now, when they recite his fame in the assembly of the gods, Vaikunṭha is ever jealous of the four-mouthed Brahman, Svayambhū again of the five-mouthed Hara, Śambhu too of his six-mouthed son Kārttikeya, and this leader of the divine hosts of the lord of serpents with his thousand mouths.

(32). When he had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods<sup>69</sup> in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna, who, joined by the Karnaṭas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar.<sup>70</sup>

(33). The hostile champions who met their death facing this king, similar to the sun and confounded with it because the terrible fire of his valour made him difficult to look at, I fancy that they became supremely happy, when, their fury heightened by the belief that the luminary was their opponent, they split the orb of the sun.<sup>71</sup>

(34). The lord of serpents, having in battle witnessed his victory and eulogizing it in an assembly, . . . . . shows that his thousands of eyes and tongues indeed serve a purpose; but, cheated of the pleasure of listening when he has closed his eyes with delight, he scorns his body because, bereft of ears, it must use the eyes in their stead.

(35). A son of that sun of the three worlds was the illustrious Lakshmadeva, resembling the lord of creatures in his eagerness properly to rule his subjects; who verily in his conduct so allowed himself to be guided by that son of Vivasvat, Manu, that everywhere and at all times new fame grew up for him of its own accord.

(36). This is what his marching-drum proclaims, under the pretence of resounding: 'Join together, you king of tortoises and ye others, in upholding the earth, heavy with the load of this army! Either perish at once or bow down speedily, ye opposing princes! Quickly shut your eyes, O gods, before the dust fills them!'

(37). When he marches, the princes of the east, bewildered, forsake even their relatives; those of the south in their perplexity take no note even of good news; the princes of the west find out to their sorrow that the creeping-plant of hope bears no good fruit to them; while those of the north throw themselves on their swords, and thus court death as the best and only fate left to them.<sup>72</sup>

(38). When, desirous of capturing matchless elephants, he first proceeded to Hari's

<sup>68</sup> *Jharjhara* and *damaru* are names of certain kinds of drums.

<sup>69</sup> *Kuḷyākula* would also mean 'crowded with nobles.'

<sup>70</sup> I.e., Vishṇu in his boar-incarnation, in which he raised the earth from the bottom of the sea with his tusks.

<sup>71</sup> See the *Parāśara-smṛiti*, Calcutta ed., p. 626: *Dvāṁ imau puruṣau loke sūrya-maṇḍala-bhedinau, parivṛḍḍyogayuktaś cha raṇe chābhimukho kṛtaḥ*.

<sup>72</sup> I take the words *dvedhāpy ayodhyāsyate* to mean, that the princes of the north did what is expressed by *ayodhyāsyate*, in the two senses which these words are capable of conveying. *Ayo*, i.e. *ayah*, may be taken as the nominative of either the neuter *ayas*, 'iron, steel,' or the masculine *aya*, 'favourable fortune.' Compare below, verses 49 and 52.



No. 27.



No. 28.

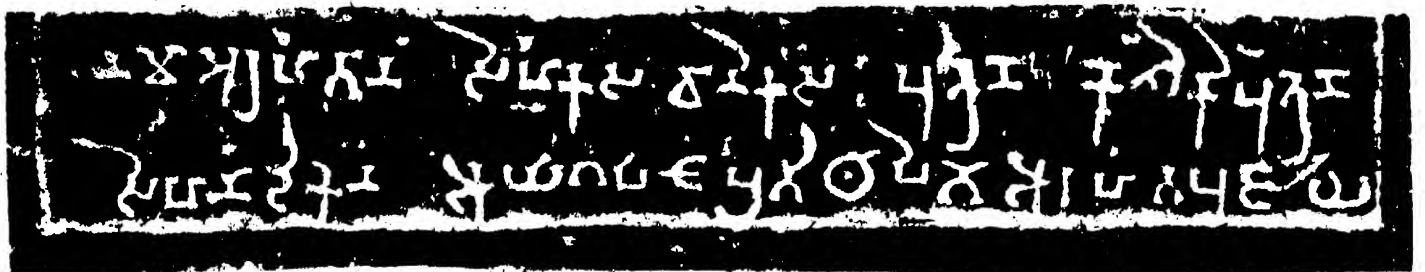


No. 29.



Scale. Half the original.

No. 30.



Scale. Half the original.

No. 31.

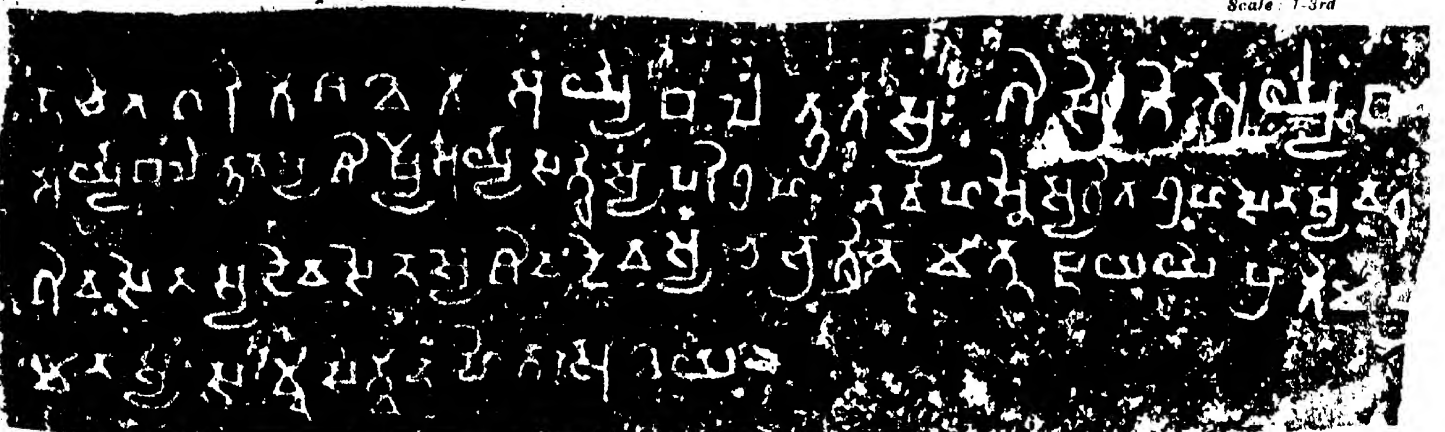


Scale: 1-3rd.

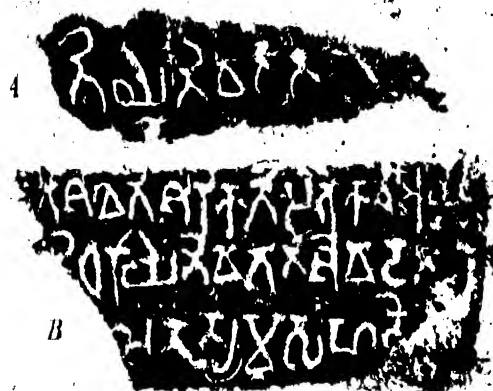
No. 33.



Scale: 1-3rd.

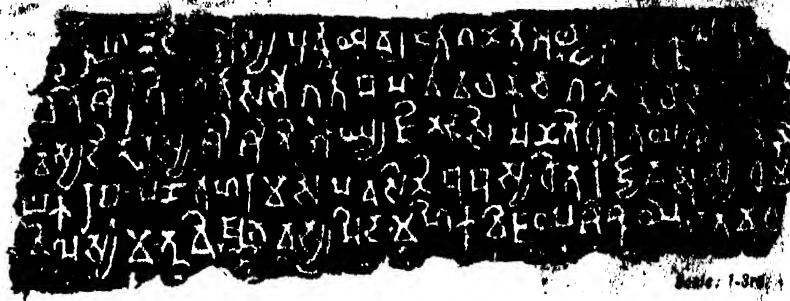






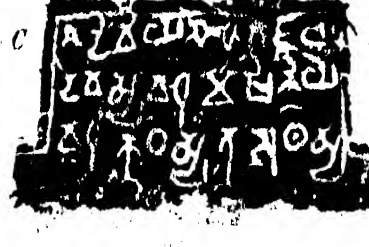
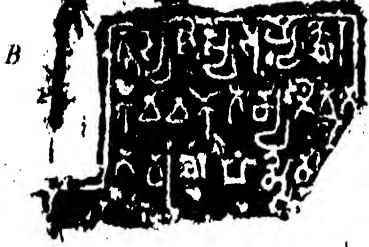
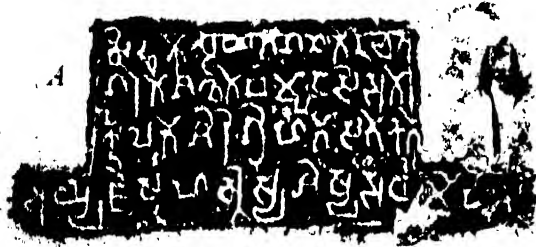
Scale: Half the original.

No. 36



Scale: 1-3rd.

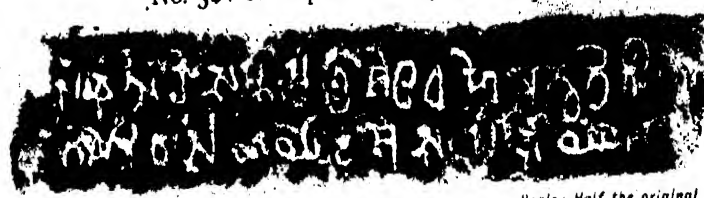
No. 37.



No. 38: Inscription of Gupta period S. 57.

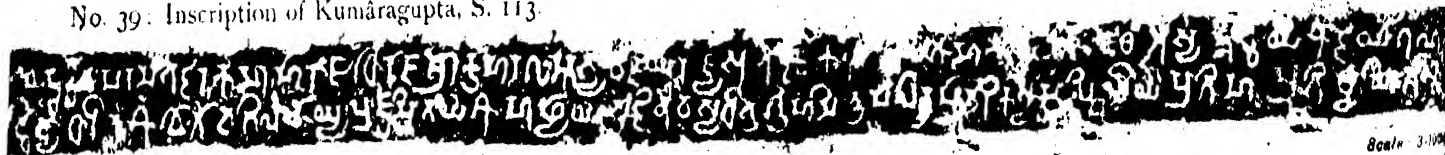


Scale: 1-3rd.



Scale: Half the original.

No. 39: Inscription of Kumâragupta, S. 113.

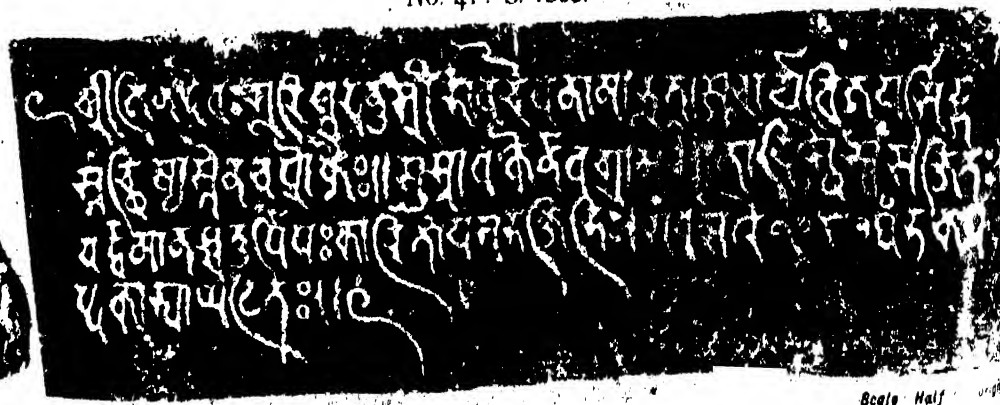


Scale: 3-10th.

No. 41: S. 1080.



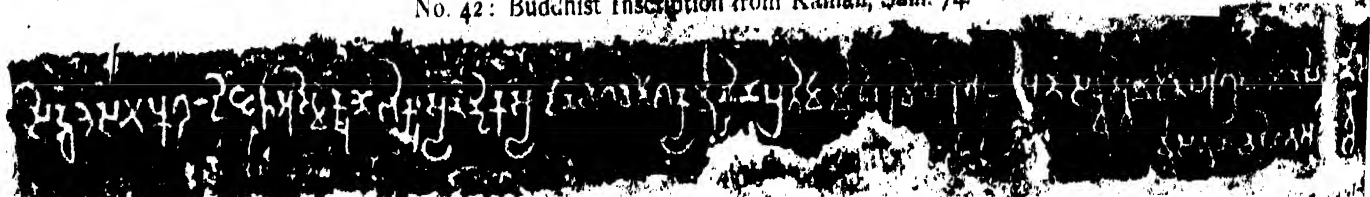
No. 40.



Scale: Half

Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 42: Buddhist Inscription from Kāman, Sam. 74.





quarter,<sup>73</sup> then, just as dread entered the town of the lord of Gauda, so Purandara even was of a sudden filled with apprehension.

(V. 39). When in the course of an unchecked expedition, undertaken in the height of power and under favourable auspices, he had attacked Tripurî and annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries, he encamped on the banks of the Revâ, where his tents were shaded by the creeping-plants of pleasure-gardens, gently set in motion by the breeze from the torrents of the Vindhya mountains.

(40). The bathing of his elephants, which allayed the fatigue of battle, produced in the stream of the Revâ a succession of waves, bent upon undermining the steep river-banks.

(41). Often and often the elephants of his army, thickly covered with streams of rutting-juice, demolished even the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, taking them for the elephants of the enemy because their tremulous broad torrents appeared like trunks, their projecting peaks like frontal globes, and the water flowing from their ridges like rutting-juice.

(42). He traversed the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, which were frequently trodden by the squadrons of his fleet horses the quick sharp hoofs of which acted like chisels in cutting up the extensive, bamboo-clad, massive table-land, and which were black with herds of countless wild elephants, excited by the odour of the rutting-juice which thickly covered the broad cheeks of the elephants of his army.

(43). Even the troops of elephants of Aṅga and Kalinga, kindred to the elephants of the quarters and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain-clouds, dark like herds of hogs kept for pastime,—even they had to sue for mercy, when they were bewildered<sup>74</sup> by the union of the storm-wind with the powerful elephants belonging to the princes of his army.

(44). Near the eastern ocean clever men thus artfully proclaimed his praise, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully: 'O lord, it was the holy Purushottama to whom Fortune resorted, who relieved this universe by subduing the enemy Bali, and who supported the earth'.<sup>75</sup>

(45). The elephants of his feudatories, eager to plunge into the water to . . . get rid of the fatigue of battle, worsted even those ocean-waves which resemble the circle of smoke of the all-consuming fire, and rival a bank of clouds, and are befriended with the darkness that spreads at the universal dissolution, when they harbour the down-breaking sky.

(46). When, like the pitcher-born Agastya, he directed his steps towards the south, the Cholas and other tribes, bowing low before him, acted the part of the Vindhya mountains.<sup>76</sup>

(47). The water of the Tāmraparṇî which is famed all the earth over for the pearls which the wives of the feudatories in his army, while they mirthfully bathed in the stream, dropped into it from the breaking girdles on their hips, behold, even to this day that water affords a livelihood to the Pāṇḍya chief.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *I.e.*, the east.

<sup>74</sup> The word of the original would also mean 'deprived of their trunks.'

<sup>75</sup> The words translated by 'it was the holy Purushottama'

and 'the enemy Bali' would also mean 'glorious is that chief of men' and 'powerful enemies.'

<sup>76</sup> See Mr. S. P. Pandit's note on Kalidasa's *Raghuvamśa*, VI, 61.

<sup>77</sup> See *ib.*, notes on verses IV, 49 and 50.



(V. 48). Respectfully informed by the people, that the dam before him, which looked like the growing Vindhya range, was the bridge of the holy Rāma, constructed of many mountain-peaks which were fetched by Māruti, he listened attentively, but scornfully crossed over to the opposite island simply on the elephants of his army.

(49). When his army afterwards, having reduced both the quarter and the expectations of Yama, continued its march unscathed, the noose-bearing Varuna despaired of guarding his own quarter from destruction.<sup>76</sup>

(50). It is surely in some ocean or other that the Maināka and the other mountains rest, that the all-devouring fire dwells, that the Timingilas and other monsters live, and that Hari sleeps; but where this is, nobody has discovered at any of the oceans at which his elephants, in swallowing all the water at a single draught, have severally acted the part of Agastya.<sup>77</sup>

(51). By those same Timingilas and other monsters of the sea, floating about in company with which the Maināka and other mountains appeared like shoals of young fish, by them, unchecked . . . . in the whole ocean, the massive trunks of the lordly elephants of his army were made to assume the marvellous appearance of revolving Mandara mountains.

(52). Afterwards when, impatient that there should be another king of kings, he was marching towards the quarter of the lord of Yakshas, the princes opposed to him got rid of fear when, terror-stricken, they abandoned not merely their wealth of riches, but also the quarter of Kuvera.<sup>80</sup>

(53). And all the time even in the wilderness his wars were pleasure-gardens, the trees of which were his fame, reared in the midst of multitudes of distinguished warriors as among Punnāga and betel-nut creepers, and attended by the Fortune of victory who acted as a forest-deity in the thicket of his troops; gardens which were irrigated by the streams of blood flowing down from many skulls of princes, aimed at by the flashing sword which was fiercely wielded by his strong arm.

(54). Being encamped on the banks of the Vāṅkshu,<sup>81</sup> which were even softer than nature made them because the saffron-filaments on them were withering under the rolling of the teams of frisky horses, presented by the Turushka whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kīra chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatī was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage.

(55). This blessed (king), on the occasion of a solar eclipse, piously gave<sup>82</sup> with due rites two villages in the Vyāpura *maṇḍala*. Afterwards his brother, the king Naravar-madeva, has instead assigned the village of Mokhalapāṭaka, at the request of the three places.

(56). And he has ordered the illustrious Lakshmidhara to construct this temple, which is adorned with many eulogies and hymns, composed by himself.

<sup>76</sup> Yama, the ruler of the dead, is the regent of the south, and Varuna the regent of the west.

<sup>77</sup> Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.

<sup>80</sup> Kuvera, the chief of the Yakshas, is the regent of the northern quarter.

<sup>81</sup> According to Sir M. Monier-Williams' dictionary, a small arm or branch of the Ganges.

<sup>82</sup> The original does not say in whose favour the donation was made, but contains only the relative *yasmai*, in reference to which the demonstrative *tasmai* would have to be supplied in the second half of the verse.



The year 1161.

Om!

(V. 57). O ye learned! Exert yourselves well, and make your intellect sharp as the point of *kuśa* grass! Try to judge with impartiality, and with pleasure do homage to the nectar of our poetry!

(58). Blessed are both those wise men, the poet and who listens to him, who completely overcome with delight shed plentiful tears of joy.

#### XIV.—FURTHER JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURĀ.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The impressions of the subjoined inscriptions have all been furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer. Nos. i—viii, x—xxi, xxiii—xxxvii and xxxix—xli belong to the splendid discoveries which Dr. Führer made in the Kankālī Tīla at Mathurā during the period from November 1890 to March 1891.<sup>1</sup> No. ix comes from the same site, but was discovered during the working season of 1889-90. No. xxii is identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 19 (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, plate xv), and No. xxxviii with Mr. Growse's No. 5 (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 218). No. xlii is a Buddhist inscription, brought by Dr. Führer from Kāman or Kādambavana. I have added it, because it helps to interpret more correctly a sign used in one of the Jaina inscriptions, and possesses some interest in other respects.

The earliest among these inscriptions, which probably cover more than 1,200 years, is without doubt No. i, which shows exceedingly archaic characters. Its letters do not differ very much from those of Aśoka's edicts, and they look somewhat older than those in Dhanabhūti's inscription on the gateway of the Bharhut Stūpa which is dated in the reign of the Śūngas (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 188). It may, therefore, be assigned to the middle of the second century B.C. Its language is pure Prakrit of the Pali type, which shows a few peculiarities, partly traceable in other ancient documents. The genitive in *āsa* from *a*-stems, instead of *assa*, occurs in one of the older votive inscriptions at Bharhut.<sup>2</sup> It may be explained by the substitution of the long vowel and a single consonant for the short vowel and a double consonant. The lengthening of the initial *a* of *āmtevasī*, which is also found in *āmtevasīni*, No. iv, finds an analogy in the curious *paryāntam*, which occurs twice in Āpastamba's *Dharmasūtra*, I. 3, 9, 23 and I. 3, 11, 33, and has been explained in the Introduction to the second edition of that work (p. v, note 4). The use of the nominative at the end of the first part of the compound *pāsādotoranam* is well known from the inscriptions of the Indo-Skythic period, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 375 and below. Possibly it is found also in one of the votive inscriptions from the Sānchi Stūpa, No. i, see *ante*, p. 90.

Next in age comes No. ii, the inscription from the reign of the Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa. The existence of this ruler was first made known by Sir A. Cunningham, who found another inscription with his name in the Kankālī Tīla, (see *Arch. Surv. Rep.*,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Führer has sent me during the period mentioned altogether 74 inscriptions, among which 64 are new Jaina inscriptions from the Kankālī Tīla. Those not given in this paper are either very small fragments of no particular interest or not readable with any certainty.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. E. Hultzsch's article *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. XL, p. 60ff., No. 145.



vol. III, p. 30, and plate xiii, No. 1). On the evidence of his coins, which resemble those of Azes, Sir A. Cunningham placed Śodāsa about 80—70 B.C., and conjectured that he was a son of Rajubula, another Satrap of Mathurā. The latter conjecture is confirmed, as he has stated of late, by a passage on Dr. Bhagvānlāl's lion-pillar, where Śodāsa is called the son of Rajula.<sup>3</sup> Though the precise date assigned to Śodāsa may be doubted, still he must have ruled at Mathurā in the first century B.C., before the time of Kanishka and his successors. I do not dare to offer for the present any conjecture regarding the era which Śodāsa uses. Sir A. Cunningham (*loc. cit.*) is inclined to identify it with that used by the Mahārāja Moga and other foreign rulers of Northern India. The inscription No. ii is also in pure Prakrit of the Pali type. The next inscription, No. iii, mentions also a Mahākshatrapa, whose name seems to have begun with Ma. It is to this circumstance that it owes its place. Its appearance indicates that it is much later than No. ii, and as it is incised on a sculpture cut out of the back of that on which No. x is found, it must be later than the latter. Still its date will fall before the time of Kanishka, as the Mahākshatrapas of Mathurā must have passed away before the Kushanas reigned there. The *maṅgala* of the inscription, the only portion fully preserved, is in pure Sanskrit.

The next seven inscriptions, Nos. iv—x, which have been grouped under the name "archaic," all belong in my opinion to the period before Kanishka. But I am not able to say anything regarding their relative position towards each other or towards Nos. ii and iii. The chief differences which separate them from the documents of the Kushana-period are the use of the tripartite subscribed *ya*, the want of the loop on the left side of the ordinary *ya*, the *da*, slightly open to the left (which occurs in Nos. iv and ix), and the well developed vertical stroke and symmetrical shape of the *ta*. The *va* has a very curious shape in the word *Śivayaśā*, No. v, l. 2a, as it consists of two triangles with the apexes joined. The language of most of them is pure Prakrit of the Pali type, but No. iv shows one Sanskrit form and No. vii is apparently in pure Sanskrit. With respect to No. ix I must add that I am inclined to identify the Gotîputra Īdrapāla or Īdrapālita with Gotîputra, "the black cobra for the Śakas and the Poṭhayas" mentioned in No. xxxiii of the collection, published *ante*, vol. I, p. 396. If that is correct, the document must go back to the times before the consolidation of the foreign rule at Mathurā.

The next group, Nos. xi—xxiv, consists of the dated inscriptions which in my opinion all belong to the time of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. Not one shows the name of a king. Nevertheless, I believe that nobody, who carefully compares them with the dated documents, mentioning the three kings, will come to a different conclusion. The dates range within the well-known limits from Samvat 4 to Samvat 98. The characters and the language are of the same mixed types described in the introduction to my first paper, *ante*, vol. I, p. 371ff. I have nothing to add to the remarks made there on the alphabet and the spelling. As regards the language, I will only call attention to a few points. The few verbal forms, *bhavadu*, No. xiii, *astu*, No. xviii, and *nirvartayati*, No. xx, are pure Sanskrit. No. xxiii, where we have *śishyasya gaṇisya*

<sup>3</sup> *Academy* of April 25th, 1891, p. 397. On an impression of the inscriptions on the lion-pillar, which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Burgess, I, too, read *Rajulasa putra Sudase chhatrava*. But I do not feel quite certain that *Rajula* and *Rajubula* are the same person, nor that the words given above, which stand in two consecutive lines with other signs in between, are really connected.



*Nandiye*, furnishes an exact analogy to the curious form *Haganaṃdia* in No. ix of the collection in vol. I, and shows that masculine *i*-stems really take the terminations of the feminine. Possibly No. xxix, which shows *ganisya uggahiniya*, furnishes a third instance. Very interesting, too, are the numerous cases where the nominative takes the place of the crude form, both in this and in the next group. Among the remarkable words I note *asma* or *asmi kshuṇe*, "at that moment," in Nos. xv, xxiv and xlii, *paṇa* "fifty" in No. xvii and *dvāpanā* "fifty-two" in No. xviii, among which the latter possesses some interest on account of the Mahārāṣṭrī *bāvanna* and the *bāvan* or *bāvaṇ* of various modern vernaculars.

After this group have been placed thirteen inscriptions, Nos. xxv—xxxvii, which in my opinion, likewise belong to the period of Kanishka and his successors, though it is impossible to exactly fix their dates. With respect to Nos. xxv—xxvii, which show the names of Devaputra Huvishka and Devaputra Huksha, as well as the titles *māhārāja rājātirāja*, the correctness of my view is evident. It can also be proved or made probable for some others, *e.g.*, No. xxxiv, which mentions the venerable Balatrāta and his pupil Sandhi. Both names occur in No. v of the earlier collection (*ante*, vol. I, p. 384), which is dated in the year 25. Again, No. xxxvi certainly did bear a date, which may have been Samvat 50, and the teacher Jeshṭhasti, mentioned in No. xxxvii, is known from No. xiv of the earlier collection, where the name of his pupil, looking like *Mahato*, has to be read Mihilo, on the evidence of the new inscription. With respect to these two inscriptions, as well as to Nos. xxviii, xxix and xxxiii, the close resemblance of the letters to those of the inscriptions, showing the names of the three kings, must be allowed its due weight. I must, however, admit that Nos. xxx and xxxi are somewhat doubtful, and that they may possibly have to be transferred to the archaic group, belonging to the time before Kanishka. The characters of some of these thirteen inscriptions show a few peculiarities worthy of note. In *pratimā* No. xxix, the *ā*-stroke has been undoubtedly placed below the consonant to which it belongs. This is quite in keeping with the "anyhow-style" of the Indian writers and masons. In No. xxix of the earlier collection (*ante*, vol. I, p. 395, fourth plate), the same vowel has been attached to the lower right limb of *ta* in the word *arahaṃtāna*, and similar instances occur in later inscriptions. In No. xxxiv, l. 2, the looped *ta* of *Navahastisya* is remarkable, especially as the same sign is used for *na* in *bhrātrinaṃ* (l. 3). The looped form of *ta* is common enough in the southern inscriptions, where it first appears in those of Siriyāṇa Sātakaṇi.<sup>4</sup> But I have not observed it on any document which comes from the northern half of India. Another curious sign is the *va* which looks, owing to a continuation of the two side-strokes beyond the apex, almost exactly like *ma*. It is quite distinct in the word *vadhuye*, No. xxxii, l. 1, likewise in *vihāre*, No. xlii, and in *Huvishkasya*, No. xxv. As regards the spelling, I would call attention to the tachygraphic abbreviation of the word, *siddha*, discussed in the remark on No. xxvii, in note 2 on No. xxxvi, and note 2 on No. xlii. Among the linguistic peculiarities, I would point out the phrase *bahavo[to] vachaka cha gaṇino cha*, "of the great preacher and *gaṇin*," No. xxxvi, which affords another illustration of the principle discussed in the introduction to the earlier collection, *ante*, vol. I, p. 375. Another amusing instance of the



utter absence of all feeling for grammatical forms is furnished by the description of the *donatrix* in No. xxxiv, *Navahastisya dhītā, grahasenasya vadhu ... Sivasenasya..... bhrātrinaṃ mātū jāyāye*, where two nominatives are co-ordinated with two genitives.

The next three inscriptions, Nos. xxxviii—xl, belong, in my opinion, to the Gupta period. This is, of course, indisputable with No. xxxix, which is dated in the reign of Kumāragupta. The shape of the letters, and especially the peculiar method of marking the long and short *i*, by turning the former to the right of the consonant and the latter to the left, makes it, I think, impossible to assign No. xxxviii to an earlier period. If my conjecture is accepted, its date, the year 57, is the earliest Gupta date yet found. No. xl may perhaps be a little later than the Gupta period. With respect to the remaining two documents it will suffice to say that No. xli clearly belongs to the eleventh century A.D., and that No. xlii, the Appendix, dates from the Indo-Skythic period.

Short discussions of the historical results, obtainable from these inscriptions, have been given already in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. V, p. 59ff, and p. 175ff, and a fuller one will appear in this publication. Here I content myself with giving a brief resumé of the chief points. First, as regards the political history, we have now, through No. ii, actual proof that the Kshatrapas of Mathurā used a particular era, different from that of Kanishka and his successors. The importance of this fact will probably become still greater when Dr. Bhagvānlāl's paper on his Lion-pillar will appear. For the history of the Kushana kings, we gain through No. xxvi the certainty that the name Hushka, which the *Rājataranginī* has preserved and which still survives in the name of the Kashmirian village Ushkar-Hushkapura, was actually used in ancient times for Huvishka. Secondly, with respect to the history of the Jaina sect, we learn through No. i that the Jainas were settled in Mathurā in the second century B.C., and through No. xx that an ancient Jaina Stūpa existed in Mathurā, which in A.D. 167 was considered to have been built by the gods, *i. e.*, was so ancient that its real origin had been completely forgotten. The inscriptions further furnish the new names of the Vachchhaliya *kula* (No. xiii) and of the Vidyādhari *Śākhā* (No. xxxix) for the Koṭṭiya or Koṭika *gaṇa*, as well as those of the Nāṭika, or perhaps Nāḍika *kula* (No. xxviii) of the Aryyabhyista or perhaps Aryyanyista *kula* and of the Sa[mkāsiyā] *Śākhā* (No. xxxvi) for the Vāraṇa *gaṇa*. The schools connected with the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* offer no difficulty, as they agree with the corresponding names of the *Kalpāsūtra*. The Nāṭika or Nāḍika *kula* may be considered to correspond to the Mālijja *kula* of the *Sthavirāvalī*, and there is just a possibility that the last name may be an abbreviated spelling for *Aryya-Aniyasa(to)* and correspond to a Prakrit corruption of Ārya-Kaṇīyasa, another equivalent for which, *Aryya-Kaniyasika*, occurs in the inscription No. xxiii of the earlier collection (see note 1 to No. xxxvi).

No. I.<sup>5</sup>

समनस माहरखितास चांतेवासिस वक्षीपुत्रस सावकास उत्तरदासक[र]स पासादीतीरनं [॥<sup>x</sup>]<sup>6</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

“An ornamental arch for the temple’ (*the gift*) of the lay-hearer Utaradāsaka

<sup>5</sup> Incised on a large ornamented rectangular slab, measuring 4' 2"—9".

<sup>6</sup> According to the impression the reading सावकास is perhaps possible. Possibly उत्तरदासक is to be read.

<sup>7</sup> Regarding the irregular compound, see above the introductory remarks.



(*Uttaradāsaka*),<sup>9</sup> son of the Vachhī (*Vātsī mother and*) disciple<sup>9</sup> of the ascetic Māharakhita (*Māgharakshita*)."

No. II<sup>10</sup>.

L. 1. नम अरहतो वर्धमानस ।<sup>11</sup>

2. स्व[र]मिस महचक्षपस शोडासस सवत्सरे ४० (?) २ हेमंतमासे २ दिवसे ८ हरितिपुत्रस पालस  
भयाये समसाविकाये<sup>12</sup>

3. कोच्छिये अमोहिनिये सहा पुत्रेहि पालघोषेन पोठघोषेन धनघोषेन आयवती प्रतिथापिता  
प्राय—[भ]—

4. आर्यवती अरहतपुजाये [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! In the year 42 (?) of the Lord, the Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa, in the second month of winter, on the 9th day, an Āyavatī (*Āryavatī*), was set up by Amohini (*Amohinī*), the Kochhi (*Kautsī*), a female lay-disciple of the ascetics (*and*) wife of Pāla, son of a Hariti (*Haritī* or *Hārītī mother*), together with her sons Pālaghoshā, Poṭhaghoshā (*Prosthaghoshā and*) Dhana-ghoshā . . . the Āryavatī (*is*) for the worship of the Arhat."

No. III<sup>13</sup>.

L. 1. सिद्धम् । नमोस्वर्हद्भ्यः<sup>14</sup>

2. महाराजमहाक्षत्रपस — —<sup>15</sup>

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration be to the Arhats! . . . . Mahārāja, Mahākshatrapa-Ma . . .

No. IV<sup>16</sup>.

L. 1. भदतजयसेनस्य आतिवासिनीये

2. धामघोषाये दानो पासादो [॥\*]

TRANSLATION.

"A temple, the gift of Dhāmaghoshā (*Dharmaghoshā*), the female disciple<sup>17</sup> of the venerable Jayasena."

<sup>9</sup> Compare the Buddhist name *Uttarasena*. *Uttara* probably stands *bhīmaval* for Uttaraphālgunī or Uttarabhadrapadā.

<sup>10</sup> Regarding the form *अतिवासि* see above the Introduction. The term means here no doubt that Māharakhita was the spiritual director of Uttaradāsaka; for the latter was, as the description shows, a layman, not an ascetic.

<sup>11</sup> Incised on a slab measuring 3' 2" by 3' 8" and bearing the representation of a royal lady, surrounded by attendants one of whom is holding up a parasol.

<sup>12</sup> Possibly *नमो*, as the ends of the upper strokes of *नमो* are somewhat thickened.

<sup>13</sup> The first figure of the date may possibly be 70. The Anuvāsa of *हेमंत* is not certain. Read *समनसाविकाये*.

<sup>14</sup> Incised on the top of a small statue cut out of the back of the panel, which bears the inscription No. X.

<sup>15</sup> The second vowel of *नमो* is expressed by two abnormally short strokes. An accidental scratch gives to *नमो* the appearance of *नमो*: ' —

<sup>16</sup> The last syllable may have been *ने* ' —

<sup>17</sup> Incised on the back of a broken sculptured Torana, measuring 1' 2" by 8".

<sup>18</sup> I suppose *अतिवासिनी* means here, like *अतिवासि* in No. 1, that Jayasena was Dhāmaghoshā's spiritual director, not that she was an ascetic.



No. V<sup>18</sup>.L. 1a. नमो अरहतानं फगुयशस<sup>19</sup>

2a. नतकस भयाये शिवयशा-

3a. — — ि — ा — — — ा — काये

1b. आयागपटो कारितो

2b. अरहतपुजाये [॥<sup>x</sup>]

TRANSLATION.

“Adoration to the Arhats! By Śivayaśā (*Śivayaśas*), wife of the dancer Phaguyaśā (*Phalguyaśas*), . . . . . a tablet of homage (*āgāgapāṭa*)<sup>20</sup> was caused to be made for the worship of the Arhats.”

No. VI.<sup>21</sup>

भगवा नेमिसो भग — —

TRANSLATION.

“The divine Nemesa (*Naigamesha*), divine . . . . .”<sup>22</sup>

No. VII.<sup>23</sup>

L. 1. य — च

2. — र[क्तव]स्य च यो मनो

3. — यतनं धनस्य महतः

4. — — [चेप्य]क्षयं [न] किं<sup>24</sup>

The fragment admits of no continuous translation. It would seem that we have in line 2 the beginning of a verse in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre, and in line 3 the middle portion of another. The whole was no doubt a metrical Praśasti written entirely in Sanskrit.

No. VIII.<sup>25</sup>

नमो अरहतो महाविरस । मायुरक — — लवाडस [सा] —

भयाये — — व — — ताये [आयागपटो] [॥<sup>x</sup>]

TRANSLATION.

“Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvira (*Mahāvira*). A tablet of homage (*āgāgapāṭa* the gift) of . . . itā, wife of . . lavāḍa (?), an inhabitant of Mathurā.”

<sup>18</sup> Incised on the base of a mutilated tablet measuring 2' 4" by 1' 9", and bearing the representation of a stūpa with rails and gate, as well as of two naked dancing women in the same posture as those on Dr. Bhagvānlāl's slab, *Actes du sixième Congrès, Int. Or.*, pt. III, sect. ii, p. 142.

<sup>19</sup> Possibly फगुयशस, but I believe the apparent *i*-stroke to be accidental.

<sup>20</sup> Regarding the meaning of आयागपटो, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 396.

<sup>21</sup> Incised on a small sculptured frieze measuring 2' by 10", and bearing the representation of a large seated figure with a goat's head, of a small naked male and several large female figures, one of whom holds a child in her lap.

<sup>22</sup> The inscription seems to be intended to explain the meaning of the sculpture, regarding which see a subsequent article on sculptures from Mathurā.

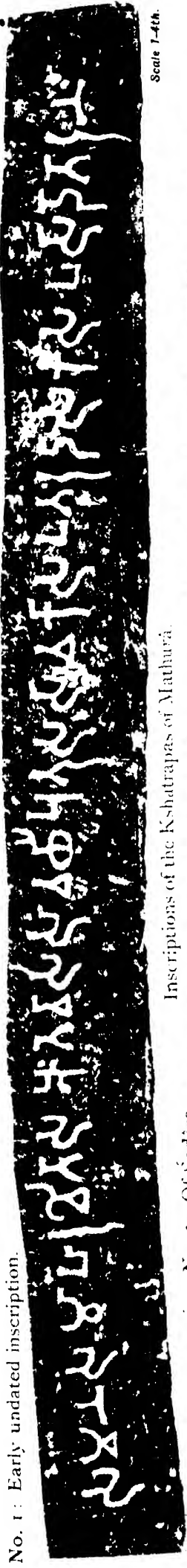
<sup>23</sup> Incised on a fragment of a large slab, measuring 1' by 8".

<sup>24</sup> The bracketed letter looks almost like *ki*, but the lower part of the vertical is faint, and the top so damaged, that the apparent *i*-stroke may have been only a serif. The Anusvāra of किं is doubtful.

<sup>25</sup> Incised on the base of a beautifully-sculptured square panel (an *āgāgapāṭa*), measuring 2' 10" by 2' 10".



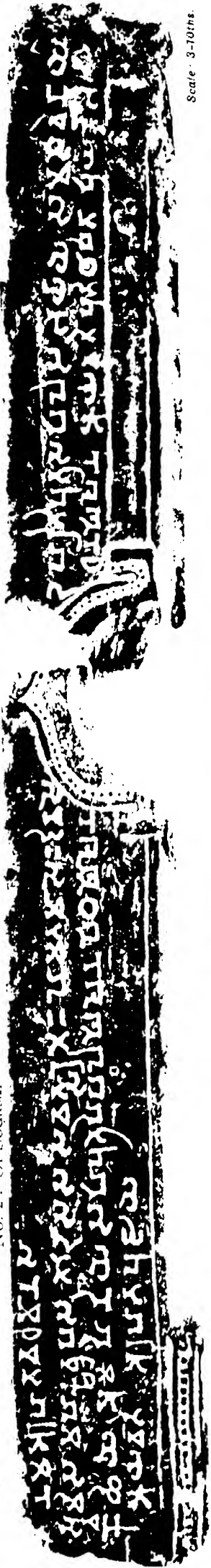
No. 1: Early undated inscription.



Scale 1-4th.

Inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Mathurā.

No. 2: Of Śodāsa.



Scale 3-10ths.

No. 3: Of unnamed Kshatrapa.



Scale: Half the original.

Archae Incriptions: No. 4.



Scale 2-10ths.

No. 7: Archaic.



Scale 1-4th.

No. 5: Archaic.



Scale 1-3rd.

No. 6: Archaic.





MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES) : NOS. VIII-XV.

No. 8. Archaic.

MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES) : Nos. VIII-XV.

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5-512-321

No. 13: Dated Sam. 18, grishma.

No. 13; Dated Sam. 18, grishma.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

५

Source: *Half the original.*

No. 14 Dated Sam. 18, varsha.

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Scale: Half the original

No. 15. Dated San. 31

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[illegible]

Scale: 1-3rd.

Scale: 1-3rd



No. IX.<sup>26</sup>L. 1. मा अरहतपुजा [ये]<sup>27</sup>2. गोतीपुत्रस ईद्रपा[ल] — —<sup>28</sup>

TRANSLATION.

An image of . . . . . for the worship of the Arhats . . . . of Īdrapāla (*Idrapāla*),<sup>29</sup> the son of the Gotī (*Gauptī mother*).

No. X.<sup>30</sup>

— ये जीवनादाये — —

TRANSLATION.

“Of Jīvanādā (*Jīvanandā*).” . . . .No. XI.<sup>31</sup>A. सिद्धं स ४ चि १ दि २० वारणातो गणातो अर्यहाट्टकियातो कुलतो वज्रणगरित[ी या] — —<sup>32</sup>B. पुश्यमित्तस्य शिशिनि सथिसिहाये शिशिनि सिद्धमित्तस्य सट्चरि — —<sup>33</sup>C. दाति सहा ग्रहचेटेन ग्रहदासेन — —<sup>34</sup>

TRANSLATION.

“Success! In the year 4, the first (*month* of) summer, the day 20,— . . . of . . . . the female convert<sup>35</sup> (*sadhacharī*) of Sihamitra (*Simhamitra*), the female pupil of Sathisihā (*Shashṭisimhā*), the female pupil of Puśyamitra . . . out of the Vārana *gaṇa*, out of the Arya-Hāṭṭakiya (*Ārya-Hāṭṭakiya*) *kula*, out of the Vajjanagarī (*Vārjanagarī*) *śākhā* . . . . the gift . . . . , together with Graha-cheṭa (*and*) Grahadāsa.”

No. XII.<sup>36</sup>

— — — स्य व ५ गृ ४ दि ५ कीट्टिया — — — — —  
त[ी] शाखात [ी] वाचकस्य अर्थ — —

TRANSLATION.

“In the year 5 of . . . . , in the fourth (*month of*) summer, on the fifth day,— . . . . of the preacher (*vāchaka*) Aryya . . . . (*Ārya* . . . .) out of the Koṭṭiya (*gaṇa*) . . . . , out of the . . . . *śākhā* . . . .

<sup>26</sup> This inscription belongs to Dr. Führer's collection of 1889-90. It is incised on the pedestal of a small squatted Jina measuring 1' 6" by 1' 2".

<sup>27</sup> Restore *pratimā*.

<sup>28</sup> As the right half of the *la* has been lost, the name is not certain. It may have been *Idrapālita*.

<sup>29</sup> Regarding the person meant, see above the Introduction.

<sup>30</sup> Incised on lower border of a sculptured panel, see inscription No. III.

<sup>31</sup> Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, 1' 1" by 1' 7".

<sup>32</sup> The *i*-stroke of *siddham* has been lost; the Anusvāra is not certain. The *i*-stroke of *aryahāṭṭakiyāto* is faintly visible on the impression. Below the *ja* of *vajjanagarito* a letter, probably another *ja*, has been lost. Restore *śākhāto*, but more syllables have probably been lost.

<sup>33</sup> At the end of the line, the name of the nun has been lost, and probably also the word *nirvartanā*.

<sup>34</sup> The line is mutilated both in the beginning and at the end, the name of the donor or donatrix and the description of the gift being certainly lost.

<sup>35</sup> This translation is, of course, merely tentative; the Sanskrit equivalent is *śrāddhacharī*.

<sup>36</sup> Incised on base of a squatted figure of Jina, measuring 2' by 1' 0".



No. XIII.<sup>37</sup>

- A. स १० ८ गृ ४ दि ३ [अस्या पु] — [य] — — [या]तो गण[तो] — — — —<sup>38</sup>  
 B. संभोगातो वच्छलियातो कुलातो गणि — — — — —<sup>39</sup>  
 D. 1. — — — वासि जयस्य — तु मासिगिये (?) दानं सर्व्वत[?]भ[द्र] — — — —<sup>40</sup>  
 2. — [सर्व्वस]वा[न] सुखाय भवतु ।<sup>41</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“The year 18, the fourth (*month of*) summer, the third day,—on that (*date specified as*) above a fourfold [*image*], the gift of Māsigi(?) (mother of) Jaya . . . . . [at the request] of . . . . . a *gaṇi* out of the [Koṭṭi]ya *gaṇa* . . . . ., out of the . . . . . *sambhoga*, out of Vāchchhaliya (*Vātsaliya*) *kula*. May it be for the welfare of all beings !”

No. XIV.<sup>42</sup>

- A. — — — ष १० [८] व २ दि १० १<sup>43</sup>  
 B. धितु मि[तशि]रिये भगवतो अरिष्टनेमिस्य [वेवर्त] ? — —<sup>44</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“The year 18, the second (*month of*) the rainy season, the day 11 . . . . .  
 . . . . . [the gift] of Mita-Śiri (?) *Mitraśrī*, the daughter of . . . . .  
 a ... of divine Arishtaṇemi (*Arishtaṇemi*) . . . . .

No. XV.<sup>45</sup>

- A. स ३० १ व १ दि १० अस्म सुखे  
 B. 1. — — यातो गणतो [अ]र्यवेरितो आसतो [ठा]णियातो कुलातो वह[तो] । कुटुम्बि-  
 णिये [अ]ह<sup>46</sup>  
 2. — — — — [अर्य] — दासस्य निवर्त्तना बुद्धिस्य धितु देवि लस्य । शिरिये दाणं ।<sup>47</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, 1' by 8". The section C. has been cut away.

<sup>38</sup> Read *asyā*. The restoration *koffiyāto* is highly probable. At the end of the line the name of the Sambhoga has been lost.

<sup>39</sup> Indistinct remnants of *syā* are visible after *gaṇi*. The lost piece C must have contained the name of the Gaṇin and the greater portion of the description of the donatrix which is very imperfect.

<sup>40</sup> The impressions point to *mātu*. For *māsigiye* it is possible to read *māsigiye* or *māsiṇiye*, but none of these forms admits of an explanation. May it be *Mosiniye* for *Moshiniye*? See below No. xxxvii. Restore *survatobhadrikā pratimā*.

<sup>41</sup> Read *sarvasatvānam*.

<sup>42</sup> Incised on base of small standing Jina, measuring 2' by 10".

<sup>43</sup> Perhaps *varaḥa* is to be restored.

<sup>44</sup> The third syllable of the proper name is not certain.

<sup>45</sup> Incised on base of small squatted Jina, 2' by 1' 1".

<sup>46</sup> Restore *koffiyāto gaṇāto; vahato* (= *brihato*). Before *kuṭumbiṇiye* the impression shows a faint vertical stroke, which apparently indicates that in reality the line is at an end, and that one must read on from the beginning of B 2. the last words, which would give no sense, must be read at the end of the second line.

<sup>47</sup> Probably *gaṇiye* is to be restored in the beginning. As only one syllable has been lost between *arya* and *ddasaya* the restoration *godḍasaya* seems certain. The name occurs in the *Kalpasastra* (p. 79 ed. Jacobi). After *devilasya* stands again a faint vertical stroke, exactly corresponding to that in the upper line. The proper order of the words is therefore:—  
 कीट्टियातो [ग]ण[तो] अर्यवेरितो आसतो [ठा]णियातो कुलातो वह[तो] (?) [गणिस] अर्य[नो]दासस्य निवर्त्तना बुद्धिस्य धितु देविसस्य  
 कुटुम्बिणिये अहशिरिये दाणं ।







## TRANSLATION.

"Success! the year fifty-two, 52, the first month of winter, the twenty-fifth day, 25—at that moment (*was dedicated*) the gift of the worker in metal<sup>60</sup> Goṭṭika, the Śūra,<sup>61</sup> the son of Śramaṇaka, at the request of the preacher Aryya-Divita, (*who is*) the convert of the *gaṇi* Aryya-Maṅguhasti (*and*) the pupil of the preacher Aryya-Ghastuhasti out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Verā (*Vajrā*) śākhā, the Sthānikiya *kula* (*and*) the Śrīgriha *sambhoga*. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all creatures!

No. XIX<sup>60</sup>.

L. 1. सिद्ध स ६० २ व २ दि ५ एतस्य पुत्रय वाचकस्य आयकर्कुहस्थ[स]<sup>61</sup>

2. वारणगणियस शिषो ग्रहबलो आतपिको तस निवर्तना

"Success! the year 62, the second (*month of the*) rainy season, the day 5, on that (*date, specified as*) above, the pupil of the preacher Āya-Karkuhastha (*Ārya-Karkaṣa-gharshita*)<sup>62</sup> of the Vāraṇa *gaṇa*, was the ātapika Grahabala, at his request . . . . .

No. XX.<sup>63</sup>

A. 1. सं ७० ८ व ४ दि २० एतस्यां पुर्वायं कोट्टिये गणे वज्जरायां शाखायां — —<sup>64</sup>

2. को अयवृद्धहस्ति अरहतो णन्दि[आ]वर्तस प्रतिमं निर्वर्तयति ।<sup>65</sup>

B. — — — भार्यये आर्विकाये [दिनाये] दानं प्रतिमा वोहे धुपे देवनिर्मिते प्र — — — —<sup>66</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"The year 79, the fourth (*month of the*) rainy season, the twentieth day—on that (*date, specified as*) above, Aya-Vṛidhahasti (*Ārya-Vṛiddhahastin*), a preacher in the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* (*and*) in the Vairā (*Vajrā*) śākhā, gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nandiāvarta (*Nāndyāvarta*)<sup>67</sup> . . . . . the image, the gift of the female lay-disciple Dinā (*Dattā*), wife of . . . , was set up at the Vodva Stūpa, built by the gods."

No. XXI<sup>68</sup>.

L. 1. स ८० १ व १ दि ६ एतस्य पुत्राय [अ]यिकाजीवाये अन्ते-

2. वासिकिनिये दत्ताये निवतना । [अ]हशिरिये — — —

<sup>60</sup> Compare *ante*, vol. I, p. 391, No. xxi.

<sup>61</sup> I take Śūra, as the name of the family or the clan.

<sup>62</sup> Incised on the upper part of the base of a sitting Jina 2' 8" by 1' 8"; the lower part has been destroyed.

<sup>63</sup> On further consideration, I read the numeral sign, which I formerly believed to possibly stand for 40, always as 60.

<sup>64</sup> The persons named here are probably the same as those in Sir A. Cunningham's inscription, re-edited in the *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. I, p. 172.

<sup>65</sup> Incised on the left portion of the base of a large standing figure of Jina, measuring 2' 3" by 1' 8"; the right portion is missing.

<sup>66</sup> I now recognise that the second figure is 9, not 8, as I read it formerly. Possibly the apparent *ra*-stroke above *na* may be accidental. Possibly *kopiye* to be read. At the end of the line the two syllables *vaḍā* have certainly been lost, because the syllable *ko* in l. 2 stands exactly under *sam* and l. 2 is, therefore, complete.

<sup>67</sup> The *na* is abnormal, and so is the marking of the length of *ā* by a stroke going upwards.

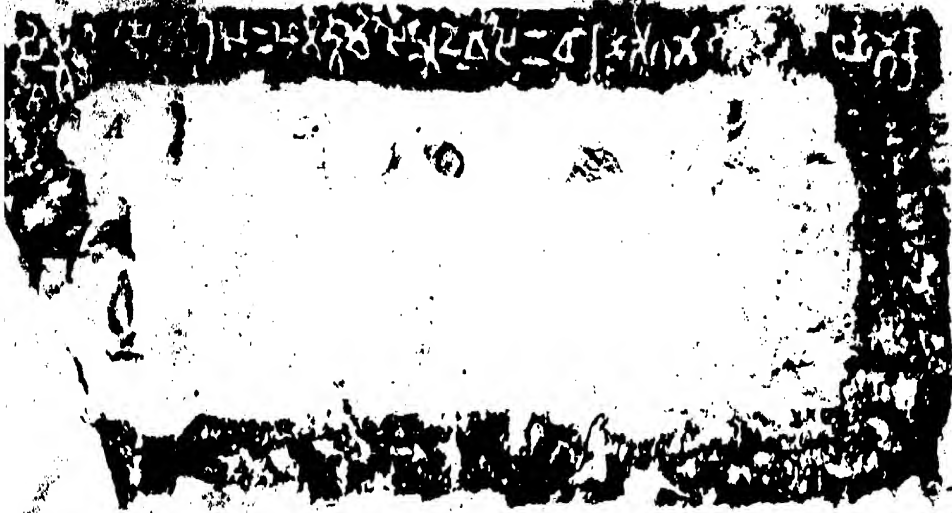
<sup>68</sup> It is possible to read also *vofve*, which, however, is as unsatisfactory as *vodve*. Perhaps *voddhe*, i.e. *vṛiddhe* "ancient," is meant. Professor E. Leumann proposes to divide *pratimāvo dve* and to take this in the sense of *pratime dve* (two images)? This exceedingly ingenious explanation becomes difficult, because in A only *one* statue is mentioned. Restore *pratishṭhāpitā*. At the beginning of the line stood the name of Dinā's husband, as a small remnant of a *śya* is still visible on the impression.

<sup>69</sup> The Arhat Nāndyāvarta, i.e., he whose mark is the *Nāndyāvarta* symbol, is Ara, the eighteenth Tīrthamkara.

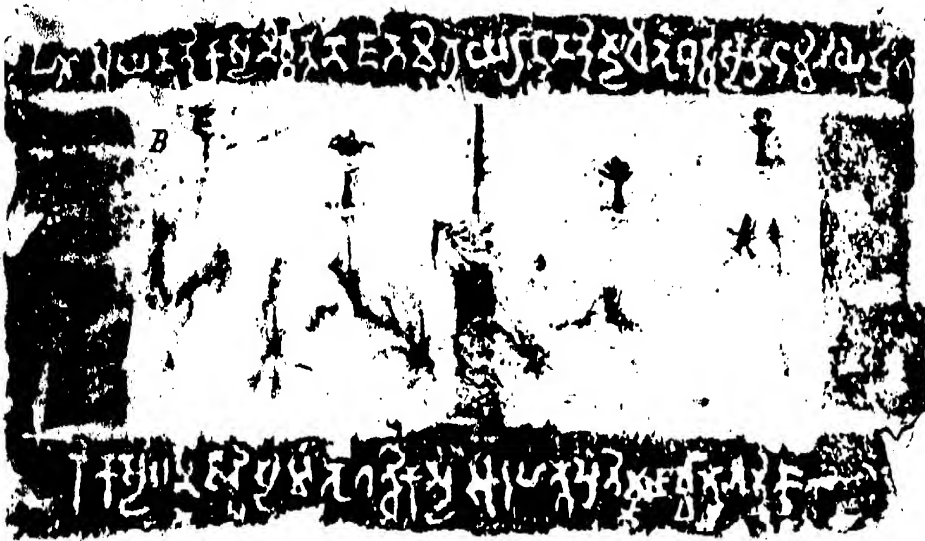
<sup>70</sup> Incised on the upper part of the base of a seated figure, 2' 5" by 1' 10", lower part destroyed.



No. 16: Dated Sam. 32.

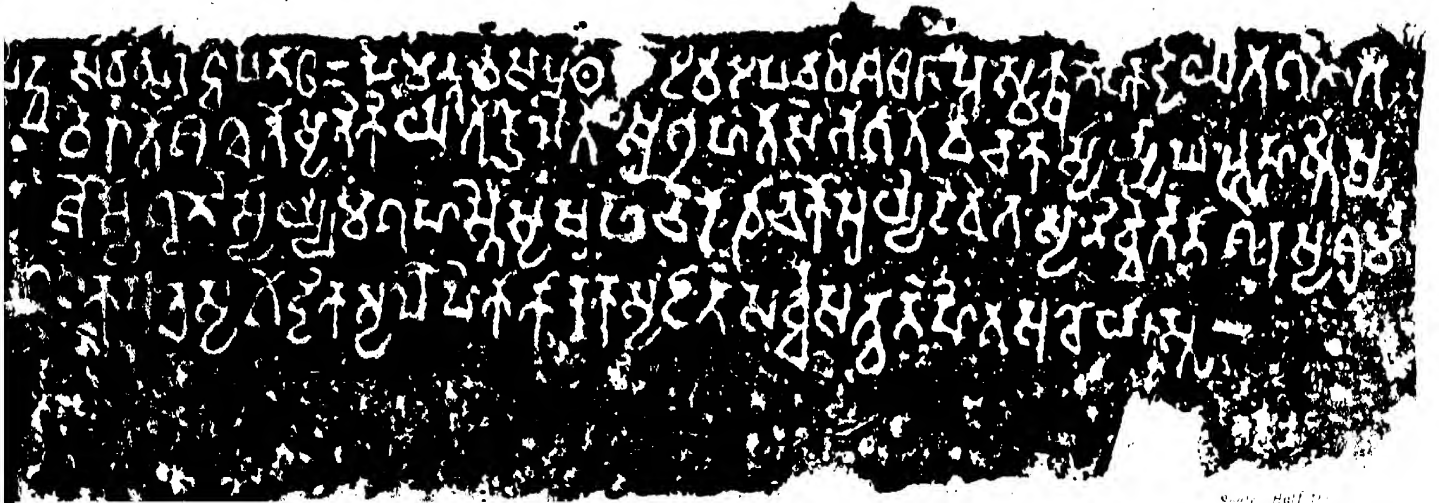


No. 17: Dated Sam. 30.



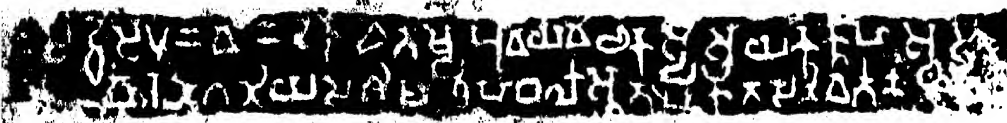
Scale. Half the original.

No. 18: Dated Sam. 52.



Scale. Half the original.

No. 19: Dated Sam. 62.



Scale. 3-fifths.







## TRANSLATION.

“The year 81, the first (*month of the*) rainy season, the sixth day—on that (*date as specified*) above at the request of Datā, the female pupil<sup>69</sup> of Ayikā-Jivā (*Āyikā-Jivā*)—Grahāśiri (*Grahāśrī*) . . . . .

## No. XXII.

- L. 1. सव [८० व] — — — — — टुबनिए दिनस्य वधूय  
 2. को — — तो ग[णा]तो प — व[ह] — [क]तो कुलातो मभमातो शाखा[तो] — —  
 सनिकय भतिबलाए—भिनि

This inscription is Sir A. Cunningham's No. 19 (*Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. III, pl. xv). It seems to have suffered since the time when the first facsimile was prepared. The date, which I have given according to Sir A. Cunningham, has disappeared, and several letters at the end of line 2 have become indistinct. Its chief value consists in the mention of the *Majhamā śākhā* and the *Pa-vaha-ka kula*, which latter I have formerly identified with the *Praśnavāhanaka* or *Paṇhavāhanaya kula* of the Jaina tradition. Dr. Führer's impression shows pretty clearly that the first letter is *pa*, which is not equally certain according to Sir A. Cunningham's facsimile. It also makes it probable that the third letter of the name is not *hu*, but *ha*. The name of the *gaṇa* was without a doubt Koṭṭiya, as the first syllable *ko* is tolerably distinct.

No. XXIII.<sup>70</sup>

- A. नमो अर्हतो महाविरस्य सं ८० ३ [व] — — —  
 B. 1. शिष्यस्य ग[णि]स्य [न]न्दिये [नि]र्वर्त्तना देवस्य हैरस्यकस्य धितु — — — — —<sup>1</sup>  
 2. — — — ि — [भ] — वतो वर्द्धमानप्रतिमा प्रति — — — — —<sup>2</sup> — पुजा[ये] [॥]<sup>72</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvira (*Mahāvīra*)! The year 93, the . . . . (*month of*) the rainy season . . . . . at the request of the *gaṇi* Nandi (*Nandi*) pupil of . . . . . an image of divine Vardhamāna was set up by . . . . ., the daughter of the goldsmith Deva, for the worship [*of the Arhat*].”

No. XXIV.<sup>73</sup>

स ८० ८ हे १ दि ५ अस्म द्युणे क[े]रियात [े] गणातो उचनग — — —<sup>74</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

The year 98, the first (*month of*) winter, the fifth day, at that moment,—out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Uchanagarī (*Uchchānagarī*) [*śākhā*] . . . . .

<sup>69</sup> *Antevāsikini*, as well as *ayikā*, are properly diminutives. Compare *pavajitkā*, which is common in the Buddhist inscriptions.

<sup>70</sup> Incised on the base of a sitting Jina, 1' 8" by 2' 2".

<sup>71</sup> Regarding the form *nandiyē*, which is indisputable, see above, the Introduction

<sup>72</sup> Restore *bhagavato* and further on *prati-hāpitā arhato* or *arhata*.

<sup>73</sup> Incised on the base of a squatted Jina 1' 10" by 2' 4".

<sup>74</sup> Restore *uchanagarito śākhāto*.



No. XXV.<sup>75</sup>— — — — [व]पुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य स — — —<sup>76</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“In the year . . . . . of . . . Devaputra Huvishka . . . . .”

No. XXVI.<sup>77</sup>

- A. 1. एकुनती [अ]      B. 1. अ[र]ह[तो]      C. 1. — — —  
 2. वा — —      2. — [ह]रवल      2. प्रतिस — —  
 D. 1. स्व म — र — स्य देव[पु]त्रस्य[हु]क्षस्य — — —<sup>78</sup>  
 2. [वा]सि[क] नगदतस्य शिषो मि[ग क]— — — स — —

I am not able to give a certain connected translation of this fragment. It is only evident that D. 1—2 gives us the names of the Mahārāja Devaputra Huksha, (*Hushka* or *Huvishka*), and of a monk named Nagadata (*Nāgadatta*). It may also be suggested that the inscription begins with D. 1, because that line contains the group *sdha*, an abbreviation of *sidham*, and the name of the king. The continuation may possibly be looked for in A 1, where the word *ekunattā*, the twenty-ninth, seems to belong to the date. The year 29 would fall in the reign of Huvishka.

No. XXVII.<sup>79</sup>

- L. 1. सिद्धम् महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य — — — — —  
 2. ओहनन्दिस्य शिष्येण से — न — — — — — ि—<sup>80</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“Success! Of the great king, the supreme king of kings . . . . . by Sena, the pupil of Ohanandi (*Oghanandin*)” . . . . .<sup>81</sup>

No. XXVIII.<sup>82</sup>

- A. — — भगवतो उषभस वारणे गणे नाडिके कुलि — — — — — खा [यं] — —<sup>83</sup>  
 B. दुक्स वायक्स सिसिनिण सादिताए नि — — —<sup>84</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“[Adoration] to divine Usabha [*Rishabha*]! At the request of Sādita, female

<sup>75</sup> Incised on the base of a standing Jina, measuring 3' 6" by 2' 6".

<sup>76</sup> Restore *devaputrasya* and *samvatsare*.

<sup>77</sup> Incised on the base of a broken standing Jina, measuring 1' 8" by 1' 1".

<sup>78</sup> The bracketed letters are all more or less uncertain : *hukshasya* looks, because the first letter is blurred, like *puksha-sya*. But two impressions show a small curve at the extremity of the top of the right-hand vertical stroke.

<sup>79</sup> Incised on the base of a sitting Jina, 1' 6" by 2' 1".

<sup>80</sup> Restore *senena* according to C. No. 10 (republished *ante*, vol. I, p. 396, No. xxx), where *Sena*, pupil of *Ohanandi*, is mentioned. The last *na* is faintly visible on the impression. It is important to note that in this inscription the initial letter of *Ohanandi's* name is unmistakable and that the reading *Deha*<sup>o</sup> is impossible.

<sup>81</sup> As the other inscription is dated Sam. 47, the king, whose name has been lost, must be Huvishka.

<sup>82</sup> Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, measuring 2' by 1' 8".

<sup>83</sup> Restore *namo* before *bhagavato*. Possibly *nāṭike* or *nādike* to be read. Restore *sāḍḍāḍm*

<sup>84</sup> Restore *sārvartanā*.



pupil of . . . dhuka, a preacher<sup>85</sup> in the Vâraṇa gaṇa, Nâdika kula and . . . .  
śākhā . . . . .

No. XXIX.<sup>86</sup>

स्थ[र]निकिये कुले गनिस्य उगगहिनिय शिषो वाचको घोषको आर्हतो<sup>87</sup> पर्वस्य प्रतिमा — —

TRANSLATION.

. . . “The preacher Ghoshaka, pupil of the Uggahini,<sup>88</sup> a gaṇi (gaṇin) in the Sthānikiya (°kīya) kula; an image of the Arhat Parśva (Pārśva).” . . .

No. XXX.<sup>89</sup>

L. 1. नमो अरहंतानं सिंहकस वानिकस पुत्रेण कोशिकिपुत्रेण<sup>90</sup>

2. सिंहनादिकेन आयागपाटो प्रतिथापितो आरहंतपुजाये [॥<sup>x</sup>]

TRANSLATION.

“Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (āyāgapāṭa) was set up by Sihanādika (Simhanādika ? °nandika ?), son of the Vānika<sup>91</sup> Sihaka (Simhaka) and son of a Kośikī (Kauśikī mother), for the worship of the Arhats.”

No. XXXI.<sup>92</sup>

नमो अरहंताना शिवघो[षक]स भरि[या] — — — — ना — — — — ना — —

TRANSLATION.

“Adoration to the Arhats! . . . . the wife of Śivaghoshaka . . . . .”

No. XXXII.<sup>93</sup>

L. 1. नमो अरहंतानं [मल] — णस धितु भद्रयशस वधुये भद्रनदिस भयाये<sup>94</sup>

2. अ[चला]ये आ[या]गपाटो प्रतिथापितो अरहतपुजाये [॥<sup>x</sup>]<sup>95</sup>

TRANSLATION.

“Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (āyāgapāṭa) was set up by Achalā (?), daughter of Mala-ṇa (?), daughter in-law of Bhadrayaśa (Bhadrayaśa), and wife of Bhadranadi (Bhadranandin), for the worship of the Arhats.”

<sup>85</sup> Vdyaka is the Jaina-Prakrit form for vāchaka.

<sup>86</sup> Incised on the left side of the upper part of the base of a squatted Jina, 1' 2" by 1' 9", the right side being broken off.

<sup>87</sup> Read arhato.

<sup>88</sup> The word looks like a female name, and might correspond with Sanskrit udgrahinī. But the difficulty is that it is joined with the title gaṇi, which is given to males alone.

<sup>89</sup> Incised on the base of a beautifully sculptured square panel measuring 2' 1" by 1' 11", the central figure of which is a seated Jina.

<sup>90</sup> Ārahanta° is a mistake for arahanta and āyāgapāṭo may be a mistake for paṭo, but, as the Sanskrit has paṭa and paṭṭa, the form pāṭa is not impossible.

<sup>91</sup> This might be a corruption or misspelling for vāṇijaka or vāṇiyaka. But, as Sihanādika receives the epithet kośiki-putra, I suspect that he was a Kshatriya, not the son of a merchant, and that Vānika is the name of his clan.

<sup>92</sup> Incised on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 10" by 3' 1".

<sup>93</sup> Incised on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 7" by 2' 4".

<sup>94</sup> The bracketed letters are uncertain. The first may be व.

The second and third letters of this line are uncertain.



No. XXXIII.<sup>96</sup>

A. वर्धमानपटिमा वजरनद्यस्य धिता वाधिशिव — — — —

B1. — ि— स्य — कुटीबिनि<sup>97</sup> दिनाये दाति बडिम[शि] ये — — — —

2. — — — — — — — — — —

## TRANSLATION.

“An image of Vardhamāna, the gift of Dinā (*Dattā*), daughter of Vajaranadya (*Vajranandin*), [daughter-in-law]<sup>98</sup> of Vādhiśiva (*Vṛiddhiśiva*?) house-wife of . . . . i; Badimasi's (?)” . . . . .

No. XXXIV<sup>99</sup>L. 1. उचेनगरितो शखतो अर्यबलचतस्य शिसिणि अर्यबल — — — —<sup>100</sup>2. अर्यबलचतस्य शिथो अर्यसन्धिस्य परिग्रहे नवहस्तिस्य धिता ग्रहसेनस्य वधु — — — —  
— — — —<sup>1</sup>3. गिवसेनस्य देवसेनस्य शिवदेवस्य च भ्रात्रिणं मातु जायये प्रतीमा प्र — — — — —<sup>2</sup>

4. [मा]नस्य सर्वसत्त्वानं हितसुखय ॥

## TRANSLATION.

“For the acceptance<sup>3</sup> of Aryya-Sandhi (*Ārya-Sandhi*), pupil of Aryya-Balatratra (*Ārya-Balatrāta*) [and of ?] Aryya-Bahma, . . (*Ārya-Brahma* . .), the female pupil of Aryya-Balatratra (*Ārya-Balatrāta*) out of the Uchenagarī (*Uchchānagarī*) śākhā, Jāyā, daughter of Navahasti (*°hastin*), daughter-in-law of Grahasena . . . ., mother of the brothers Śivasena, Devasena and Śivadeva, has set up an image of [Var-dha]māna for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.”

No. XXXV.<sup>4</sup>

A. तिये निर्वर्तना

B. 1. तो शखतो शिरिकतो संभोक्तो अर्य

2. ि—धराये निवतना शिवद[त] —<sup>5</sup>

3. — — सनस्य मतु ह[स्ति] — — —

## Remark.

If the two fragments, which admit of no connected translation, belong to one inscription, the occurrence of the words *nirvartanā* and *nivatanā* is very remarkable. There is no other instance of the kind.

<sup>96</sup> Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, measuring 1' 11" by 1' 6".<sup>97</sup> The *ba* of *kuṭībini* is abnormal, being made round and not perfectly closed.<sup>98</sup> The restoration proposed may be safely made according to the analogy of the other inscriptions.<sup>99</sup> Incised on the base of a large slab, measuring 2' 10" by 2' 1".<sup>100</sup> Read शाखादी. Restore अर्यबलचतसिये or °मिवाये.

<sup>1</sup> The apparent *ā*-stroke after the *la* of *Balatrata* is an accidental scratch, not visible on the reverse. The same remark applies to the apparent *ra*-stroke above the *va* of *Navahastisya*. According to the reverse of the impression the real reading is *parigrahe*, not *parigraho*, as the obverse seems to show. At the end of the line, five or six letters have been lost, probably *bhayā* or *bharyā*, preceded by a male name in the genitive.

<sup>2</sup> Read *śivasenasya*. Restore *pratishṭhāpitā vardha*.

<sup>3</sup> *Parigrahe* 'for the acceptance' is common on the Buddhist inscriptions of the first and the following centuries of our era. Here it indicates that the ascetics named exhorted *Jāyā* to make the donation and that the spiritual merit is made over to them; for, the image itself could, of course, be of no use to them.

<sup>4</sup> Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 2' by 8"; sections C and D being cut away.

<sup>5</sup> At the beginning पञ्चतिधराये i.e. पञ्चतिधरायाः has probably to be restored; compare below No. XXXVI.



No. XXXVI.<sup>6</sup>

- L. 1. — — ५० (?) हे २ दि १ अस्य पुर्व्वय वरणतो गणतो अय्यभ्यस्तकुलतो [स] — — —<sup>7</sup>  
 2. — खतो शिरिग्रिहतो सभोगतो बहवो वचक च गणिनो च समदि[अ]—<sup>8</sup>  
 3. — वस्य दिनरस्य शिशिनि अय्यजिनदसिपणतिधरितय शिशिनिअ — —<sup>9</sup>  
 4. घकरबपणतिहरमसोपवासिनि बुबुस्य धित रज्यवसुस्यधर्म — —<sup>10</sup>  
 5. [द]विलस्य मतु विष्णु[भ]वस्य पिदमहिक विजयशिरिये दन वध — —<sup>11</sup>  
 6. — — — — — — — — — — —

## TRANSLATION.

“ . . . 50, (?) second month of winter, first day, on that (*date, specified as*) above, [*an image of*] Vadha[māna] (*Vardhamāna*), the gift of Vijayaśīri (*Vijayaśrī*), daughter of Bubu, first wife of Rajyavasū (*Rājyavasū*), mother of *Devila* and) paternal grandmother of Vishṇubhava, who fasted for a month<sup>12</sup> (and) obeys the command<sup>13</sup> of A[yya] . . . ghakaraba (?) (*who is*) the female pupil, obeying the command<sup>14</sup> of Ayya-Jinadasi (*Ārya-Jinadāśī*), (*who was*) the female pupil of Samadi . . . va Dinara, the great (?) preacher and *gaṇi* out of the Vāraṇa (*Vāraṇa*) *gaṇa*, the Ayyabhyista (?) *kula*, the Sa[mkāsiyā] śākhā, and the Śirigriha (*Śrīgriha*) *sambhoga* . . . . .”

No. XXXVII.<sup>15</sup>

- A 1. सिद्ध को[ट्टि]यतो गणतो उचेन-  
 2. गरितो गखतो बह्मादासिअतो<sup>16</sup>  
 3. कुलतो शिरिग्रिहतो संभोकतो  
 4. अय्यजेष्टहस्तिस्य शिष्यो अ[र्यमि]हि[लो]  
 B 1. तस्य शिष्य[ो] अर्यक्षे<sup>17</sup>  
 2. [को]वाचको तस्य निर्वत-  
 3. न वर[ण]हस्ति[स्य]<sup>18</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Incised on the base of a broken image, measuring 10" by 1' 4".

<sup>7</sup> The first figure may possibly have been 7. In the transcript, I have given the apparently plain, but inexplicable, reading *ayyabhyistakulato*. It is, however, possible that the third syllable may be intended for *nyī*. If this were the case, and if we might assume that we had to deal with a combination of the consonants and a partial omission of the vowels, as in *sdha* for *sidha* (see No. xxvi), the first four syllables might be a kind of tachygraphic representation of *ayyāniyasato* and correspond to *āryakaniyasatah*. This *kula* of the Vāraṇa *gaṇa* is mentioned in No. 23, *ante*, vol. I, p. 392. The Śākhā was probably *Samkāsiyā*, see *Kalpasūtra*, p. 80 (ed. Jacobi).

<sup>8</sup> Restore *śakhato* i.e. *śākhāto*; read *sambhogato* and *bahato*; the last bracketed letter is very doubtful.

<sup>9</sup> Restore *ayya*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Restore *dharmapatni*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *devilasya*. Restore *vadhamanapratimā* or perhaps *paṭima*, as the inscription does not mark the *ā*-stroke. The last three syllables no doubt stood in line 6, which has been completely destroyed with the exception of the tops of a few letters.

<sup>12</sup> A pious queen, who fasted for a month, is mentioned in the large Nārāghāt inscription, *Arch. Sur. Rep. W. I.* vol. v., p. 60.

<sup>13</sup> *Paṇatidhārīta* corresponds with Sanskrit *dhāritaprajñapti*.

<sup>14</sup> *Paṇatihara* i.e. in Sanskrit *prajñaptidhārā*.

<sup>15</sup> Incised on base of a large quadruple image, consisting of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 1' 7" by 9".

<sup>16</sup> Read *bahma*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *tasya*.

<sup>18</sup> *Nirvatana* is, no doubt, meant for *nirvartana*.



C 1. [च] देविय च धित जय-

2. देवस्य वधु मोषिनिये

3. वधु कुठस्य कसुथस्य

D 1. धम्मप[ति]ह स्थिरए<sup>19</sup>

2. दन शवदोभद्रिक<sup>20</sup>

3. सर्वसत्वन हितसुखये<sup>21</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

“Success! The pupil of Ayya-Jeshṭhasthi (*Jyeshṭhahastin*) out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Uchenagarī (*Uchchānagarī*) Śākhā, (and) the Bamhadāsia (*Brahmadāsika-kula*) (*was*) Aryya-Mihila (*Ārya-Mihira*); his pupil (*was*) the preacher (*vāchraka*) Arya-Ksheraka (*Ārya-Kshairaka* ?); at his request a fourfold (*image was dedicated as*) the gift of Sthirā, daughter both of Varanahasti (*°hastin*) and of Devī, daughter-in-law of Jayadeva (*and*) daughter-in-law of Moshinī (*and*) first wife of Kuṭha Kasutha for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.”

No. XXXVIII.<sup>22</sup>

संवत्सरे सप्तपञ्चाश ५० ७ हेमन्त्रितो —<sup>23</sup>

— तसे [दि]वसे त्रयोदशे च—पूर्वायां —<sup>24</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

In the fifty-seventh, 57, year, in the third month of winter, on the thirteenth day, on that (*date specified as*) above . . . . .

No. XXXIX.<sup>25</sup>

L. 1. सिद्धम् । परमभट्टारकमाहाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य विजयराज्यसं [१०० १०]

३ क — — — — न्तमा — — [दि]— स २० अस्यां पू[र्व्यां]कोट्टिया गणा-<sup>26</sup>

2. द्विद्याधरी[तो] शाखातो दतिलाचाय्यप्रपितायि शमाढ्यायि भट्टिभवस्य धीतु ग्रहमिच्छपा-  
लि[त]प्रा[ता]रिकस्य कुटुम्बिनीये प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता ।<sup>27</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

“Success! In the year 113, in the victorious reign of the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Kumāragupta, on the twentieth day [*of the winter-month*] Kārttika]—on that (*date, specified as*) above an image was set up by Śāmādhya (*Śyāmādhya*), daughter of Bhaṭṭibhava (*and*) house-wife of the ferry-

<sup>19</sup> *Dhamrapatiha* seems to be a misspelling of *dharmapatiye* with *dharmra* for *dharmra*. Compare the forms of the Girnār version of Aśoka's rock-edicts *ārabhiptā* for *ārabhitpā*, *tiṣṭamti* for *tiṣṭamti*, and so forth.

<sup>20</sup> Meant for *dānam sarvatobhadrikā* viz. *pratimā*.

<sup>21</sup> Meant for *sarvasatāna hitasukhāye*. The spelling *sarvra* for *sarva* is not uncommon in bad MSS.

<sup>22</sup> This is Mr. Growse's No. 5 (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 219). It is incised on the base of a small statue, now preserved in the Mathurā Museum.

<sup>23</sup> Read *hemanta*; restore *tritiya* or *tritiye*.

<sup>24</sup> Restore *māse* and *asyām*.

<sup>25</sup> Incised on the base of a large sitting Jina, measuring 3' 8" by 2' 7".

<sup>26</sup> Read *-mahārāja-*; restore *kārttikahemantamāsasya divase*.

<sup>27</sup> Read *datilāchāryya*.—Possibly *prābhārikasya* is to be read.



man (?) Grahamittrapâlita,<sup>28</sup> who had received the command (to make the dedication) from Datilâchâyya (*Dattilâchârya*) out of the Koṭṭiya *gana* (and) the Vidyâ-dharî *Śākhā*."

No. XL.<sup>29</sup>

- L. 1. —प्रीक[रच त]<sup>30</sup>  
 2. चन्द्रावदाता भवतु  
 3. तारयिष्योः ॥ गोविन्दस्य  
 4. रं वडभेरस्या विनि —  
 5. भतलोक्षेखि मुनेस्तेनेदं

This fragment, of which no continuous translation is possible, belongs to a longer metrical Praśasti, which apparently recorded the building or restoration of a temple. For the remnant of line 5 says:—"By him this . . . of the sage, which touches the sky." It is evident that a word like गृहम् or आयतनम् has been lost. The verses to which the pieces in lines 2, 3 and 5 belong, seem to have been in the Śārdûlavikrîḍita metre.

No. XLI.<sup>31</sup>

- L. 1. ओ श्रीजिनदेवः सूरिस्तदनु श्रीभावदेवनामाभूत् ।  
 आचार्यविजयसिङ्ग-  
 2. स्तुष्टिस्थस्तेन च प्रोक्तैः ॥ [१॥<sup>32</sup>  
 सुस्रावकैर्नवग्रामस्थानादिस्थे स्वसक्तितः ।  
 3. वर्द्धमानस्तुर्बिबः कारितोयं सभक्तिभिः । [१२॥<sup>33</sup>  
 संवत्सरै १०८० थंभकप-  
 4. पकाभ्यां घटितः ॥ श्री<sup>34</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

"Om! The illustrious Jinadeva (*was*) a Sûri; after him was he who is named the illustrious Bhâvadeva. His pupil (*is*) the *Āchârya* Vijayasîṅga (*Vijaya-simha*). Exhorted by him the virtuous laymen, who reside in Navagrâma, Sthâna and other (*towns*), caused to be made, full of devotion, (*and*) in accordance with their means, this fourfold Vardhamâna; it was fashioned in the [*Vikrama*] year<sup>35</sup> 1080 by Thambhaka and Pappaka. Om!"

<sup>28</sup> The translation of *prâtârîka* by "ferryman" seems to be justified by the use of *pratî*, which frequently means "to carry over in a ship or boat."

<sup>29</sup> Incised on the back of a large broken slab, the surface of which is beautifully carved.

<sup>30</sup> Only the lower portions of the bracketed syllables are visible.

<sup>31</sup> Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four sitting Jinas, measuring 2' 5" by 1' 3".

<sup>32</sup> Read श्री. Both here and at the end of the inscription, the word is expressed by the symbol resembling the figure 9. Read -*vijayusimha* -.

<sup>33</sup> Read *suśrâvakair*; *sthair*, *svasaktitair*.

<sup>34</sup> Read संवत्सरै

<sup>35</sup> It is evident from the characters, which show the common Nāgarî of the eleventh century A.D., that the era must be the Vikrama Samvat, and that the date corresponds to A. D. 1022—24, accordingly as the year was expired or current and a northern or a southern one. This donation was, therefore, made within five years after Mahmud's expedition against Mathurâ (A.H. 409) during which the temples of the town are said to have been burnt (Elliot, *History of India*, vol. II, p. 456ff.). Probably the Jaina temples of the Kankâlî Tilâ escaped destruction; for, it seems hardly likely that they could have been rebuilt so quickly.



No. XLII.<sup>36</sup>

L. 1. सिद्धं । सं ७० ४ गृ १ दि १० ५ अस्मि क्षुणे भिक्षुस्य नन्दिकस्य दानं भगवतो शक्यमुनिना  
प्रतिमा मिहिरविहारे अ[चार्या]णां सर्वस्तिवादीनां परिग्रहे मातपितॄणां स-<sup>37</sup>

2. व्वस[त]णा च हितसुखार्थं ।<sup>38</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“Success! The year 74, the first (*month of*) summer, the fifteenth day,—at that moment, a statue of divine Śakya muni (*Śākya muni, was set up as*) the gift of the monk Nandika in the Mihiravihāra, for the acceptance of the Sarvastivādi, (*Sarvāstivādin*) teachers, for the welfare and happiness of (*the donor's*) parents and of all creatures.”

### XV.—SAMGAMNER COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YADAVA BHILLAMA II.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 922.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit this inscription from excellent impressions prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of Western India. The original plates belong to an inhabitant of Samgamner, in the Samgamner Sub-Division of the Ahmadnagar District of the Bombay Presidency.

The inscription is on three plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and which are held together by a ring, bearing a Garuḍa as seal.<sup>1</sup> Each plate measures about  $8\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by  $13\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The first plate contains 28, and the last 22 lines of writing; on the front of the second plate are 37, and on the back 29 lines. Below the writing on the third plate, in the proper right corner, the figure of a conch-shell is engraved; and the same plate, in line 110, contains an ornamental device, shaped like an open flower. The plates are on the whole well preserved, but in the upper part of the second plate the writing on both sides has suffered slightly from corrosion, and in consequence a few *aksharas*, of no great importance, have become illegible. As may be inferred from the numbers of lines on the several plates, the writing, though done by one and the same writer, is wanting in uniformity. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{5}{16}$ " on the first and last plates and on the lower part of the back of the second plate, but only between  $\frac{3}{16}$ " and  $\frac{1}{4}$ " on the front and at the top of the back of the second plate. The characters are those of the ordinary Nāgarī alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Samskrit, but the names of the Brāhmins, men-

<sup>36</sup> Incised on the base of a large seated Buddha, found in the town of Kāman.

<sup>37</sup> The curve open to the left with a small horizontal bar in the centre is, as now appears, a peculiar form of the full-stop. It occurs also in No. ix of the collection, published *ante*, vol. I, p. 387. There I failed to recognise its value (see note 5), because I misread the preceding sign as *śū*. The latter is, as I now recognise, *śha*, the abbreviation for *śidha*, which occurs also in No. xxiv of the earlier collection as *śdhi* and as *śdha* in No. xxvi of the present one. The first numeral sign may also be read as 40. The vowels of the bracketed syllables are not certain. Possibly the stone has *mātā*, which has to be restored in any case. The long *ri*-vowel in *pitṛiṇām* is plainly expressed on the impression by a curved stroke slanting to the left, to which a second stroke is attached.

<sup>38</sup> The third sign of *sarvasatvaṇā* is so badly injured that it is impossible to say if it was not *tvā*. The vowel of the last sign is perfectly plain on the impression.

I owe this information to Mr. Cousens



tioned in lines 66-77, and the name of the writer in line 114 are given in their vernacular forms (*Keṣavaiupādhyāyena* for *Keṣavopādhyāyena*, in line 114, *Nāraṇaiupādhyāyena* for *Nārāyaṇopādhyāyena*, in line 66, *Vidyādharaīyaya* for *Vidyādharaīya*, and *Śrīdharaiupādhyāyaya* for *Śrīdharopādhyāyaya*, in line 67, etc.). Besides, attention may be drawn to the term *khaśrevādhā*, in line 88, which is equivalent to the expression *khaśrāvādhā* of the Siyaḍōṇī inscription, *ante*, vol. I, p. 165; and to the title or *biruda sellaviḍega*, which does not look like Sanskrit and which I am unable to explain, in line 51. Excepting the words *om namaḥ Sivāya* and a date in lines 1-2, the first part of the inscription which treats of the genealogy of the grantor, up to line 45, or perhaps 47, is in verse. The formal part of the grant, beginning with line 48, is in prose, but quotes a large number of benedictive and imprecatory verses,<sup>2</sup> in lines 55-61, 89-98, 102-106, and 108-110; and another verse, asking the reader's indulgence for any clerical mistakes which the writing may be found to contain, is given in lines 114-116. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal, e.g., in *Sivāya*, l. 1, *īsaḥ*, l. 6, *visālah*, l. 26; and the palatal occurs instead of the dental in *śamsāra*, l. 60, and *śakala*, l. 82. Besides, the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *Atri*, l. 10, and *trigrāmi*, l. 84, and *ri* in the place of *ri* in the word *rishayah*, l. 95. Altogether the inscription has not been written carefully, and, though corrected in several places, it is by no means free from serious mistakes. The rules of *saṃdhi* are frequently disregarded; the verses of the genealogical portion are only partially numbered or have wrong numbers appended to them; single *akṣharas* and whole words or groups of words are either given quite wrongly or left out; and I hope to prove below that even one or more whole lines have been omitted by the writer.

The inscription is one of the *Mahāsāmanta* Bhīllama II., and it is the earliest record, hitherto discovered, of the Yādava dynasty (of Devagiri). After the words 'om, adoration to Śiva', it gives (in lines 1-2), both in words and in figures, the date—the Śaka year 922. It then has (in lines 2-7) two verses, one of which glorifies Śiva (Chandramauli), while the other invokes the god's blessing on Bhīllama, the donor of this grant. The genealogy of Bhīllama forms the subject of lines 7-47. Of these, lines 7-22 are of no importance because, beginning with the god Śambhu, they merely contain an account of the descent of the mythical prince Yadu, the reputed founder of the Yādava family,—the intermediate beings mentioned being Brahman, Marīchi, Atri, Indu, Purūravas, Āyus, Naghusha, and Yayāti. Nor do the following lines, from 23 to 34, record anything that was not known before.<sup>3</sup> The first historical prince spoken of is Seunachandra (lines 22-26), who here as elsewhere is reported to have called his dominion (*maṇḍala*) and the people of it after himself. His son was the prince Dhāḍi[yappa]<sup>4</sup> (lines 26-28). After him came, evidently his son, the prince Bhīllama I. (lines 28-33).<sup>5</sup> And he again was succeeded by his son, the prince Rājan or Rāja, called elsewhere Śrīrāja or Rājagi.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription resembles in this the Kalas-Budrūkh grant of Bhīllama III., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> Compare, in addition to the Kalas-Budrūkh plates of Bhīllama III., the Eassein grant of Seunachandra II., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 119, and Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, pp. 75-77.

<sup>4</sup> See note 40, below.

<sup>5</sup> Bhīllama provided the god Somanātha (or Śiva), at the place where this inscription was composed, with a valuable head-dress or turban.



From the end of line 34 our inscription becomes more interesting, but also presents some serious difficulties. According to the Kalas-Budrûkh plates of Bhillama III. and the Bassein grant of Seunachandra II., Śrīrāja was succeeded by his son Vaddiga, and he again by Bhillama II., who married Lakshmī or Lachchhiavvā, a lady born in the Râshṭrakûṭa family.<sup>6</sup> The present grant first tells us (in lines 34-40) that from Râjan or Râja sprang the prince Vandiga (the Vaddiga of the other plates), a great warrior, who was a follower or feudatory of the illustrious king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarâja, and that this Vandiga married the lady Voddiyavvā,<sup>7</sup> a daughter of the great prince (*mahânṛipa*), the illustrious Dhorappa. It then has to be referred, as the text stands, to the same Vandiga, two verses (in lines 40-45), the first of which glorifies (as it seems) Vandiga for having in battle destroyed the fortune of the great prince Muñja,<sup>8</sup> and for having thereby made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of the illustrious king Raṇaraṅgabhîma; while the second verse, among the advantages or blessings which he enjoyed, besides recording that Sindînagara was his residence, somewhat pointedly enumerates the fact that Lakshmī incarnate, or in visible shape, always dwelt in his house, full of joy. After these verses, what may be called the poetical part of our inscription contains three more lines (45-47), which read like fragments of verses or like verses turned somehow into prose, in praise of a new Śiva-temple, called *Vijayābharāṇanātha*; but there is no indication as to who erected this temple or why it is mentioned here at all, an omission which must appear the more remarkable because this temple is poetically described as the collected fame, or the fame in bodily form, clearly of its founder who is not named.

The grant recorded in this inscription was made by Bhillama II., and there can be no doubt that the genealogy given in the introductory *praśasti* should have been continued to, and that the author who composed it did bring it down to, that Bhillama. Moreover, I consider it to be perfectly certain that the Lakshmī, spoken of in line 43, is the Lakshmī or Lachchhiavvā of the other grants, the wife of Bhillama, the donor of this grant; and I feel almost as sure that the temple, spoken of in lines 45-47, which, or the god worshipped in which, was named *Vijayābharāṇanātha*, was founded either by Bhillama himself one of whose titles or *birudas*, as we learn from line 51, was *Vijayābharāṇa*, or by his wife. I am thus driven to the conclusion that the writer, who copied this inscription, has omitted at least two verses, one verse, before the words *svenā rāti* in line 40, recording that Voddiyavvā bore to Vandiga a son, named Bhillama and another, after the word *-mahasaḥ* in line 45, stating that Bhillama or his wife Lakshmī erected the temple eulogised in lines 45-47. And accordingly, what is stated in the verse in lines 40-42, must in my opinion really be referred, not to Vandiga, but to his son, and it was Bhillama II. who defeated the great prince Muñja, and who thereby secured uninterrupted fortune for his sovereign lord, the illustrious king Raṇaraṅgabhîma. The question then arises, who were these kings Muñja and Raṇaraṅgabhîma, and who was the king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarâja, to whom Bhillama's father Vandiga owed allegiance?

Our grant being dated in Śaka 922=A. D. 1000, it is clear that Bhillama II.

<sup>6</sup> According to the Bassein grant Lachchhiavvā was the daughter of Jhañjharâja.

<sup>7</sup> This lady built a Śiva-temple, the exact name of which I am unable to make out.

<sup>8</sup> See note 52, below.



lived during the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. The only great prince Muñja known to us, who could have been his contemporary, was Vākpatirāja-Muñja of Mālava,<sup>9</sup> and it is undoubtedly this Muñja whose defeat by Bhillama is recorded in line 41 of this inscription. From this it follows that the king named Raṇaraṅga-bhīma in our grant, as whose general or feudatory Bhillama was acting, was an adversary of Vākpatirāja-Muñja; and I believe that he was really no other than the Western Chālukya Tailapa,<sup>10</sup> by whom Muñja was utterly defeated and taken prisoner, and at whose orders he was finally beheaded. Tailapa ruled from A. D. 973-997; we know him to have also been called Âhavamalla; and Raṇaraṅga-bhīma is little less than a synonym of Âhavamalla.—Bhillama's father Vandiga or Vaddiga may reasonably be supposed to have lived during the third quarter of the 10th century A. D., and, such being the case, the king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarāja, whose follower he is represented to have been in this inscription, can only have been the Râshtrakûṭa Kṛishṇa,<sup>11</sup> for whom we have the dates Śaka 867 and 878 = A. D. 945 and 956, the son of Amoghavarsha-Vaddiga. Evidently, down to Vandiga, the Yādavas were feudatories of the Râshtrakûṭas; after the overthrow of this dynasty by the Chālukyas, which took place in A. D. 973, their allegiance was transferred to the Chālukyas.—As the father-in-law of Vandiga our inscription mentions another great prince, the illustrious Dhorappa. About this prince I am unable to speak with confidence, but I will not suppress a conjecture on the probability of which I leave others to judge. Dhorappa is only a Prakṛit equivalent of the Samskṛit Dhruva, and we know that one of the earlier Râshtrakûṭa kings was named Dhruva or Dhora, or Nirupama. Now Kṛishṇarāja, the sovereign lord of Vandiga, had a younger brother likewise named Nirupama, the father of Kṛishṇa's successor Kakkala, and it seems to me not at all improbable that this Nirupama, like his ancestor Nirupama, may too have been called Dhruva or Dhora, and that it is he whose daughter was given in marriage to Vandiga.<sup>12</sup> The description of Dhorappa as *mahânṛipa* would thus, I believe, be well accounted for.—I will only add here that, if, as we apparently are obliged to do, we place Vandiga in the third quarter of the 10th century A. D., the rise of the Yādava family and the date of Seṇachandra (or his predecessor Dṛidhaprahāra) can hardly be put earlier than A. D. 850.

The proper object of our inscription is, to record that Bhillama, the king (as he is called), granted certain lands, described in lines 78-84, to twenty-one Brāhmans who are enumerated in lines 64-77. The general meaning of the passage (in lines 48-86) which contains this information is clear enough; but the construction, changing as it does from the active to the passive, and again to the active construction, is altogether ungrammatical.

Omitting what is of no importance, the illustrious Bhillamarāja is described in lines 48-52 as a *mahāsāmanta* or great feudatory who had obtained the five *mahāśabda*, the supreme lord of the city of Dvāravatī, . . . born in Viṣṇu's family, eager to worship Śiva, . . . and rendered illustrious by such royal titles as *Arāti-nishūdana*, 'the destroyer of enemies,' *Samgrāma-Rāma*, *Kandukāchārya*, *Sellaviḍega*, and

<sup>9</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, pp. 226-227.

<sup>10</sup> See Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 59, and Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 41.

<sup>11</sup> See Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, *ib.* pp. 54-57, and Dr. Fleet, *ib.*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>12</sup> It may be noted that Bhillama III. married 'Hammā, the daughter of Jayasimha and sister of Âhavamalla, the Chālukya emperor.' See Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, *ib.*, p. 78.



*Vijayābharana*. Professor Bhāṇḍārkar has already pointed out that,<sup>13</sup> since Viṣṇu Kṛiṣṇa is represented in the *Purāṇas* to have belonged to the Yādava family, even the later princes of Devagiri called themselves *Viṣṇuvamśodbhava*, and that, as Kṛiṣṇa and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvārakā, they assumed the title of *Dvāravatīpuravarādhīśvara*, 'the supreme lords of Dvāravatī, the best of cities.' As regards the titles or *birudas* of Bhillama, the term *Samgrāma-Rāma* is applied to him also in line 8 of the Kalas-Budrākh plates. *Kandukāchārya* apparently means 'a master in playing at ball', and *Sellaviḍega* seems to be a Prākṛit expression, the meaning of which I do not understand. The title *Vijayābharana* has already been referred to above.

The names of the twenty-one donees, given in lines 64-77, it is unnecessary to repeat here. From line 64 it would seem<sup>14</sup> that they lived at Sindīnagara, which according to line 43 was the place of residence of Bhillama, and which has been identified<sup>15</sup> with the modern Sinnar, the chief town of the Sinnar Sub-Division of the Nāsik District. All were Brāhmins, some students of the *Rigveda* or *Sāmaveda*, and others members of the Kāṇva or Mādhyandina *śākhās* of the Vājasaneyin branch of the *Yajurveda*, or of the Maitrāyaṇīya *śākhā* of the black *Yajurveda*. Some belonged to the Gautama, Kaundinya, Bhāradvāja, or Kauśika *gotras*. And one (in line 72) is described as *rājadaurika*, 'the king's doorkeeper.'

To these Brāhmins Bhillama gave<sup>16</sup> (lines 78-80) the village of Arjunonḍhikā, situated on the banks of the river Mātulingī, and some land between the two villages Laghu-arjunonḍhī and Laghu-vavvulavedra. The boundaries of the village were (lines 83-84), to the east, Saṃgamanagara, to the south, the village of Chikhali, to the west, the village of Jamvalenimva, and to the north, the group of three villages named Vavvulavedra. On the maps at my disposal I find no name similar to Arjunonḍhikā, but Dr. Burgess has suggested to me that the village granted may be the modern Rājapur, on the Mālūngī river of the Saṃgamner Sub-Division of the Aḥmadnagar District, which perhaps may have received this name in consequence of this grant. And judging from the position, this identification would suit very well indeed. The Saṃgamanagara of the grant would of course be the town of Saṃgamner of the Aḥmadnagar District, which is about three miles east of Rājapur. Chikhali-grāma would be the village of Chikhali on the river Ārdalā, about two miles south of Rājapur, and Jamvalenimvagrāma the village of Javlekardak, which is about 2½ miles west of Rājapur. And the group of three villages named Vavvulavedra would be represented by the village Velhāle (not marked on the G. T. S. Map, sheet 38) on the Mālūngī river, about two miles north of Rājapur, and two deserted "wādis" not far from it.

Lines 86-110 in the usual terms admonish future rulers to protect the donees and their descendants in the possession of this grant and warn them not to resume it. Lines 110-113 add that the illustrious Bhillamarāja made the donation here recorded on the new-moon *tithi* of the month Bhādrapada of the year Śārvarin, on the occasion of a solar

<sup>13</sup> See *ib.*, p. 85; compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 121; and this inscription, lines 21-22.

<sup>14</sup> I am not sure about this, for after the word *Śrī-Sindīnagar-āntahpāti* one would certainly expect the name or names of one or more villages, situated in the district of Sindīnagara.

<sup>15</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 118.

<sup>16</sup> In the formal part of the grant the only unusual term is *śaśṭhādaśaprakṛityopetam* in line 80. I can only compare with it *śaśṭhādaśaprakṛiti* in line 14 of the inscription published in the *Proceedings, Beng. As. Soc.*, 1877, p. 73, but am not able to explain the term properly.



eclipse, at the holy bathing-place of the confluence of the Arunā<sup>17</sup> (and Godāvari) at Nāsik. And line 114 gives the name of the writer of this *śāsana-paṭṭa*, Keśava-upādhyāya, who (in lines 114-116) asks the indulgence of the reader for any mistakes, and winds up with the remark that no verbal deficiencies of this document will affect its validity.

The date of this inscription does not work out satisfactorily. The Jovian year Śārvarin, mentioned in line 110, correctly corresponds, by the southern luni-solar system, to the expired Śaka year 922, given in lines 1-2; but there was no solar eclipse on the new-moon *tilthi* of either the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Bhādrapada of that year,—the 2nd and 31st August, A.D. 1000. There was a solar eclipse a month later, on the 30th September, A.D. 1000, but it was not visible in India.

TEXT.<sup>18</sup>

## First plate.

- L. 1. श्रीं [नमः] सि(शि)वाय । स्वस्ति शकनृपका[ला]तीतसंवत्सरशतेषु नवसु द्वाविंश-  
 2. [त्य]धिकेष्ट्वंकतोपि संवत्सराः ८२२ ॥ त्रयमपि<sup>19</sup> भुवनानामीषदुष्मे-  
 3. [ष]मात्रात्प्रभवति लयशेषं यन्निमेषादुपैति [।<sup>x</sup>] अतिशयि-  
 4. तचरितो योगिनामप्यगम्यः स इह जयतु देवः<sup>20</sup> चारुच-  
 5. [न्द्राङ्ग]मौलिः ॥ १ । भुव[न<sup>x</sup>]भवनहेतुः दुष्कृताभ्योधिसेतुः विहितम-<sup>21</sup>  
 6. दनमायः पार्वतीप्राणनाथः ॥ (।) निहतमरुदरीस(श): पातु भिक्ष-  
 7. ममोशः ।<sup>22</sup> करतलकृतशूलः सर्वदा चन्द्रचलः ॥ युगस्यादौ<sup>23</sup>  
 8. श[म्भु ?]भुवनमसृजन्नवमूर्तिस्त्रेधा सुररिपुर्विरिचप्रभवतः ॥ (।)  
 9. वि[रि]चेः संभूतः सकलमरुतां योनिरमलो मरीचिर्या(र्य)क्ती-  
 10. [त्ति]र्भ्रमति भुवने कुन्दविशदा । ३ ।<sup>24</sup> अतृ(त्रि)नामाभवत्तस्मात्सूनुष-  
 11. त्परायणः । तस्मिन्नुरिन्दुराख्यातो जगदानन्दमन्दिरम(म्) । ४ ।  
 12. <sup>25</sup>ततोभवन्निर्मलसौमवंशजो विशालभूपालगुणालयं हि  
 13. यः [।<sup>x</sup>]पुरुषा भूपतिरर्द्धमासनं सदा सुरेन्द्रस्य व(ब)भाज लीलया  
 14. । ६ ।<sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup>अभूदायुस्तस्मात्पतिरमरैर्वन्द्यचरितो हठाक्रान्तारा-  
 15. तिप्रणतचरणभोजयुगलः [।<sup>x</sup>] ततो जातो यास्मिन्नघुषन्-<sup>28</sup>  
 16. पतिर्लक्ष्मि(क)नमिषाल्लिलेख स्वस्या[ख्या ?]<sup>29</sup> स्वभुजविजयी चन्द्रफलके । ७ ।  
 17. अजनि<sup>30</sup> नृषभूपान्मिपालो ययातिस्त्रिदशमर्हितकी-  
 18. र्तिर्वीरलक्ष्मोर्विलासः<sup>31</sup> [।<sup>x</sup>] किमिव<sup>32</sup> गुणगणोसौ व[रण्ये]ति<sup>33</sup> त-  
 19. स्य सान्ध्याज्जगदवननिमित्तं यादवानां प्रसूतिः ॥ ८ ॥ अ-

<sup>17</sup> See the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XVI (Nāsik), p. 524: 'Aruna tirth is where the Aruna joins the Godāvari near Ram's Pool'.

<sup>18</sup> From an ink-impression, prepared by Mr. H. Cousens.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.

<sup>20</sup> Here and in other places below which it is unnecessary to point out separately the rules of *śandhi* have not been observed.

<sup>21</sup> The *akshara* त् was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line between वि and हि.

<sup>22</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous. In the preceding the metre is incorrect.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Śikharinī. In the first half of the verse five syllables have been omitted, and the words given, though

their general sense is apparent, do not admit of a proper construction.

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Vamśastha.

<sup>26</sup> From here the numbers of the verses are wrong.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Śikharinī.

<sup>28</sup> Read यस्मात्.

<sup>29</sup> The two *aksharas* स्या[ख्या?] were originally omitted, and are engraved above the line.

<sup>30</sup> Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.

<sup>31</sup> I believe the reading intended to be 'कीर्तिवीरलक्ष्मोर्विलासः', although this would offend against the metre.

<sup>32</sup> Here I would propose reading किमिव गुणगणोसौ वरण्येति तस्य यस्मात्.

<sup>33</sup> The *akshara* in brackets, as engraved, is वरण्ये.





- L. 20. भवदिह ययाते: सज्जनानन्दकारी यदुत्पतिरशेषाक्रा-  
 21. न्तदाय(या)दचक्र: [।<sup>x</sup>] सकलविवु(बु)धवृन्दैर्वन्दितोसौ सुरारिर्ज-  
 22. गदवननिमित्तं यस्य वंशे प्रसूतः ॥ ८ ॥ <sup>34</sup>एतस्माद्यदुवं-  
 23. शतः<sup>35</sup> समभवद्भूपालचूडामणिर्भूपालः<sup>36</sup> कलिकाल-  
 24. कल्म[ष<sup>x</sup>]लवैर्नालोकितो भूतले । ख्यातः सेडणचन्द्र एव स-  
 25. हसा नाम्ना निजेनाह्वयं<sup>37</sup> यो लोकं निजमण्डलं च समदा-  
 26. रातीभकण्ठीरवः । १० । प्रख्यातोसौ<sup>38</sup> सद्गुणैर्यो विसा(शा)लः  
 27. संग्रामोद्यद्दुर्दमारातिकालः । <sup>39</sup>जातःस्तस्मादष्टमीचन्द्र-  
 28. भालः स्रुतः [।<sup>x</sup>] श्रीमान्वाडिख्यो<sup>40</sup> नृपालः ॥ ११ ॥ <sup>41</sup>तदनु विवु(बु)धवृ-

*Second plate ; first side.*

29. [न्दान]न्दसन्दोहसीमा समदमदन — — [मानि]नीमानचौरः [।<sup>x</sup>] असमस ८ ८ —  
 30. — योरिकालानलोभूतत इह ८ ८ [रे]न्दो भूतले भिन्नमाख्यः ॥ १२ ॥  
 31. [ननु] किमिह कवीनां तस्य वण्णं हि न स्यात्कुमुदविस(श)दकीर्त्तर्भू-  
 32. [तले]द्यापि यस्य । रुचिरकनकभासोद्भासिनोमाववन्ध<sup>42</sup> प्रति-  
 33. दिनमिह देवः पट्टिकां [सो]मनाथः<sup>43</sup> ॥ १३ ॥ <sup>44</sup>तस्माज्जातः सुतो रा[जा] रा-  
 34. जा राजीवलोचनः [।<sup>x</sup>] राजेव राजते योत्र प्रजानन्दकरः सदा ॥ १४ ॥ तस्मा-<sup>45</sup>  
 35. इन्दिगभूपतिः समभवद्भूपालचूडामणिः यः सौभाग्यमहोदधि-  
 36. मृगदृशां कन्दर्पदर्पोदितः । राजा दीर्घभुजद्वय[।<sup>x</sup>] पृथुलसहस्र-  
 37. लः संगरे ।<sup>46</sup> क्रूरारिप्रमदेभदर्यदलनः श्रीकृष्णराजानुगः [॥ १५ ॥]  
 38. श्रीधो[र]प्पमहानृपस्य दुहिता श्रीवीर्य[व्वा]भिधा<sup>47</sup> शंभोः सै(शै)ल-  
 39. सुतेव कैटभरिपोः<sup>48</sup> लक्ष्मीरिव<sup>49</sup> प्रेयसी [।<sup>x</sup>] यस्यासोत्कुमुदा[व]दातयशसः स्तूपायमा[न] यया  
 40. [ना]मावेश्वरमीशवेश्म<sup>50</sup> विहितं कौलासलीलाहरम्<sup>51</sup> ॥ [स्वे]<sup>51</sup>नारातिकरालकालर[च]ना-  
 चण्डा[सि]-  
 41. दण्डेन यो हत्वा मुञ्जमहानृपप्रणयिनी<sup>52</sup> संग्रामरंगांगणे [।<sup>x</sup>]लक्ष्मीमम्बु(म्बु)धिमेखलावल-  
 42. यित[स्मा]वर्त्तिनोभ्रापयद्भूपश्रीरणरंगभीमभवने साक्षात्कुलस्त्रीव्रतम् । (॥) अधि-<sup>53</sup>  
 43. छानं सिन्द्रीन[ग]रसर्परंस्वर्गवदिदं<sup>54</sup> सदा मूर्त्ता लक्ष्मीर्वसतिभवने यस्य मुदिता ।  
 44. मनः स(श)म्भोः पादाम्बु(म्बु)रुहयुगले ध्याननियतं यदोर्व्वशे भूपाचरितमभवं<sup>55</sup> चा[रु ?]-  
 45. महसः । (॥) <sup>56</sup>हिमगिरिसि(शि)खरसदृशमिह राजति सुरपुरवर्त्मसंनिभं<sup>57</sup> हतपुर[म]-

<sup>34</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>35</sup> Originally °शती, but altered to °शतः.

<sup>36</sup> Originally °मणिः मू°, but altered to °मणिर्भू°.

<sup>37</sup> Read °ह्वयदी; this correction may have been made already in the original.

<sup>38</sup> Metre, Śālinī.

<sup>39</sup> Read जातन्°.

<sup>40</sup> The intended reading most probably is वाडिख्यो.

<sup>41</sup> Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.

<sup>42</sup> Read °ववन्ध.

<sup>43</sup> The akshara in brackets is गी rather than सी.

<sup>44</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>45</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next two verses.

<sup>46</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>47</sup> The akshara in brackets looks very much like धा.

<sup>48</sup> Read °रिपोर्व्वशो°.

<sup>49</sup> The consonant of the first akshara of this line is slightly damaged, and it may possibly be त; the following aksharas are quite clear.

<sup>50</sup> Originally °हरं was engraved.

<sup>51</sup> Of this akshara, again, only the superscript vowel is quite certain, and the whole akshara might possibly be read ये.

<sup>52</sup> Read मुञ्ज°.

<sup>53</sup> Metre, Śikharīpī.

<sup>54</sup> Read सिन्द्रीनगरमपरस्व°.

<sup>55</sup> Read °भवन्ना°.

<sup>56</sup> This passage, from here to the end of line 47, looks as if it were intended to be in verse or contained fragments of verses, but I cannot recognize in it any of the known metres.

<sup>57</sup> Read °सन्निभं.



- L. 46. धननियतकैलासगिरिस्तुहम[श]मसत्प्रभम्<sup>58</sup> ॥ पुंजितयश इवेन्दुकुन्द[द्य]-  
 47. ति भूतलतिलकसुन्दरं विजयाभरणनाथाभिधमभिनवगिरि[श]मन्दिरम् ॥  
 48. समधिगतपंचमहाशब्द(ब्द)महासामन्तहारवतीपुरपरमेश्वरैकशंखध्वनिव(ब)-  
 49. धिरितदिगन्तरालविजयतूर्यारवसंतासितजितरिपुसमूहविष्णुवंशोद्भ-  
 50. वभवचरणाराधनैकतत्परमनस्विनीमानोन्मूलनकन्दर्पदण्डोद्धताराति-  
 51. निषदनसंग्रामरामकंदुकाचार्यसेनविडिगविजयाभरणेत्यादिसमस्तुरा-<sup>59</sup>  
 52. आवलीविराजितश्रीमङ्गलमराजा<sup>60</sup> ॥ अन्तःशून्यः कदलीगर्भवदसारः  
 53. संसारः । व्याधिजरामरणसाधारणं शरीरं । प्रव(ब)लपवनकम्पितनलि-<sup>61</sup>  
 54. नीदलगततुषारतरले च धनायुषी यौवनं च । तथा च । कृतत्रेतहापर-  
 55. युगेभ्यो अत्यर्थ<sup>62</sup> दानफलं ।<sup>63</sup> कलौ युगे पुनः<sup>64</sup> शंसन्ति । न<sup>65</sup> तथा सफला विद्या  
 56. न तथा सफलं धनं [।\*] यथा तु मुनयः प्राहुर्हानमेकं कलौ युगे ।(॥) अग्नेरपत्यं<sup>66</sup>  
 57. प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वर्षाणी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः । लो[क\*]त्रयं तेन भवेत्प्रदत्तं य[ः]  
 58. कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात्(त्) ॥ आस्फोटयन्ति<sup>67</sup> पितरः प्रवल्भ(त्वा)न्ति पिताम-  
 59. हाः [।\*] भूमिदोस्मत्कुलि जातः स नः सन्तारयिष्यति ।(॥) भूमिदानं सुपात्रेषु सु-  
 60. तीर्थेषु सुपर्वणि । अगाधापारशं(सं)सारसागरीत्तारणं<sup>68</sup> भवेत्(त्) ॥ धवलान्यातप-  
 61. [त्वाणि] दन्तिनचि(श्च) मदोद्धताः । भूमिदानस्य पुष्पाणि फलं स्वर्गं पुरन्दरः<sup>69</sup> ॥ इ-  
 62. [ति] पराशरवत्सकुत्सो(त्वा)ङ्गिरसगौतममनुयाज्ञवल्क्यमुनिवचनान्यव[धा]-  
 63. [र्यं] मया [दृ]ढतरविरक्तबुध्या<sup>70</sup> मातापितोरात्मनश्च श्रेयोर्थिना हि मया<sup>71</sup> [वा(वा)]-  
 64. [क्षणा ?]नां ग्रा[मो] दत्तः । श्रीसिन्दीनगरान्तःपाति । वाजिकाखसा(शा)खिने<sup>72</sup> गौत-  
 65. मगोत्राय —

*Second plate ; second side.*

66. — होपाध्याय<sup>73</sup> नारणैउपाध्यायसु[ताय] तथा वाजिकाखशाखाय कौण्डिन्यगोत्राय [विद्या ?]-  
 67. [ध]रैआय श्रीधरैउपाध्यायसुताय तथा व(ब)हृचशाखाय भरद्वाजगोत्राय म[हल ?]-  
 68. [पै]आय वि[ह ?]पैयसुताय तथा वाजिमाध्यंदिनशाखाय कौण्डिन्यगोता(त्वा)य [महल ?]-  
 69. पैआय इन्द्रपैयसुताय तथा व(ब)हृचशाखाय देवपैयाय अक्षपैयसुताय तथा [हं ?]-  
 70. [दो ?]गप्रभाकरदीक्षिताय तथा मित्रायणीवच्छपैयः<sup>74</sup> तथा अन्ध्रपम्यषैयः  
 71. [त]था माध्यंदिन[गु]हिसपैयः तथा च्छन्दोगगलः<sup>75</sup> सोम्यैयसुतः तथा माध्यं-  
 72. दिनमहलपैयः तथा व(ब)हृचराजदौवारिकमहलपैयः तथा व(ब)हृचसंग[लः]  
 73. तथा करहाटवप्पलः तथा वाजिकाखनिम्बैयः तथा व(ब)हृचनेवपैयः तथा  
 74. व(ब)हृचशाखा[य\*]कौशिकगोत्राय विक्रपैयाय श्रीधरैसुताय तथा

<sup>58</sup> Read ॐशुभमस्तुप्रभम्.

<sup>59</sup> The *akshara* चा of कंदुकाचार्य was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>60</sup> Read ०राजः. Some of the following signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>61</sup> The *akshara* प of पवन was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>62</sup> Read ॐत्यर्थ.

<sup>63</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous, and may have been struck out already in the original.

<sup>64</sup> Instead of पुनः one would have expected मुनयः.

<sup>65</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>66</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

<sup>67</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh); and of the two next verses.

<sup>68</sup> The *akshara* री was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>69</sup> Read स्वर्गः पुरन्दर.

<sup>70</sup> Read ०बुद्ध्या.

<sup>71</sup> This word is unnecessarily repeated here.

<sup>72</sup> Originally साखिनि was engraved; see below, line 75.

<sup>73</sup> One would expect ०ध्यायाय.

<sup>74</sup> Read मैत्रायणीय०.

<sup>75</sup> The writing is quite distinct here, but must be faulty.



- L. 75. [धो?]पलाय कौशिकगोत्राय व(ब)हृचसाखिनि<sup>76</sup> । ताथा व(ब)हृचशाखा-  
 76. य अण्णलैआय तथा व(ब)हृचशाखाय दन्दपैआय कालपैसुताय  
 77. तथा पौम्बदेवः अण्णपैसुताय । एवममीषां द्विजानां पितृपै-  
 78. तामहीपाज्जितं<sup>77</sup> मातुलिङ्गीतटसमावासितं अज्जुनोण्डि-  
 79. काग्रामं तथा लघुअज्जुनोण्डीग्रामलघुवव्वुलवेदग्राम-  
 80. [ह]याभ्यंतरं सहस्रमालाकुलं चा(च)तुःसीमापर्यन्तं साष्टा-  
 81. दशप्रकृत्योपेतं वापीकूपतडागारामसहितं सतृणका[ष्ट]-  
 82. पाषाणोपेतं श(स)कलसमस्तोपेतं [1<sup>x</sup>] ग्रामस्याघाटाः<sup>78</sup> लिख्यन्ते [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 83. पूर्वतः संगमनगरं दक्षिणतः चिखलीग्रामः पश्चिम-  
 84. तः जम्बलेनिम्बग्रामः उत्तरतः वव्वुलवेदतृ(त्रि)ग्रामी [1<sup>x</sup>] एवं चा(च)-  
 85. तुराघाटविशुद्धं सर्वाभ्यन्तरसिध्दा<sup>79</sup> पुत्रपौत्रादिसंतत्योपे-  
 86. तानां चंद्रार्कं यावत्प्रतिपालनीयं । एवमन्वयजां वंभूनामपि<sup>80</sup>  
 87. [भुञ्जानानां भो]जयतां<sup>81</sup> कषतां कर्षापयताम्वा<sup>82</sup> यथेष्टं प्रतिदिशतां प्रति-  
 88. देशयतां ।<sup>83</sup> केनापि खम्बेवाधा<sup>84</sup> न करणीया । उक्तं च सुनिभिः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 89. यानीह<sup>85</sup> दत्तानि पुरा नेरेन्द्रैर्जनानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 90. निर्माल्यमालाप्रतिमानि तानि ।<sup>86</sup> को नाम साधुः पुनराद-  
 91. दोत ।(॥) व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा<sup>87</sup> भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादि-  
 92. भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा  
 93. फलं ।(॥) सद्यो दानं निरायासं सायासं तस्य पाल-  
 94. नम् ॥(॥)

*Third plate.*

95. एवं हि रिषयः<sup>88</sup> प्राहुः दानाच्छेयोनृपालनम् ॥ दत्त्वा<sup>89</sup> भू[मिं] भाविनः  
 96. पार्थिवेन्द्राः भूयो भूयो याचतै रामभद्रः । सा-  
 97. मान्योयं धर्मसितुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनी-  
 98. यो भवद्भिः ।(॥) इत्यर्थितोपि यः कलिकालवस(शा)स्त्रीभा-  
 99. मिभूतो यः<sup>90</sup> पूर्वदानमपहरिष्यति ।<sup>91</sup> स पंचम-  
 100. हापातकैरुपपातकैर्युतो रौरवादिषु नरकेषु  
 101. पच्यमानो दुष्कृतमनुभविष्यति<sup>92</sup> । तथा च ।<sup>91</sup> व्यासभट्टार-  
 102. कः प्राह । स्वदत्तां<sup>93</sup> परदत्ताम्वा<sup>94</sup> यो हरेत वसुन्धराम(म्) [1<sup>x</sup>]

<sup>76</sup> Read °शाखिने तथा.

<sup>77</sup> Read °महीपा°.

<sup>78</sup> Read °घाटा.

<sup>79</sup> Read °अन्तरसिद्धा.

<sup>80</sup> Read °जानां वंभूनामपि.

<sup>81</sup> Originally only भुञ्जयतां was engraved; but three or four *aksharas* were afterwards engraved above the line, which, together with the former, appear to me to yield the reading given in the text.

<sup>82</sup> Read °तां वा.

<sup>83</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>84</sup> The second *akshara* might also be read खे, but compare कथावाचा, *ante*, vol. I, p. 165.

<sup>85</sup> Metre, Upajāti. Read नरि°.

<sup>86</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>87</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh); and of the next verse

<sup>88</sup> Read ऋषयः प्राहुर्दा°.

<sup>89</sup> Metre, Śālinī. Read दत्त्वा, °वेन्द्रान्, and याचते.

<sup>90</sup> This word is superfluous.

<sup>91</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>92</sup> The *akshara* नु was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>93</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh); and of the two next verses.

<sup>94</sup> Read °दत्तां वा.



- L. 103. स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा कृमिभिः सह पच्यते ।(॥) विन्ध्याटवी-  
 104. ष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । महाहयो हि जायन्ते  
 105. भूमिदानापहारकाः ।(॥) तडागानां सहस्रेण वाजिमधशतेन च [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 106. गवां कोटिप्रदानेत(न) भूमिहर्त्ता न शुद्ध्यति ।(॥) इति महर्षिवचना-  
 107. न्यवधार्य<sup>91</sup> आगन्तुकराजभिः धर्मलोपभयेन प्रतिपालनीयम् [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 108. महंस(श)जाः<sup>95</sup> परमहोपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 109. ये पालयन्ति मम धर्ममिमं समग्रं तेषां मया विरचितोज्ज्वलि-  
 110. रेष मूर्ध्नि<sup>96</sup> ॥ ॐ ॥ सा(शा)र्व्वरीसंवत्सरीयभाद्रपदामावास्या-  
 111. याम् ।<sup>91</sup> श्रीनासिकीयश्रवणासंवै(वे)द्यमहातीर्थे ।<sup>91</sup> परम-  
 112. व्रतौ(तो)पवासनियमयुक्तेन श्री(श्री)भिल्लमराजेन सूर्यग्रहणे या-  
 113. मोयं प्रदत्तः ॥ लिख(खि)तमिदं शासनपट्टं स्थाननियमेन  
 114. राजनियमेन च ॥<sup>91</sup> मया केशवैउपाध्यायेनेति ॥ यद्-<sup>97</sup>  
 115. क्षरं परिभ्रष्टं मास्त्राहीनं च यद्भवेत्(त्) । क्षां(क्षं)तुमर्ह्य विद्वांसः क-  
 116. स्य न खलते मनः ॥ यदस्त्रोनाक्षरेमधिकस्वा<sup>98</sup> तत्सर्व्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥

## XVI.—STONE INSCRIPTIONS AT VAGHLI IN KHANDES.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 991.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

According to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XII, p. 478, Vāghlī,<sup>1</sup> a village six miles east (or rather north-east) of Chalisgaon in the Khāndes District, has three temples, an old temple of Madhāîdevî, a small ruined temple to its right, and a temple of the Mānbhāva<sup>2</sup> sect. "The Mānbhāva temple, built in Hemādpantî style, 33 feet long by 22 broad and 13 high, with ornamented pillars and doorway, formerly contained a *linga*, and has still the sacred bull outside. Three large stones (within) bear illegible Sanskrit inscriptions. Near the temple is a well, inside and on each side of which is a small cell. The temple is undoubtedly very old, and has for the last seven generations been in the possession of the Mānbhāva sect." Good impressions of the three inscriptions thus referred to, taken by Mr. H. Cousens, have been supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. They show that the three inscriptions are indeed damaged, especially one of them, but that they are by no means so illegible as they have been reported to be. And their contents appear to me sufficiently interesting to justify my furnishing a short account of them. I shall denote the inscriptions by the letters A, B, and C, but shall show that all three really form part of a single inscription.

A.—This inscription contains 14 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3' 6" broad by 1' 1½" high. On the proper right side the writing is much damaged and

<sup>95</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>96</sup> Really मूर्ध्नि is engraved.

<sup>97</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>98</sup> Read अक्षरमधिकं वा.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 38, spelt "Baugley," in

the *Postal Directory* "Waghli," in Long. 75° 10' E., Lat. 20° 31' N.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XII, p. 122; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, p. 335; and Dr. Burgess' *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, pp. 122, 320.



partly altogether illegible, but, as will be seen from my transcript of the text, the greater portion of the inscription is fairly well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{5}{8}$ " and  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of about the 11th century A.D. The language is Samskrit, and the inscription is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is several times used instead of the palatal; and the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *tṛitaya*, line 5.

The inscription opens with a verse invoking the blessing of Gaṇapati; after that it has twelve verses, numbered 1–12; and it breaks off, at the end of line 14, in the third Pāda of another verse which would have been verse 13. Verse 1 describes the origin of the solar race, and tells that from Māndhātṛi, a prince of that race, sprang the Maurya family. Verse 2 then relates how Soma, *i.e.*, the god Śiva, left his home on the mountain Kailāsa and came for the welfare of the people to settle in the country of Surāshṭra; and verse 3 states that here, in Surāshṭra, there is the city of Valabhi, the capital of the Mauryas, the Brāhman citizens of which enjoy all the blessings of life through the favour of the Mauryas. Verses 4–13 then record the names of a series of princes or chiefs, the first of whom is stated to have been born in the Maurya family, and each of whom has a verse, eulogizing his valour, allotted to him. This list, for it is nothing more, is as follows:—

1. The illustrious Kīkaṭa, born in the Maurya family (v. 4).
2. After him came the illustrious Takshaka (v. 5).
3. After him, Bhīma (v. 6).
4. Sarvaśūra (v. 7).
5. After him came the prince Govindarāja (v. 8).
6. After him, the prince Sādhvasika (v. 9).
7. The prince Jhañjha (v. 10).
8. From him was born the prince Devaḥastin (v. 11).
9. From him, the prince Muñja (v. 12).
10. From him, the prince Padmākara (v. 13).

*B.*—This inscription contains fragments of 16 lines of writing, found on a stone which apparently measures about 3' 3" broad by 1' 8" high, and the inscribed surface of which is greatly damaged. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{3}{4}$ " and 1". The characters are the same as those of the inscription A. The language is Samskrit, and the inscription is throughout in verse.

Though, owing to the damaged state of the stone, I am unable to furnish a text of this inscription, I feel no hesitation in saying that we have here the continuation of the preceding inscription A. Here, too, the verses have numbers appended to them, and the first number which is preserved is 14, and occurs towards the end of line 2. This verse 14, in the Mandākrāntā metre, must have commenced about 13" from the commencement of line 1, where verse 13 would have ended, on a part of the stone which is broken away. Comparing the end of the inscription A, we see that that inscription ends in the third Pāda of a Vasantatilakā verse which would have been verse 13, and that 19 syllables are wanted to complete that verse. Now 19 syllables would in the present inscription have taken up a space of exactly 13", and, moreover, the *aksharas* preserved at the commencement of line 1 of B undoubtedly do belong to a Vasantati-



lakâ verse, and their sense suits well the incomplete verse at the end of A. For what we can read at the commencement of line 1 of B, is—

. . . *prayachchhaml=Lakshmyâś=chalatva-vadanîyam=a* . . . . .,

which, with the end of A, would give us the following verse :—

पद्माकरो नरपतिः प्रव(ब)भूव तस्माद्युक्तः पदा[ति]गजवाजिरथैरनेकैः ।

दानानि योभ्युदयधर्म[रतः?] प्रयच्छन्नाश्चलत्ववदनीयम[पाचकार ॥ ?]

As stated before, verse 14 ends in line 2; verse 15 ends in line 3, verse 16 in line 4, verse 17 in line 6, and verse 18 in line 7; verse 19 probably ended towards the end of line 8; verse 20 ends in line 10, verse 21 in line 11, and verse 22 in line 12; verse 23 must have ended in line 13; verse 24 ends in line 14, and verse 25 in line 15; and the end of verse 26 must have coincided with the end of line 16, the last line of this inscription. I believe, I cannot go wrong in saying that, exactly like the verses 4-13 of the inscription A, each of the verses 14-24 gave the name of one prince, and that the eleven verses together therefore recorded the names of eleven princes, who one after another succeeded the prince Padmâkara, spoken of in verse 13. The names of the two immediate successors of Padmâkara (the 11th and 12th members of the family), which must have been contained in verses 14 and 15, are broken away or at any rate no longer legible. Further on the following are mentioned :—

13. Vappaiya (*Vappaiya-nâmâ sa nareśa āsit*, in verse 16).

14. Vappaiya's son, whose name has not been preserved (*Vappaiyasya sutas-tato=vanitale*, in verse 17).

15. Vâlaparâja (*tasmâd=Vâlaparâja ity=abhihito bhûpâla-chûdâmanih samjajñe*, in verse 18).

16. Sâdhvasika (*râjâ Sâdhvasikas=tatah param=abhût*, in verse 19).

17. Sântirâja (*śrî-Sântirâja iti bhûmipatir=vvabhûva*, in verse 20).

18. Pravarasûkara (? *Śântya-âtmaajah sakala-bhûpa-guṇair=upetah śrîmân=abhût-Pravarasû[ka]ra-nâmadheyaḥ*, in verse 21).

19. Bhâileka (*tasmâd=abhût=prachura-śatru-guṇa-pramâthi śrî-Bhâileka-nripatir=jagati prasiddhaḥ*, in verse 22).

20. Bhîmarâja (*śrî-Bhîmarâja-nripatis=tu Śiva-prasâdât*, in verse 23).

21. Govinda (*Govinda-bhûpatir=iti*, in verse 24).

No further names seem to occur in the short passages which remain of the verses 25 and 26.

C.—This inscription contains 18 lines of writing which cover a space of 4' 2½" broad by 1' 10½" high. With the exception of a few *aksharas*, lines 1-16 are well preserved; but the middle of line 17 is greatly damaged, and the writing of line 18 is almost entirely effaced. The size of the letters is between ¾" and 1". The characters are the same as in the inscriptions A and B. The language is Samskrit, and the inscription is throughout in verse. As regards orthography, *b* is everywhere denoted by the sign for *v*; the vowel *ri* is used instead of *ri* in *vimiśrita*, line 3, and *tridiva*, line 8; and the *jihvāmûllya* and *upadhmânlya*, both denoted by the ordinary sign for *sh*, are employed in *anvitah kîrtti*-, line 8, *sevadhih padma*-, line 5, and *tanuh punya*-, line 7.

From the text, which will be given below, it will be seen that the inscription commences with a verse which is numbered 27, and which thus at once shows it to be the



continuation of the inscription B, which ends with verse 26. The inscription clearly divides itself into two portions, the first of which, extending to nearly the end of line 9, comprises the nine verses 27-35. All that it is necessary to say about this part, is, that it eulogizes the piety of a prince (*narapati, nripati, bhūmipāla*) Govinda or Govindarāja, who in verse 27 is styled *Mauryakula-pradīpa*, 'the light of the Maurya family,' and who evidently is the Govinda spoken of in verse 21 of the inscription B; and that in particular it records the foundation by this prince of a *sattra*, or hall of charity for travellers and for the learned and indigent, and the erection of a temple of Śiva, under the name of Siddheśanātha or Siddheśvara, with a tank or well attached to it. In all probability, the temple is the same at which the inscription is still preserved.

The second part of the inscription, the verses of which are numbered separately, opens, towards the end of line 9, with a date, and records up to line 15 various donations in favour of the temple and the charitable institute mentioned before, made both by Govindarāja himself and by (his sovereign lord) the *mahāmandala-nātha*, the illustrious king Seuna.

According to verses 1-3 (lines 9-11), the king Seuna, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Āshāḍha of the Jupiter year Saumya which was the (expired) Śaka year 991, granted to the temple of Siddheśvara the two villages of Saṁgamī and Madhuvāṭikā, together with the income due from them to the king himself.—The date corresponds, by the *amānta* scheme, to Tuesday, the 21st July, A.D. 1069, when about half an hour after mean sunrise there was a solar eclipse which was visible in some parts of India; and the king Seuna is the Devagiri Yādava Seunachandra II., of whom we possess a copper-plate grant which is dated only a fortnight later than the present inscription, on Gurudina or Thursday, the 14th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa of the year Saumya, corresponding to Śaka-samvat 991<sup>3</sup>.—The villages of Saṁgamī and Madhuvāṭikā I am unable to identify on the maps at my disposal.

Govindarāja's donations are enumerated in the verses 4-13 (lines 11-15). Some of the particulars of this passage I do not fully understand; but it is clear that Govinda provided for the worship of the god in the temple founded by him (verses 4-5); that, for the support of the learned men and their pupils who resorted to his *sattra*, he gave four fields which are described as *Vagalūkanmatabhūmi*, *Vakhulīkshetra*, *Vanakūṭakabhūmi* and *Paṭayakshinivāṭa*, and the exact boundaries of which are recorded in the text (verses 6-12); and that he besides granted sixteen *nivartanas* of land to certain secular and religious teachers (verse 13).

The concluding lines of the inscription once more state that the temple, referred to in the preceding, was founded by the prince Govinda and his wife, the *rājñī* Nāyakī (verse 14), and contain the usual admonitions to future rulers to watch over, and not to resume, the donations here recorded.

Taken as a whole, what is contained on the three stones is a single inscription, dated in Śaka 991 or A.D. 1069, of a chief Govindarāja of the Maurya clan, a feudatory of the Devagiri Yādava king Seunachandra II. Its proper object is, to record that Govindarāja built the temple at which the inscription was put up, and made various

<sup>3</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 120. It should be stated, however, that the date of the copper-plate is incorrect; for Śrāvaṇa-śūdi 14 of Śaka 991 expired (= Saumya) corresponds to the 4th August, A.D. 1069, which was a Tuesday, not a Thursday.



donations in favour of it; and by way of introduction the inscription furnishes a list of the names of the ancestors of Govindarāja for no less than twenty generations, and records that the original home of the Maurya clan was the city of Valabhi in Surāsh-  
tra, which was their capital. As Govindarāja himself is indirectly described as a feuda-  
tory of a Yādava king, it may be assumed that his ancestors or at least some of them  
owed allegiance to the same family, and that these Mauryas came from Kāṭhiāvāḍ to  
Khāndes together with the Yādavas, 'the lords of Dvāravati.'<sup>4</sup> As regards the individual  
chiefs mentioned in this inscription, I have not met with any of them in other inscrip-  
tions.<sup>5</sup>

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION A.<sup>6</sup>

- L. 1. [श्री।?] ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — क्षसि[त]र[त्र]मरीचि ७ — ७ [ता]: । चरण-  
युग्मसरोरुहरेणवो गणपतेर्विजयाय भवन्तु वः ॥ ७ ॥ आदावव्यक्तमासीत्तदनु<sup>8</sup> कमल[जस्त?]-  
2. त्सुतः कश्यपोभू — — — ७ — — [तद]नु मनुरभूत्तत्सुतात्सूर्यवंशः । विख्यातः सर्वलोकेष्व-  
मलनृपगुणै[र]न्वितः<sup>9</sup> कीर्त्तिधर्मैर्मान्धातुभूमिपालात्सकलगुणनिधैर्मौर्यैव[शो]  
3. व(व)भूव ॥ १ ॥ आसीत्कैलास[शृंगे रुचिर]शसि(शि)सुधाशुभ्रगंगाप्रवाहे दिव्यारामोपभोगातु-  
रसुरनिकरोद्भुष्टकाम्यप्रलापे । सोमः सोमार्द्धभूषः सकलसुरनुतः [का?]-  
4. म[चित्तप्रदो?]षः सर्वेषां लौकिकानामशुभविहतये सोवतीर्णः सुराष्ट्रम् ॥ २ ॥ तस्मि<sup>10</sup> देशेस्ति  
रम्या विवु(वु)धसुरवराकीर्णदेवालययाव्या मौर्याणां राजधानी वलभिरिति ७ -  
5. — म[ण्डन] मण्डलानां । यस्यान्निःशेषविद्यासुनिश्चितम[त]यो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणा ब्र(ब्र)ह्मतुल्याः  
पौरा धर्मार्थकामतृ(त्रि)तयफलभुजः सन्ति<sup>11</sup> मौर्यप्रसादात् ॥ ३ ॥ <sup>12</sup>खड्गप्रहारदृढपाटि[त?]-  
6. [कुंभिकुंभसु?]<sup>13</sup> ता[फ]लप्रकरतारकितां दिनाई । रात्रिं चकार रुचि[रां] रुचिरपतापः श्रीको-  
कटः प्रवरमौर्यकुलप्रसूतः ॥ ४ ॥ श्रीतक्षकस्तदनु<sup>14</sup> यस्य पराक्रमान्निदं दद्व[मा?]-  
7. ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ [भ]ग्नाः । गंगाजलेष्वभिलषन्ति ननु प्रपातं शैत्याभिलाषिण इव  
द्विषतां समूहाः ॥ ५ ॥ भीमो<sup>15</sup> भीमपराक्रमस्तदनु यो दृष्ट्वा व(व)लं विद्विषां<sup>16</sup> सद्यो वैरि ७ -  
8. — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — स्व[र्गे] स्थि[त] — ७ — [न] । कालक्षेपकरं रिपुव्रजमिव क्रोधा-  
न्वितः स[त्त्व]रः [स्व]ष्टारं कृतसंस्तुती रणरसात्प[क्षो]द्गमं प्रार्थय[त्] ॥ ६ ॥ [श्री?]केषु<sup>17</sup> वा-  
जिगजप[त्ति] ७ — -  
9. ७ नेषु — — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ सत्सु । शौर्यं करोति सकलोरिषु तस्य सौ(शौ)-  
र्यं सर्वेष्विति प्रगदितः स हि सर्वसू(शू)रः ॥ ७ ॥ गोविंदराज इति च प्रथितः पृथिव्यामा-  
सीन्नृप-

<sup>4</sup> See Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 76.

<sup>5</sup> I know that the Yādava Bhīllama II. married the daughter of a Rāja Jhañjha (see *ib.* p. 77); but that Jhañjha could not possibly have been the Jhañjha of the present inscription; for, not to mention other reasons, Bhīllama lived about A.D. 1000 (see *ante*, p. 212), and the Jhañjha of this inscription lived fourteen generations before Govindarāja (A.D. 1069).

<sup>6</sup> From impressions taken by Mr. Cousens.

<sup>7</sup> Metre, Drutavilambita.

<sup>8</sup> Metre, Sragdharā; and of the two next verses.

<sup>9</sup> The *akshara* in brackets was originally रं.

<sup>10</sup> Read तस्मिन्.

<sup>11</sup> Originally सन्ति was engraved.

<sup>12</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

<sup>13</sup> The *aksharas* in these brackets are almost entirely effaced.

<sup>14</sup> Originally ०कः सत्सु was engraved.

<sup>15</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>16</sup> Originally a sign of punctuation was engraved here; but it is struck out again.

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.



- L. 10. स्तदनु यस्य ७ — ७ — — । गोविंदवत्सपदि चिंतितमा[त्र]सिद्धास्तेनेति नाम स दधी चरि-  
तार्थमुच्चैः ॥ ८ ॥ राजा<sup>18</sup>साध्वसिकः<sup>19</sup> ततः परमभूयः<sup>20</sup>स्मा[द्र]णे युध्य तस्मात्स्यासी रिपुदंति— ७—
11. ७ ७ — — — ७ — — ७ — । साधुः साधुरयं तवासिरमरैः स्वस्थैरिति स्ना(स्ना)घित  
शत्रून्साध्वसिनः करोति यदि वा तेनेतिनामा नृपः ॥ ९ ॥ भंभाभिधाननृपतिः<sup>21</sup>प्रथितो  
धरित्रां — —
12. ७ — ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — — । संग्रामभूषभिसुखो रभसाग्रधावन्धुर्त्तु न शक्य इति  
नाम व(व)भार सार्थ ॥ १० ॥ श्रीदेवहस्तीति<sup>22</sup> ततः क्षितोयो जज्ञे धरामंडलशीतरश्मिः ।  
सम[स्तलो] — —
13. ७ ७ — ७ — — — ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — — ॥ ११ ॥ श्रीमाम्भुजनेरक्षरः<sup>23</sup>  
समभवत्तस्मान्नृपग्रामणीर्यः सौभाग्यसुधासरित्परिवृढो [रू]पावधौ[त]स्मरः । [दुर्वा]रप्र-  
मदाविलो ७ ७ —
14. ७ — — — ७ — — ७ — — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — — सुहृन्मै[त्र]वत्  
॥ १२ ॥ पद्माकरो<sup>24</sup> नरपतिः<sup>25</sup> प्रव(व)भूव तस्माद्युक्तः पदा[ति]गजवाजिरथैरनेकैः । दानानि  
योभ्युदयधर्म-

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION C.<sup>26</sup>

- L. 1. [गो]दानभूमितिल[दान]हिरण्यवेश्मवस्त्राभरणवरधान्यधनादि सर्वम् ।  
संपूज्य यः प्रवरविप्रगणं प्रहर्षात्<sup>27</sup> शश्वद्दावमलमौर्यकुलप्रदोपः ॥ २७ ॥<sup>28</sup>  
यस्मिन्प्रशासति म[हीं]
2. महनीयकीर्त्तौ पंग्वंधदोनविकला न जना व(व)भूवः ।  
शश्वन्महोत्सवपरंपरया जनानां धर्मार्थकामफलसिद्धिरखंडिताभूत् ॥ ३८<sup>29</sup> ॥  
यः प्रीणयत्यमृतगंधसुगंधमालाधूपाक्ष[त]-
3. प्रभुरदीपविचित्रमण्यैः ।  
देवग्रहद्विजगुरुनष्ट(न्नि)तृगोमिसुख्यान्गोविंदराजनृपतिः स सुखी सदा स्तात् ॥ २८ ॥  
कर्पूरकुंकुमधनाधिपकर्हमेन कस्तुरिकाजलविमिश्र(त्रि)[त]-
4. चंदनेन ।  
आदौ विलिप्य शिवविप्रगुरुनुदारः पश्चाद्विलिपनविधिं स्वयमन्वतिष्ठत् ॥ ३० ॥  
यः पांथसार्थगुणविप्रभुजिक्रियार्थं दीनान्महद्विकलस्य च तृप्तिहेतोः ।  
सत्<sup>30</sup> [च]-
5. कार नृपतिर्व्व(र्व्व)हुविद्याशिष्यैर्व्विद्याविनोदनिरतैः परितोतिपूर्ण ॥ ३१ ॥  
यद्गुपैरप्यशक्यं प्रवरवसुमतीदेशभोगाधिरुटै-  
र्निष्पत्यै यस्य तुच्छो धनदधनभूतः से(शे)वधि७पद्मनामा ।  
अत्यु[च्च]

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>19</sup> Read ०कस्ततः.<sup>20</sup> Read ०द्यस्मा०.<sup>21</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>22</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.<sup>23</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>24</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>25</sup> This sign of *visarga* was originally omitted.<sup>26</sup> From an impression taken by Mr. Cousens.<sup>27</sup> Read ०वाष्प०.<sup>28</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā; and of the four next verses.<sup>29</sup> Read ३८.<sup>30</sup> Read सत्.



- L. 6. दिव्य[भू]षं सुरसदनसमं मंदिरं चंद्रमौलिः  
 कोन्धो गोविंदराजावरपतिरमलो मर्त्यलोके चकार ॥ ३२ ॥<sup>31</sup>  
 व(ब)्रज्ञानामृतांतर्निभृतवरसरोराजहंसोमलांगो<sup>32</sup>  
 राजश्रीचारुकान्तादयिततर[त]
7. नु७७पुण्यवृक्षस्थ<sup>33</sup> मूलं ।  
 धात्रा सृष्टोयमेको जगति नरपतिः सज्जनानन्दकारो  
 शैवध्यानासिभिन्नस्वहृदयजतमोहतिगोविन्दराजः ॥ ३३ ॥  
 [चं]<sup>34</sup>तर्मीनावताराद्यभिनवतनुभिर्विष्णुरूपैरूपे-
8. तं  
 चक्रे सिद्धेशनाथावसथमतिमहत्सर्वभोगोपपन्नं ।  
 सर्वेषां पार्थिवानां तृ(त्रि)दिवपतिपुरारोहनिश्रेणिभूतं  
 गोविन्दो भूमिपालस्वमलनृपगुणैरन्वितक्लीर्त्तिकामः ॥ ३४ ॥  
 वापीं च-
9. कार सुविमलोपलगाढव(ब)्रसोपानप[ङ्क्ति]सुरवेश्मनिविष्टदेवा ।  
 शशज्जलोर्मिव(ब)[ङ्कु]शु[भ्र]जलप्रवाहसंस्त्रापिताभिश्चपनामघनाशदक्षाम् ॥ ३५ ॥<sup>35</sup>  
 रूपनंदांकतुल्ये तु ८८१
10. शककालस्य भूपती [।<sup>x</sup>]  
 सौम्यसंवत्सराषाढरविग्रहणपर्वणि ॥ १ ॥<sup>36</sup>  
 महामंडलनाथस्तु श्रीमान्सेउणभूपतिः ।  
 सिद्धेश्वराय प्रददौ ग्रामद्वयमुदारधीः ॥ २ ॥  
 निजेन राजभोगेन संग[मी]<sup>37</sup>
11. म[धु]वाटिकाम् ॥ ३ ॥  
 गोविंदराजोपि ददौ प्रा[म]यो[र्मा]न्य[भो]गकं ।  
 मेलकं देवपूजार्थं घ्राणकं दीपसिद्धये ॥ ४ ॥  
 पाटकं गीतनृत्यार्थं विलासिणिसमन्वितं<sup>38</sup> ।  
 तृष्कालं<sup>39</sup> देवभोगार्थं गच्छकानां च भूमि — [॥ ५ ॥<sup>x</sup>]
12. विप्राणां भोजनार्थाय सत्र(त्र)मुद्दिश्य शाश्वतं ।  
 विद्याभ्यासरतानां च<sup>40</sup> छात्रा(त्रा)णां भोजनाय च ॥ ६ ॥  
 क्षेत्राणि यानि भूपालो ददौ तानि लिखाम्यतः ।  
 वगलुकम्यतभूमे[ः]<sup>41</sup> पूर्वसीमा तु भंभि —

<sup>31</sup> Metre, Sragdharā; and of the two next verses.

<sup>32</sup> The *akshara* व was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>33</sup> The *akshara* च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>34</sup> I am doubtful about this *akshara*, and the intended reading may possibly be प्रति मौ.

<sup>35</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>36</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the following twelve verses.

<sup>37</sup> Of this *akshara* only the sign of *anusvāra* is doubtful.

<sup>38</sup> The reading here and up to the end of the line is quite clear in the original. Read विलासिनौ (ः).

<sup>39</sup> I do not understand this, nor the following गच्छकानां; तृष्कालं may have been put for त्रिष्कालं.

<sup>40</sup> This च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>41</sup> Originally भूमिस्तु was engraved, but the *akshara* सु. has been struck out.



L. 13. [॥] ७ ॥

दक्षिणे [दे]वलक्षेत्रं पश्चिमे [जानि]नस्तथा ।

उत्तरे कारकग्राममाघाटा<sup>42</sup> खलु [नो] मताः ॥ ८ ॥

वखुलीक्षेत्रसीमास्तु पूर्वदक्षिणपश्चिमाः ।

मार्गकंमतसिद्धेशभूमयस्तूत्तरो वहः ॥ [९ ॥<sup>43</sup>]

14. वनकूटकभूमेऽनदी पूर्वोत्तरोवधिः ।

दक्षिणे च वहः सीमा पश्चिमे ग्रामभूरपि ॥ १० ॥

व[ट]यक्षिणवाटे तु पूर्वा कार्पटिकस्य भूः ।

दक्षिणे देवलक्षेत्रं पश्चिमे गोपथोवधिः ॥ [११ ॥<sup>44</sup>]

उत्तरे वटक-

15. यौ च आघाटा[:<sup>45</sup>]परिकीर्तिताः ॥ [१२ ॥<sup>46</sup>]

षोडशैव ददौ राजा विद्याभ्याख्यानकारिणे ।

निवर्त्तनानि भूमेस्तु पुण्यभ्याख्यानकारिणे ॥ [१३ ॥<sup>47</sup>]

क्षत्राचारविचारवाक्यटुरभूद्भोविन्दनामा [नृ]-

16. प-

स्तद्राज्ञी किल नायकी भवभयाद्भक्ता सदा या हरि ।

ताभ्यां शंकरमंदिरं सुवचिरं निष्पाद्य विस्तारिता<sup>48</sup>

कीर्त्तिर्हर्षयशः कुलं च विमलं प्रद्योतितं चात्मनः ॥<sup>49</sup>[१४ ॥<sup>50</sup>]

ये पालय-

17. ण्ति पृथिवीपतिदानमेतत्ते प्राप्नुवन्त्यमरलोकसमस्तभोगान् ।

रान्यं च [श]श्च ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — — — ७ [हस्ति]तुरगाव्यव(व)लैरुपेताः ॥ <sup>45</sup>

[१५ ॥<sup>51</sup>]

ये लोपयन्ति नृपदा-

18. [न]म — ७ लोभा[त्ते प्राप्नुवन्ति]<sup>46</sup>. . . . .

## XVII.—KHALARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF HARIBRAHMADEVA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1470<sup>1</sup>.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on a polished stone, which is fitted into the wall of a small temple at Khalari, a village about 45 miles<sup>2</sup> east of the town of Râypur in the Central Provinces. It contains sixteen lines of writing, which cover a space of about 1'11½" broad by 11½" high. The writing is well preserved throughout, and the reading is no-

<sup>42</sup> Read °ग्राम आघाटाः.

<sup>43</sup> The *akshara* आ was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>44</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>45</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

<sup>46</sup> From here, up to the end of the line, the writing is so seriously damaged that only a few *aksharas*, which yield no

connected sense, are at all legible. There can be no doubt that this was the concluding line of this inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly for 1471.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. VII, p. 156; according to the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 248, Khalari is only about thirteen miles from Râypur.



where in the least doubtful. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 15th century A.D. The language is Samskr̥it, employed by a person of little knowledge; and, excepting the introductory *om śrī-Gaṇapataye namaḥ*, and a date and the name of the engraver at the end, the inscription is in verse. The letter *b* is, as usually, written by the sign for *v*; otherwise the orthography calls for no remarks.

The inscription, called by the author a *praśasti*, was composed by Miśra Dāmodara (verse 11), written on the stone by Rāmadāsa of the Vāstavya<sup>3</sup> family (v. 13), and engraved by the artisan Ratnadeva (line 16). And its proper object is to record the foundation of a temple of Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) by the shoemaker (*mochī*) Devapāla, a son of Śivadāsa and grandson of Jasau (vv. 9, 10, and 12), at the town of Khalvāṭikā (v. 7), *i. e.*, the modern Khalāri. By way of introduction the inscription—after the words ‘om, adoration to Gaṇapati’ and three verses in honour of that deity and of Bhārati, the goddess of eloquence, and Nārāyaṇa,—gives us (in verses 4-6) the following genealogy of the prince, the illustrious Haribrahmadeva, whose capital (*rājadhāni*) Khalvāṭikā is represented to have been when the inscription was composed:—

In the Kalachuri (or Kalachuti) branch of the Haihaya (here called Ahihaya) family was the prince Simhaṇa, a worshipper of Śambhu (or Śiva), who conquered eighteen strongholds of adversaries. His son was the prince, Rāmadeva, who slew in battle Bhoṇingadeva (apparently a prince, whom I am unable to identify). And his son again was the illustrious prince, Haribrahmadeva.

The inscription is dated (in lines 15 and 16) in the (Vikrama) year 1470, the Śaka year 1334, and the year Plava of the sixty-years’ cycle of Jupiter, on the 9th of the bright half of Māgha, a Saturday, while the moon was in the *nakshatra* Rohiṇi. Had the years been given correctly in this date, the Vikrama year 1470 would have to be taken as a current year, and the Śaka year 1334 as an expired year. But the date works out satisfactorily neither for Vikrama 1470 current = Śaka 1334 expired, nor for Vikrama 1470 expired, and its proper year undoubtedly is Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, as will be seen from the following equivalents:—

For Vikrama 1470 current = Śaka 1334 expired Māgha-śudi 9 corresponds to  
Wednesday, the 11th January, A.D. 1413;

for Vikrama 1470 expired = Śaka 1335 expired, to Tuesday, the 30th January,  
A.D. 1414;

for Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, to Saturday, the 19th  
January, A.D. 1415, when the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h.  
18 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in the *nakshatra*  
Rohiṇi from 13 h. 8 m., or, by the *Garga-siddhānta*, from 1 h. 19 m.  
after mean sunrise, or, by the *Brahma-siddhānta*, from about sunrise.  
This Saturday, the 19th January, A.D. 1415, also, as required, fell in  
the Jovian year Plava, which by the *Sūrya-siddhānta* rule without  
*bīja* lasted from the 24th April, A.D. 1414, to the 20th April, A.D.  
1415.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, Index of vol. I, under *Vāstavya*.



Of the reign of the prince Haribrahmadeva we possess another (carelessly written) inscription of the Vikrama year 1458, which was found at Râypur and is now in the Nâgpur Museum<sup>4</sup>, and the full date of which I have given in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 26, No. 20. In that inscription, which records the foundation of a temple of Haṭakeśvara (Śiva) by the *Nâyaka* Hâjirâjadeva, the prince is described as *Mahârâjâ-dhirâja*, and called Râyabrahmadeva, Harirâyabrahma, and simply Brahmadeva. The inscription also mentions his predecessors, who are there called Simha and Râmachandra, instead of Simhana and Râmadeva.

I may mention, besides, that the names of these princes Simhana and Râmachandra also occur in a large mutilated inscription at Ramtek<sup>5</sup> in the Central Provinces of which I owe a faint rubbing to Dr. Fleet.

TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

- L. 1. श्रीं [॥<sup>x</sup>] श्रीगणपतये नमः । (॥)  
सकलदुरितहर्त्ताऽभीष्टसिद्धिप्रकर्त्ता निगमसमुपगीतः शेषयज्ञोपवीतः ।  
ललितमधुकरालीसे-
2. विता<sup>7</sup> गंडपालीतटभुवि गणराजः पातु वो विघ्नराजः ॥ १ ॥<sup>8</sup>  
वेदानाराध्य वेधाः पठति भगवतीं यामनायस्तचित्तः  
श्रीकंठस्यापि नादैरपहरति मनः
3. पार्व्वती किन्नरीभिः ।  
हारा नारायणस्योरसि रहसि रणत्वंकणा यङ्गजाः स्युः  
सद्यः सत्काव्यसिद्धौ स्फुरतु कविमुखांभोरुहे भारती सा ॥ २ ॥<sup>9</sup>  
ब्र(ब्र)ह्माद-
4. यो द(दि)विषदः श्रुतिवाक्यदृष्ट्या ध्यायंति यं पुरुषमात्मविदोऽप्यमूर्त्तं ।  
पापानि यत्स्मरणतो विलयं प्रयांति नारायणः स्फुरतु चेतसि सर्व्वदा वः । (॥) ३ ॥<sup>10</sup>  
अहिह-<sup>11</sup>
5. यन्पवंशे शंभुभक्तोऽवतीर्णः कलचुतिरिति शाखां प्राप्य तीक्ष्ण(ब्र)प्रतापः ।  
निजभुजगुरुदर्पाद्योऽरिदुर्गाख्यजैषोद्रणभुवि दश चाष्टौ सिंहणक्षीणिपालः ॥
6. 8 ॥<sup>12</sup>  
अभवद्वनिपालस्तत्सुतो रामदेवः समरशिरसि धीरो येन भोर्णिगदेवः ।  
मणिरिव फणिवंशस्याऽहतः कोपदृष्ट्या तरुणतरणितेजःपंजरारजप्रतापः ॥ ५ ॥
7. तत्पुत्रः शत्रुहंता जगति विजयते चंद्रचूडस्य भक्तः  
श्यामः कामाभिरामो मनसि मृगदृशासुहृद्वानां कृतांतः ।  
सर्व्वेषां याचकानां स्फुरदमरतरुर्वाक्पतिः पंडिता-

<sup>4</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XVII, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> See *ib.*, vol. VII, p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> From rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

<sup>7</sup> Read °वितो

<sup>8</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>9</sup> Metre, Sragdharā. In the second line of this verse a relative pronoun has been omitted.

<sup>10</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>11</sup> I give this verse exactly as I find it in the original. Its meaning is clear enough. In the Kalachuribranche of the Haihaya family there was the prince Simhana, who conquered eighteen fortresses of adversaries. But the Haihayas are called by the writer Ahihayas, and the Kalachuris Kalachutis, not to mention the grammatical mistakes which the verse contains.

<sup>12</sup> Metre of verses 4 and 5, Mālinī.



L. 8.

नां

गोतज्ञानां द्वितीयो भरत इव नृपः श्रीहरित्र(ब्र)ह्मदेवः ॥ ६ ॥<sup>13</sup>  
 तद्राजधानी नगरी गरिष्ठा खल्वाटिका राजति वाटिकाभिः ।  
 सुरालया यत्र हिमालयाभा विभांति

9.

शृंगैरतिशुभ्रतुंगैः ॥ ७ ॥<sup>14</sup>

भूदेवा यत्र वेदाध्ययनमनु रताः स्वस्तिमंतो वसंति  
 श्रीमंतः श्रीविलासैरमरपरिवृढं राजराजं हंसतः ।  
 कामिन्यः कामदेवं त्रिपुरहर-

10.

दृशा दग्धमुष्णीवयंत्यः

प्रोद्यद्दोर्मूलकांत्या स्मितमधुरगिरा भूलताडव(ब)रेण ॥ ८ ॥<sup>15</sup>  
 मोची तत्रेदुरोचीरुचिरतरयशाः कर्मनिर्माणदक्षः  
 सीजन्या-

11.

दयजन्माऽनुचर इव जसौनामधेयस्य पीत्रः ।

नानाधर्माभिलाषी गुणनिधिशिवदासाऽभिधानस्य पुत्रः  
 श्रीमन्नारायणस्य स्मरणविमलधी राजते

12.

देवपालः ॥ ९ ॥

नारायणस्यायतनं स्वशक्त्या भक्त्या महत्या सह मंडपेन ।  
 निर्मापितं तेन परत्र चात्र तस्मै हरिर्यच्छतु वांछि(छि)तार्थं ॥ १० ॥<sup>16</sup>  
 हरिचरणसरोजध्यान-

13.

पीयूषसिंधुप्रसरदलघुवेलास्फालकेलीरसेन ।

सरसकविजनानां निर्मितेयं प्रशस्तिर्भनसि रसविधात्री मिश्रदामोदरेण ॥ ११ ॥  
 वहति जगति गंगा याव-

14.

दादित्यपुत्रा स्फुरति वियति तारामंडलाऽखंडलीन<sup>18</sup> ।

तरणिरमरसङ्घच्छद्मना तावदेषा जयतु जयतु मोचीदेवपालस्य कीर्तिः ॥ १२ ॥  
 श्रीवास्तव्यान्वयेनैषा

15.

प्रशस्तिरमलाक्षरा ।

लिखिता रामदासेन पंडिताधीश्वरेण च ॥ १३ ॥<sup>19</sup>

स्वस्ति श्रीसंवत् १४७० वर्षे साके १३३४ षष्ठ्याब्दयोर्मध्ये<sup>20</sup> भवनामसंवत्सरे माघसुदि ८

16. शनिवासरे रोहिणीनक्षत्रे [॥\*] शुभमस्तु सर्वजगतः ॥ सूत्रधाररत्नदेवेन [॥\*]

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.<sup>14</sup> Metre, Upajāti.<sup>15</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9, Sragdharā.<sup>16</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.<sup>17</sup> Metre of verses 11 and 12, Mālinī.<sup>18</sup> The word *akhaṇḍala* is perhaps (wrongly) used here in the sense of 'rain-bow'.<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>20</sup> Read षष्ठ्याब्दमध्ये 'in the sixty-years' cycle.'



# XVIII.—DUBKUND STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KACHCHHAPAGHATA VIKRAMASIMHA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1145.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was discovered, in 1866, by Captain W. R. Melville,<sup>1</sup> in the ruins of a temple at 'Dubkund,' *Indian Atlas*, Quarter-sheet 51, S. E., Long. 77° 5½' E., Lat. 25° 43½' N. The place is in a dense forest on the left bank of the Kunu river, 76 miles to the south-west of Gwálíor; and the temple is situated in the middle of an enclosure on a peninsula, the neck of which is defended by a fortified wall, and all around it are a mass of ruined houses and the remains of several smaller temples. Captain Melville sent two copies of the inscription to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but they were probably too imperfect to be used for editing the inscription. The ruins of Dubkund were examined again, in 1882-83, by Sir A. Cunningham's native draughtsman, and from his account a description of them is given in *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XX, p. 99, and Preface, p. v, together with a small photo-lithograph of the inscription, *ib.*, plates xxi and xxii. I now edit the inscription from one of his rubbings, apparently the same from which the photo-lithograph was prepared.

The inscription contains 61 lines of writing which cover a space of 1' 8½" broad by 3' 2" high. With the exception of about twenty *aksharas* in lines 1 and 2 which have become damaged by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and perhaps a few other *aksharas* which are illegible in the rubbing, the writing is well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between ⅞" and ¾". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Samskrit, and, excepting the introductory *om om namo vītarāgāya* and the greater portion of lines 54-61, the inscription is in verse. It is called a *praśasti* (lines 47 and 60), and was composed by the Jaina Vijayakīrti (line 46), written on the stone by Udayarāja (line 60), and engraved by the stone-mason Tilhaṇa (line 61). Both the writer and the engraver have done their work with great care, and in respect of orthography I have only to note that the letter *b* is throughout written by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is occasionally employed instead of the palatal.<sup>2</sup>

The object of the inscription is, to record the foundation of a Jaina temple—clearly the temple at which the inscription was discovered—by some private persons (lines 52-53), and certain donations made in favour of it by the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasimha (lines 54-58) who ruled the country around Dubkund when the inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1145 (line 61). And the inscription clearly divides itself into two parts, the first of which (lines 10-32) gives an account of the prince Vikramasimha and his ancestors, while the other (lines 32-51) treats of the founders of the temple and certain Jaina sages connected with them. In six introductory verses (lines 1-10) the poet invokes the blessings of, or glorifies, the Jaina Tīrthakāras Rishabhasvāmin, Śāntinātha, Chandraprabha and the Jina (Mahāvīra), the sage Gotama, and the goddess of eloquence (*śruta-devatā*) 'famous in the world under the name of Pañkajavāsini.'

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXV, part I, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> In the rubbing before me it is sometimes very difficult to distinguish between the palatal and dental sibilants.



The poet's account of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasimha (lines 10-32) is as follows:—

“There was, an ornament of the Kachchhapaghāta family, and a son of the illustrious Yuvarāja who was white with fame that spread abroad in the three worlds, the illustrious prince Arjuna, a leader of a formidable army of unparalleled splendour, a prince whom even the ocean did not equal in depth, and a bowman who by his skill in archery had completely vanquished the earth.<sup>3</sup>

Having, anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara-deva, fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neck-bones, he unceasingly filled all the three worlds with his imperishable fame, brilliant like pearl-strings and like the orb of the moon and the foam of the sea.

The notes of his musical instruments which rose, when he marched out, resembling the roaring of the sea, and the sounds of the bells of his countless troops of mountain-like elephants, eagerly marching forth, vied with each other in spreading on all sides, and never left off filling the hollow of heaven and earth, joined by the loud echo which rose from mountain caves.

From him was born Abhimanyu, who, always possessed of many unblemished qualities which supported crowds of suppliants who (but for him) would have wandered round the circuit of the quarters,<sup>4</sup> and which in splendour rivalled the moon's crescent, . . . . . having powerfully vanquished in battle even the victorious, valued other princes as lightly as a straw.

Since the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja, has widely celebrated the skill which he showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons, what sage in the three worlds would be able to describe the qualities of this prince, who put to flight haughty adversaries by the fear inspired by the mere sight of his umbrella?

When he marched forth, the thick clouds of dust which rose from the earth, pounded by the sharp hoofs of his chargers, covering the sun's orb, predicted as it were with certainty that soon indeed would be dimmed the lustre of all other illustrious beings.

From that illustrious prince was born the prince Vijayapāla, who filled the circuit of the quarters with his boundless glory which spread about, bright like the quivering rays of the autumnal moon, and who allayed all suffering whatever on the whole orb of the earth.

Moreover, this prince in a high degree roused the feeling of wonder in the minds of the learned, because in the battles which were viewed by the damsels of heaven he imparted fear to all his enemies one after another, although he had not got it himself, while he never gave to them a portion of the earth, which he did possess.

From him was born the illustrious prince Vikramasimha, ‘the lion of valour,’ rightly so named, because in the display of his mighty valour, which performed valorous deeds, he cleft asunder the projecting fleshy frontal globes of the arrayed elephants of

<sup>3</sup> Arjuna being the name of one of the Pāṇḍava princes, the poet manages to bring into the verse the words *Pāṇḍu*, *Bhīmasena* (the second son of Pāṇḍu and elder brother of Arjuna), and *Dhanvin* (an epithet of Arjuna).

<sup>4</sup> The words of the original would also mean ‘possessed of many uncut bow-strings which supported crowds of arrows able to conquer the circuit of the quarters’.



all his enemies, and because his brilliant fame, as if it were his big shining mane, spread at once in all quarters.

Having perceived that his club-like right arm, even while he was a child, was taken possession of by the Fortune of heroism, who had given up all idea of occupying any other resting-place, the Fortune of royalty, proudly desirous of asserting her superiority, when he was older, determined on embracing his whole body, turning away with disdain from all other men.

Useless indeed is yonder sun, so long as this sun of a king disperses the thick darkness of exceedingly haughty adversaries, and eclipses the stars of the badly-conducted, and illumines all round the wide expanse of this whole earth, and uninterruptedly touches with his fierce rays of supremacy, which spread to the confines of the regions, mountain-like princes.

At his conquest of the quarters, the dust which rose from the orb of the earth, crumbling to pieces under the sharp hoofs of his choice chargers, spread over the chief towns of his adversaries, and, enveloping all things, foretold as it were the time of the universal destruction.

To this noble prince belongs the town named Chaḍobha, the lustre of which spreads on all sides, the excellent markets and the thriving trade of which are celebrated by the people that come to it from all quarters to traffic in things which they have got or wish to acquire."

The historical information contained in these verses is this :—

In the Kachchhapaghâta family there was—

1. Yuvarâja. His son was—
2. Arjuna, who, as an ally or feudatory of Vidyâdharadeva, slew in battle Râjyapâla. His son was—
3. Abhimanyu, whose valorous bearing was eulogized by the king Bhoja. His son was—
4. Vijayapâla; and his son again—
5. Vikramasimha, for whom the inscription (in line 61) furnishes the date Monday, the third of the bright half of the month Bhâdrapada of the year 1145, corresponding, as I have shewn in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 361 (No. 170), to the Northern Vikrama year 1145 expired, or to Monday, the 21st August, A. D. 1088.<sup>5</sup>

Of the Kachchhapaghâta family we possess two other inscriptions of about the same time and from the same part of India. One is the large Gwâlior Sâsbahû temple inscription<sup>6</sup> of the Vikrama year 1150, which gives us the line of princes Lakshmaṇa, Vajradâman, Maṅgalarâja, Kîrtirâja, Mûladeva, Devapâla, Padmapâla, and Mahîpâla. And the other is the Narwar copper-plate inscription<sup>7</sup> of Vîrasimhadêva of the Vikrama year 1177, which mentions, as the immediate predecessor of Vîrasimhadêva, Śaradasimhadêva, and as his predecessor, Gaganasimhadêva. As these two inscriptions contain totally different names, and as none of the names occurring in either agree with the names furnished by the present inscription, it is clear that the three

<sup>5</sup> The date is one of those in which the *tîthi* is joined with the week-day on which it commenced.

<sup>6</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> See *Journal, Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, p. 543, and Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 313.



inscriptions belong to three different branches of the Kachchhapaghâta family, which must have been in possession of the country around Gwâlior in the 11th century A. D. We know that the prince Vajradâman of the Gwâlior inscription, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1034,<sup>8</sup> defeated a ruler of Kanauj and conquered the fort of Gwâlior which before belonged to Kanauj. And I shall try to show that one of the princes mentioned in the present inscription, too, had some share, perhaps an important one, in the wars which must have been waged against the rulers of Kanauj during the first quarter of the 11th century A. D.

About Vikramasimha and his predecessor Vijayapâla the author of our inscription has nothing of importance to report. I myself believe Vijayapâla to be identical with the *nripati* Vijayâdhirâja, who is mentioned as a ruling prince in an inscription of the Vikrama year 1100 at Byânâ, which is about 80 miles north of Dubkund, and 'whose name is preserved in the local traditions as Vijayapâla'<sup>9</sup>; and I may mention that, like the inscription of Vikramasimha, here published, the Byânâ inscription of Vijayâdhirâja also is a Jaina inscription. Of Vijayapâla's father Abhimanyu our inscription merely says that his valour and skill were highly eulogized by the intelligent king Bhoja. Considering that for Vikramasimha we have the date Vikrama 1145, and for Vijayapâla (Vijayâdhirâja) the date Vikrama 1100, Abhimanyu must have ruled shortly before Vikrama 1100, and there can therefore be no doubt that the king Bhoja, here spoken of, is the Paramâra Bhojadeva of Mâlava, for whom we possess the two dates Vikrama 1078 and Śaka 964=Vikrama 1099.<sup>10</sup>

Abhimanyu's father Arjuna, whose rule may be placed some time between Vikrama 1060 and 1090, is said to have slain, in the cause of the illustrious Vidyâdharadeva, the illustrious Râjyapâla; and this, in my opinion, is really a valuable piece of information. As regards Vidyâdharadeva, he can be no other than the Chandella king of that name, the successor of Gaṇḍadeva and predecessor of Vijayapâladeva.<sup>11</sup> Gaṇḍadeva was preceded by Dhāṅgadeva, who ruled from about Vikrama 1011 to about 1055,<sup>12</sup> and Vijayapâladeva was succeeded by Devavarmadeva, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1107.<sup>13</sup> Gaṇḍadeva therefore must be placed approximately about Vikrama 1060-1080,<sup>14</sup> which shows that his successor Vidyâdharadeva may well indeed have been a contemporary of the Kachchhapaghâta Arjuna. As to Râjyapâla, I think it highly probable that he is the Râjyapâla who is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Trilochanapâla in the Jhûsî (or Allahâbâd) copper-plate of this king of the Vikrama year 1084, published by me in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 34; and I now believe that the three kings Vijayapâladeva, Râjyapâladeva and Trilochanapâladeva of that inscription, about whom I could say nothing at the time, were really rulers of Kanauj. For we know that the Chandella Vidyâdhara brought about the destruction of a ruler of Kanyâkubja (or Kanauj)<sup>14</sup>, and it appears very probable that he allied himself for that purpose with his neighbours, the Kachchhapaghâta chiefs, and that the prince of

<sup>8</sup> See *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, p. 393.

<sup>9</sup> See Dr. Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 8.

There can, in my opinion, be little doubt that the Maṅgalarâja, mentioned in another fragmentary inscription at Byânâ (*ib.* p. 9), is the Kachchhapaghâta Maṅgalarâja of the Gwâlior inscription, the successor of Vajradâman.

<sup>10</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, p. 232.

<sup>11</sup> *ib.*, p. 196.

<sup>12</sup> *ib.*, pp. 124 and 139.

<sup>13</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 201.

<sup>14</sup> See also *ante*, vol. I, p. 219.



Kanauj destroyed by him was the very Rājyapāla, mentioned in the present inscription and in the Jhūsi copper-plate. As indicated by Dr. Hultsch, *ante*, vol. I, p. 219, we have hitherto known nothing certain of the kings of Kanauj between A. D. 948 and 1097. If my suggestions are approved of, we have now at least the names of three kings of Kanauj, who together must have ruled approximately from about A. D. 980 to about A. D. 1040.—About Arjuna's father Yuvarāja the author of our inscription has nothing to say.

Of the second part of the inscription it will, I think, be sufficient to give an abstract of the contents. The last verse translated above told us that to Vikramasimha belonged the town of Chaḍobha, evidently the place now called Dubkund which at the time must have been noted for its trade; and in continuation of it the verses in lines 32-39 give the genealogy of the two Jaina traders Rishi and Dāhaḍa, on whom Vikramasimha had conferred the rank of *śreshṭhins*<sup>15</sup> in that town, and one of whom is mentioned afterwards among the founders of the temple. Both were sons of Jayadeva and his wife Yaśomatī, and grandsons of the *śreshṭhin* Jāsūka, who is described as the head of a family or guild of merchants which had come from Jāyasapur, a town which I am unable to identify.

Lines 39-48 then contain an account of some Jaina sages, the last of whom, Vijayakīrti, not only composed this inscription, but also by his religious teaching incited the people to build the temple at which the inscription was afterwards engraved. The first sage spoken of, an ornament of the Lāṭavāgaṭa *gaṇa*, is the Guru Devasena. His son was Kulabhūṣaṇa; and his son again was Durlabhasenasūri. From him sprang the Guru Śāntishena who, in a *sabhā* held before the king Bhojadeva, defeated hundreds of disputants who had assailed Ambarasena and other learned men. And his son was Vijayakīrti.

Of the founders of the temple lines 48-51 mention by name the Sādhu Dāhaḍa whose genealogy has already been given, Kūkeka, Śūrpata, Devadhara, Mahīchandra, and Lakshmaṇa; but others also, who are not named, are said to have rendered assistance.

The prose passage, commencing in line 54, records that the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasimha, for the building of the temple and for keeping it in good repair, as well as for purposes of worship, assigned (a tax of) one *viṃśopaka* on each *goṇī* (of grain?), and gave a piece of land in the village of Mahāchakra, capable of being sown with four *goṇīs* of wheat, and a garden with a well to the east of Rajakadraha; and that he moreover provided a certain amount of oil<sup>16</sup> for lamps and for anointing the bodies of holy men.—I can find no names like Mahāchakra and Rajakadraha anywhere near Dubkund on the maps at my disposal.

After the usual appeal to future rulers to keep the above donations intact, lines 60-61 give the names of the writer and of the engraver, already mentioned; and the inscription closes with a date, the European equivalent of which I have given above.

<sup>15</sup> See Jacobi's edition of Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra*, p. 107: *śreshṭhinah śrīdevatādhyakṣa-sauvarṇapaṭṭa-bhūṣi-tottumāṅgāḥ*.

<sup>16</sup> The original has the compound *kara-ghoṭikā-dvayam*, the first word of which I am unable to explain properly.



TEXT.<sup>17</sup>

- L. 1. श्री<sup>18</sup> ॥ [श्री] न[मो] वीतरागाय ॥ श्री<sup>19</sup> — — द्रि — ट — उ — टना[द्यत्पा]दपोठं लुठन्म-  
[दा]रस्रगमं[द]गुंज[द]लि[म]ब्रिष्ठूतसाराविणम् । [त]-
2. [त्पा] — उ — उ वद्व[च]: उ रसु — — — [तां] सं उ ि — ० हे[ग]मिवाकरोत् ऋषभस्वामी  
श्रिये स्तासता[म्] ॥ वि(वि)भ्रा-
3. [णो] गुण[सं]ह[ति] हततमस्तापो निजज्योतिषा [यु]क्तात्मापि जगति संगतजय[स]क्रे सरा-  
गाणि यः । उन्माद्यन्म-
4. कर[ध्व]जोर्जितगजपासोक्षसत्केसरी संसारोपगदच्छिदेस्तु स मम श्रीसां(शां)तिनाथो जिनः ॥  
जा[द्यं] सखदखंडित-<sup>20</sup>
5. क्षयमपि क्षीणाखिलोपक्ष[यं] साक्षादीक्षितमक्षिभिर्दधदपि प्रौढं कलंकं तथा । चिह्नत्वाद्यदु-  
पांतमाप्य सततं [जात]-
6. [स्तथा?]नंदकचंद्रः सर्वजनस्य पातु विपदचंद्रप्रभो हंस नः ॥ सो(शो)कानोकहसंकुलं रतितृण-  
श्रेणि प्रणश्य[द्रुम]-
7. — — [त्मा]ध्वगपूगमुद्रतमहामिथ्यात्ववातध्वनि । यो रागादिमृगोपघातकृतधीर्ध्यानान्निना  
भस्मसाक्षात् कर्म-
8. वनं निनाय जयतात्सोयं जिनः सन्मतिः ॥ <sup>21</sup>प्रसाधितार्थगुर्भव्यपंकजाकर[भा]स्करः । अंतस्तमो-  
पहो वोस्तु गो-
9. तमो मुनिसत्तमः ॥ <sup>22</sup>श्रीमज्जिनाधिपतिसहदनारविंदमुहच्छदच्छतरवो(वो)धसमृद्धगंधम् ।  
अध्यास्य या जगति पंकजवासिनी-
10. ति ह्या[ति] जगाम जयतु सु(शु)तदेवता सा ॥ <sup>23</sup>आसीत्कच्छपघातवंशतिलकस्त्रीलोक्यनि-  
र्यद्यशःपांडुश्रीयुवराजसूनुर-
11. समद्युग्मीमसेनानुगः । श्रीमा[न]र्जुनभूपतिः<sup>24</sup> पतिरपामप्याप यत्तुल्यतां नो गांभीर्यगुणेन  
निर्जितजग[द्व]न्वी धनु-
12. र्व्विद्यया ॥ श्रीविद्याधरदेवकार्यनिरतः श्रीराज्यपालं हठात्कंठास्थिच्छिदनेकवाणनिवहैर्हत्वा  
महत्याहवे ।
13. <sup>25</sup>[डिंडीरा]वल्लिचंद्रमंडल[मि]लम्भुक्ताकलापोज्ज(ज्ज)लैस्त्रीलोक्यं सकलं यशोभिरचलैर्योजसमा-  
पूरयत् ॥ <sup>26</sup>यस्य
14. प्रस्थानकालोत्थितजलधिरवाकारवादित्रयव्दा(व्दा) वेगाभिर्गच्छदद्रिप्रतिमगजघटाकोटिघंटार-  
वाश्च । संस-
15. र्पतः समंतादहमहमिकया पूरयंतो विरेमुर्नो रोदोरंभभागं गिरिविवरगुरुव्यतिध्वानमिश्राः ॥  
<sup>27</sup>दिकच-
16. क्राक्त्रमयो[ग्य]मार्गणगणाधाराननेकान् गुणानच्छिन्नाननिशं दधद्विधुकलासंस्पर्धमानद्युतोन् ।  
[स]नु-

<sup>17</sup> From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

<sup>18</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next three verses.

<sup>20</sup> Read ऋद्व°.

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

<sup>24</sup> The *akshara* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>25</sup> The *aksharas* in these brackets have been partly painted over in the rubbing.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.



- L. 17. [च्छि]न्नधनुर्गुणं<sup>28</sup> विजयिनोप्याजौ विजित्यो[र्जि]तं जातोऽस्मादभिमन्युरन्यनृपतीनामन्यमान-  
 स्तृणम् ॥ यस्यात्त्व[ङ्गुत]-  
 18. वाहवाहनमहाशस्त्रप्रयोगादिषु प्रावीक्षं प्रविकल्पितं पृथुमतिश्रीभोजपृथ्वीभुजा । च्छत्रालो<sup>29</sup>-  
 कनमात्रजात-  
 19. भयतो दृप्तारिभंगप्रदस्यास्य स्याद्गुणवर्णने त्रिभुव[नि] को लब्ध(व्य)वर्णः प्रभुः ॥ <sup>30</sup>तुरगखरचुरा-  
 ग्रोत्प्लावत[धात्री]-  
 20. समुत्थं स्थगयदहिमरस्त्रे(श्मे)र्मंडलं यत्प्रयाणे । प्रचुरतररजोग्धाशेषतेजस्वितेजोहृतिमचिरत  
 21. एवा[शं]सतीवानिवारम् ॥ शरदमृतमयूखप्रेखदंशुप्रकाशप्रसरदमितकीर्त्तिव्याप्तदिवक्त्रवालः ।  
 अजनि विजय-  
 22. पालः श्रीमतोऽस्मान्महीशः शमितसकलधात्रीमंडलक्षेत्रलेस(श): ॥ <sup>31</sup>भयं यच्छत्रूणां त्रिदशतरुणी-  
 वीक्षितरणे  
 23. क्रमेशाशेषाणां व्यतरदसदप्यात्मनि सदा । सतीप्यंशनादादव[नि]वलयस्याधिकमतो बु(बु)धा-  
 नामाश्रयं व्यतनुत  
 24. नरेन्द्रो हृदि च यः ॥ <sup>32</sup>तस्माद्विक्र[म]कारिविक्रमभरप्रारंभनिर्भेदितप्रोत्तुंगखिलवैरिवारणघटो-  
 द्यन्मां[स]कं-  
 25. भस्त्रलः । श्रीमान्विक्रमसिंहभूपतिरभूदन्वर्थनामा समं सर्वासा(शा)प्रसरद्विभासुरयशःस्फारस्फुर-  
 त्केसरः ॥  
 26. वा(वा)लस्यापि विलोक्य यस्य परिचाकारं भुजं दक्षिणं क्षीणाशेषपराश्रयस्थितिधिया वीरश्रिया  
 संश्रितम् । सर्व्वागेष्व-  
 27. वगूहनाग्रहमहंकारादहंपूर्विका<sup>33</sup> राज्यश्रीरक्त[ता]धिगस्य<sup>34</sup>विमुक्षी सर्व्वाग्रपुंवर्गतः ॥ <sup>35</sup>अत्यंतो-  
 हृतविद्विद्वत्तिमि-  
 28. रभरभिदि च्छादितानी[ति]ताराचक्रे विष्ववप्रकाशं सकलजगदमंदावकाशं दधाने । निःपर्यायं<sup>36</sup>  
 दिगास्यप्रसरदुह-  
 29. क[राक्रां]तधात्रीधरेन्द्रे यस्मिन्नाजांसु(श)मालिन्यहह सति वृथैवैषकोन्योऽशमाली ॥ <sup>37</sup>यद्दिग्जये  
 वरतुरंगचुराग्रसं-  
 30. गच्छुणावनीवलयजन्यरजोभिसर्पत् । विद्वेषिणां पुरवरेषु तिरोहितान्यवस्तूत्कारं प्रलयकालमि-  
 वादिदे-  
 31. श ॥ तस्य क्षितीश्वरवरस्य पुरं समस्तं विस्तीर्णंशोभमभितोपि चडोभसंघम् । प्राप्तेऽस्मितक्रय-  
 समग्रदिगागतांगि-  
 32. व्यावर्ण्यमानविपणिव्यवहारसारम् ॥ ॐ ॥ <sup>38</sup>आसीज्जायसपूर्वनिर्मितवणिग्वंशं(व)राभीश-  
 मान्<sup>39</sup> जासूकः प्रक[टाक्षता]-  
 33. र्थनिकरः श्रेष्ठी<sup>40</sup> प्रभाधिष्ठितः । सम्यग्दृष्टिरभोष्टजै[च]रणहंद्वाचने यो ददौ पात्रीघाय [चतु]-  
 र्विधं [त्रि]विबु(बु)-

<sup>28</sup> The above appears to be what was originally engraved, but the *akshara* चं may have been altered.

<sup>29</sup> Read छत्रा°.

<sup>30</sup> Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.

<sup>31</sup> Metre, Śikharinī.

<sup>32</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

<sup>33</sup> Originally पूर्विका was engraved.

<sup>34</sup> Read °विकस्य.

<sup>35</sup> Metre, Bragdhara.

<sup>36</sup> Read निःपर्यायं.

<sup>37</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

<sup>38</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>39</sup> Read °मासासूकः.

<sup>40</sup> Perhaps altered to श्रेष्ठिप्रभा°.



1. ३३ श्री दानं बुतः चयया ॥ "श्रीमन्निर्गुणपदांशु(बु)वृद्धिरेको विस्फारकीर्त्ति[ध]वलीकृतदिग्वि-  
भागः । पुत्रोऽस्य वे-व-
35. पदं चयदेवनामा सीमायमानचरितोऽनि सज्जनानाम् ॥ "इषेव सी(शी)लेन कुलेन सर्वज्ञां  
गुणैरप्यपनेः
36. शिरस्य । पदं दधानोऽस्य व(ब)भूव भार्या यशोमतीति प्रथिता वृथिव्याम् ॥ "तस्यामजीजनदसा-  
वपिदाहडास्थौ पुत्री पावे-
37. व्रवसराजितचरितमूर्त्ति । प्राच्यामिवाजस(ग)शिनौ समयः समस्तसंपन्नसाधकाजनव्यवहारहे-  
[तु] ॥ "प्रोन्माद्यत्सकला-
38. रिक्तुंजरशिरोनिर्धारणोद्ययशोमुक्ताभूषितभूरभूरपि भियान्नोन्मार्गगामी च यः । सोदादिक्रम-  
सिंहभप-
39. तिरतिप्रीतो यकाभ्यां युगत्रेष्ठः अष्टिपदं पुरेव परमे<sup>४०</sup> प्राकारसौधापणे ॥ ॐ ॥ "आसीद्विशुद्ध-  
तरवी(वी)धचरितदृ-
40. छिनिःशेषशु(सु)रिनतमस्तकधारि[ता]ज्ञः । श्रीलाटवागटगणोत्तरीक्षणाद्रिमाणिक्यभूतच-  
रिती गुरुदेवसे-
41. नः ॥ "सिद्धांती द्विविधोप्यवाधितधिया येन प्रमाणध्व[नि]प्रथेषु प्रभवः त्रियामवगतो हस्तस्थ-  
मुक्तोपमः ।
42. जातः श्रीकुलभूषणोऽखिलवियदासोगणयामणीः सम्यग्दर्शनशुद्धवो(वी)धचरणालंकारधारी  
ततः ॥ "रत्नत्रया[भ]रण-
43. धारणजातशोभस्तस्मादजायत स दुर्लभसेनसूरिः । सर्वं श्रुतं समधिगम्य सदैव सम्यगात्मस्वरू-  
पनिरतोभवदिद्व-
44. [धी]र्यः ॥ "आस्यानाधिपती बु(बु)धा[दवि]गुणे श्रीभोजदेवे कृपे सभ्येष्वं(वी)रसेनपंडितशिरो-  
रत्नादिषूय्यभदान् । योने-
45. कान्<sup>४०</sup> शतसो व्यजेष्ट पटुताभीष्टोद्यमो वादिनः शास्त्राभीनिधिपारगोभवदतः श्रीशान्तिषेणो  
गुरुः ॥ "गुरुचर-
46. शररोजाराधनावासपुण्यप्रभवदमलवु(बु)द्धिः शुद्धरत्नत्रयोक्तात् । अजनि विजयकीर्त्तिः सूक्तारत्नाव-
47. कीर्त्तनं ज[ब]धिनिवमिषेतां यः प्रस(ग)स्ति व्यधत् ॥ "तस्मादवाप्य परमागमसारभूतं धर्मोपदे-  
शमधिकाधिगत-
48. मवी(वी)धाः । लक्ष्म्या च व(ब)धुसुद्धां च समागमस्य मत्वायुषस्य वपुषस्य विनश्वरत्वं ॥ "प्रार-  
था(आ)धर्मकांतारविदाहः
49. साधुदाहः । "वृद्धिरेक[कु]लेकः सर्पटः सुकृते घटुः ॥ तथा देवधरः शुद्ध<sup>४१</sup> धर्मकर्मधुरंधरः ।  
च[द्रा]लिखि-
50. तनाकच महीचंद्रः शुभार्जनेत् ॥ गुणिनः चक्षुर्नाशिकलादानविचक्षणाः । अन्येपि आवकाः  
केचिद-

<sup>४०</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>४१</sup> Metre, Upeṣṭi.

<sup>४२</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>४३</sup> Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>४४</sup> Metre, Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>४५</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>४६</sup> Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>४७</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>४०</sup> Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>४१</sup> Read "काव्यतयो".

<sup>४२</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>४३</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>४४</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next

verses.

<sup>४५</sup> Metre, Upeṣṭi.



51. कर्ते[धन]पावकाः ॥ किंच सख्यसंभवे - इदिवत् मातुलः । तदुक्तं विष्णुसूक्तं सप्तमं ॥  
 52. विचक्षणः ॥ "सुगायीविचिताव(व)र वरप्रसादादुदयापाहुर सार्व भोविष्णुमंदिरं विष्णुमंदिरं  
 53. हरम् । संभूयेदमकारयन्नुदयिरः संचारिवेत्स(व)रप्राप्तिं चरतिव वायुविहतेप्राप्तादिम् । तस्य  
 54. ताम् ॥ ॐ ॥ अथैतस्य विनिष्करमंदिरस्य निष्कारमपूजनसंस्काराय काचाक्षरमुद्रितमुद्रित-  
 55. रायं च महाराजाधिराजश्रीविक्रमसिंहः संपुष्करादि(मे)रप्रतिष्ठतप्रवरं परमोपचयं चेतसि  
 56. गोपीं प्रति विंशोपकं गोधूमगोपीचतुष्टयवापयोपचयं च महा[चक्र]वासुदेवी रजकद्वय-  
 57. र्वादिभागवाटिकां वापीसमन्वितां ।<sup>60</sup> प्रदीपसुनिजगद्गरीराभ्यंजनाय कुरुवटिकादयं च हस्त-  
 58. द्वाकी महाराजाधिराजश्रीविक्रमसिंहोपरोधेन ॥ "व(व)दुभिर्बुधैः" भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-  
 59. द्य स्र यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा पद्ममिति कृतिवचनाविज्ञापि श्रेयः प्रयोजनं मन्थमानैः  
 60. भाविभिर्भूमिपालैः प्रतिपालनीयमिति ॥ ॐ ॥ "सिद्धिदीपराजो वा प्रस(म)स्ति यद्यधीरि-  
 61. न्"<sup>61</sup> शिलाकूटस्त्रील्लग्नस्तां सदचराम् ॥ संवत् ११४५ भाद्रपदसुद्धि १ सोमदिने । मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥

### XIX.—PABHOSÂ INSCRIPTIONS.

By A. FÜHRER, Ph.D.

The small modern village of Pabhosâ stands on a cliff about 80 feet high, overlooking the northern bank of the Jamnâ, in tahsil Manjhanpur, 52 miles south-west of Allahâbâd, and represents the ancient site of the once famous Prabhâsa.<sup>1</sup> The classical hill of Prabhâsa, which is the only rock in the Antartvedi, or Doab between the Ganges and Jamnâ rivers, is 3 miles to the north-west of the great fort of Kosam Khirâj, the ancient Kausâmbî, and not more than 2 miles from the present villages of Kosam Inâm and Pâli,<sup>2</sup> which formed the old city outside the walls of the fort. High up, in the face of this hill, there is a typical rock-hewn cave in an inaccessible position. This lofty stone cavern is, no doubt, the stone dwelling of the venomous Nâga described thus by Hiuen Tsiang<sup>3</sup> in his account of Kausâmbî:—"To the south-west of the city, 8 or 9 li (about 1½ miles), is a stone dwelling of a venomous Nâga. Having subdued

<sup>60</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>61</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>62</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>63</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>64</sup> Read "वाग्मिना".

<sup>1</sup> The Prabhâsa, mentioned in the Manu Chandra inscription of Mahādeva, vol. I, p. 227 & 234, most probably is the modern Pabhosâ on the Jamnâ, and not the distant place of pilgrimage in Kausâmbî.

<sup>2</sup> A copperplate grant, measuring 7 inches by 4 inches, of Mahārāja Bhaskardeva, dated (Gupta) Samvat 145, was found in this village in May 1891.

<sup>3</sup> Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 227.



॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥ श्रीब्रह्माय नमः ॥ श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ श्रीदेवताय नमः ॥

*[The text in this block is extremely faint and illegible due to severe fading and damage. It appears to be a continuous passage of text in Devanagari script.]*

[illegible]







this dragon, Tathāgata left here his shadow ; but, though this is a tradition of the people there is no vestige of the shadow visible.”<sup>4</sup> Hiuen Tsiang’s statement that the cave is 8 or 9 *li* to the south-west of Kauśāmbī, is erroneous, as the hill bears north-west from the fort of Kosām. According to the popular belief of the villagers there is a Nāga inside the cave, of which everybody has heard, but which no one has seen. The serpent is believed to have his head in the Jamnā while his tail remains in the cave, which is more than a quarter of a mile from the river. The Nāga is said to be seen once a year at the time of the Divālī festival.<sup>5</sup> Not a little surprised were the people, therefore, to find that no Nāga was encountered when I entered and examined the cave during the night of the 25th March 1887.

At the back of the village a flight of about one hundred and ten steps leads up to a platform, formed of a mere mass of débris, the refuse of former quarries, on which stands a small modern Jaina temple. Close by are three small standing figures of naked Jinas cut in the rock. About 150 feet from the north-east corner of the temple rises the rock perpendicularly about 47 feet in height, in the highest scarp of which the cave is situated. Above the solid rock, in which the cavern is hewn, several large boulders of hard grey quartzite are lying, one upon another, in a sloping position. No doubt, the access to this cave from below was removed by the quarrymen, as it would seem, shortly after the eighth century A.D. In order to effect an entrance into the cave and to copy its inscription outside (Facsimile No. I), which is visible to the naked eye from below, I intended first to erect a staging from the temple below up to the cave and inscription; but finding this to be extremely dangerous on account of the locality and its surroundings, I had a wooden crib made to let down by means of strong ropes from above the cave. As, however, the neighbourhood of the cavern was infested by numerous swarms of wild bees, the cave had to be entered by night and the inscriptions to be copied by the light of a lantern, which added much to the difficulty of the undertaking.

The cave is entirely hewn in the solid rock, the marks of the chisel being apparent throughout ; the left side is occupied by a stone couch and pillow, or *sej*, for the hermit’s use. The roof is of very curious formation, being cut into vaulted shelves or cupboards, on each side of the centre ; these shelves occupy about half of the roof, and the remainder is plain. The main entrance, a door measuring 2’ 2” by 1’ 9”, has a stone lintel and plain pilaster of red-coloured sandstone on each side, with square holes above and below, seemingly to bar up the entrance. The lintel of the door is 10 feet from the upper edge of the precipice. To the left of the door, at a distance of 2’ 3” are two small windows of irregular shape, one with a diameter of 1’ 5” and the other of 1’ 7”. The thickness of this wall is only 9 inches. About 1’ 3” above the left top corner of the entrance door, there is an inscription (Facsimile I) of eight lines, in characters of the second or first century B.C., carved on the rough surface of the natural rock. Inside, the cave measures 9 feet on the left and 8’ 6” on the right in length, by 7’ 4” in width and 3’ 3” in height. The stone bed, or *sej*, is 9 feet in length, 1’ 8” in

<sup>4</sup> Compare, however, Sung-Yun’s account of Buddha’s Shadow Cave, or the Cave of Gopāla, Beal, *l.c.*, vol. I, page cvii.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XXI, p. 2. Sir A. Cunningham, although speaking of the cave, does not mention its rock-cut inscription.



breadth, and 1' 2" in height. On it are ten short pilgrims' records: five of the early Gupta period, four of the fifth or sixth, and one of the eighth century A. D. On the west wall of the cave, opposite to the entrance door, there are three inscriptions: one of the second or first century B. C. (Facsimile II) and two short records of visitors in early Gupta characters.

## No. I.

*On the rock outside the cave.*

The inscribed surface of the rock measures 14" by 10½". Each letter is on an average 1·3" long and 3·6 inches deep. With the exception of four *aksharas* in the sixth and nearly the whole of the eighth line, the record is in surprisingly perfect preservation, considering its great age and its long exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather. This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. S. J. Cockburn<sup>a</sup> of the Opium Department who made a (not very accurate) eye-copy of it by means of an astronomical telescope, a tentative reading of which was given by Dr. Hörnle in the *Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for March 1887, page 105. In January 1887, during a short visit to Kausāmbī, the inscription was independently discovered by me, and I now edit it according to impressions taken from the rock.

TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

- L. 1. राज्ञो गोपालीपुत्रस
2. बहसतिमित्रस
3. मातुलिन गोपालीया<sup>8</sup>
4. वैहिदरीपुत्रेन [आसा]<sup>9</sup>
5. आसादसेनेन लेन
6. कारितं [उदाकस]<sup>10</sup> दस-
7. मे सवहरे कश्यपीयानं परचं-
8. [ता]नं = — — — — — [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

"By Āsādhāsena, the son of Gopālī Vaihidarī (i.e. the *Vaihidara-princess*), and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimittra (*Bṛihaspatimitra*), son of Gopālī, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of . . . . of the Kāśāpiya Arhats (i.e. either the *Buddhists of the Kāśāpiya school*, or the *pupils of Vardhamāna who was a Kāśāpa by gotra*<sup>11</sup>) . . . ."

## No. II.

*Inside the cave.*

The inscription is incised on the rough surface of the west wall of the cave and measures 32" by 12". On an average each letter is 1·6" long and 3·6 inches deep; the record is in perfect preservation.

<sup>a</sup> See *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, vol. LVI, part I, pages 31 to 35.

<sup>7</sup> See Facsimile No. I.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly गोपालीया. The genitive गोपालीया is construed with the crude form वैहिदरी which stands in the sense

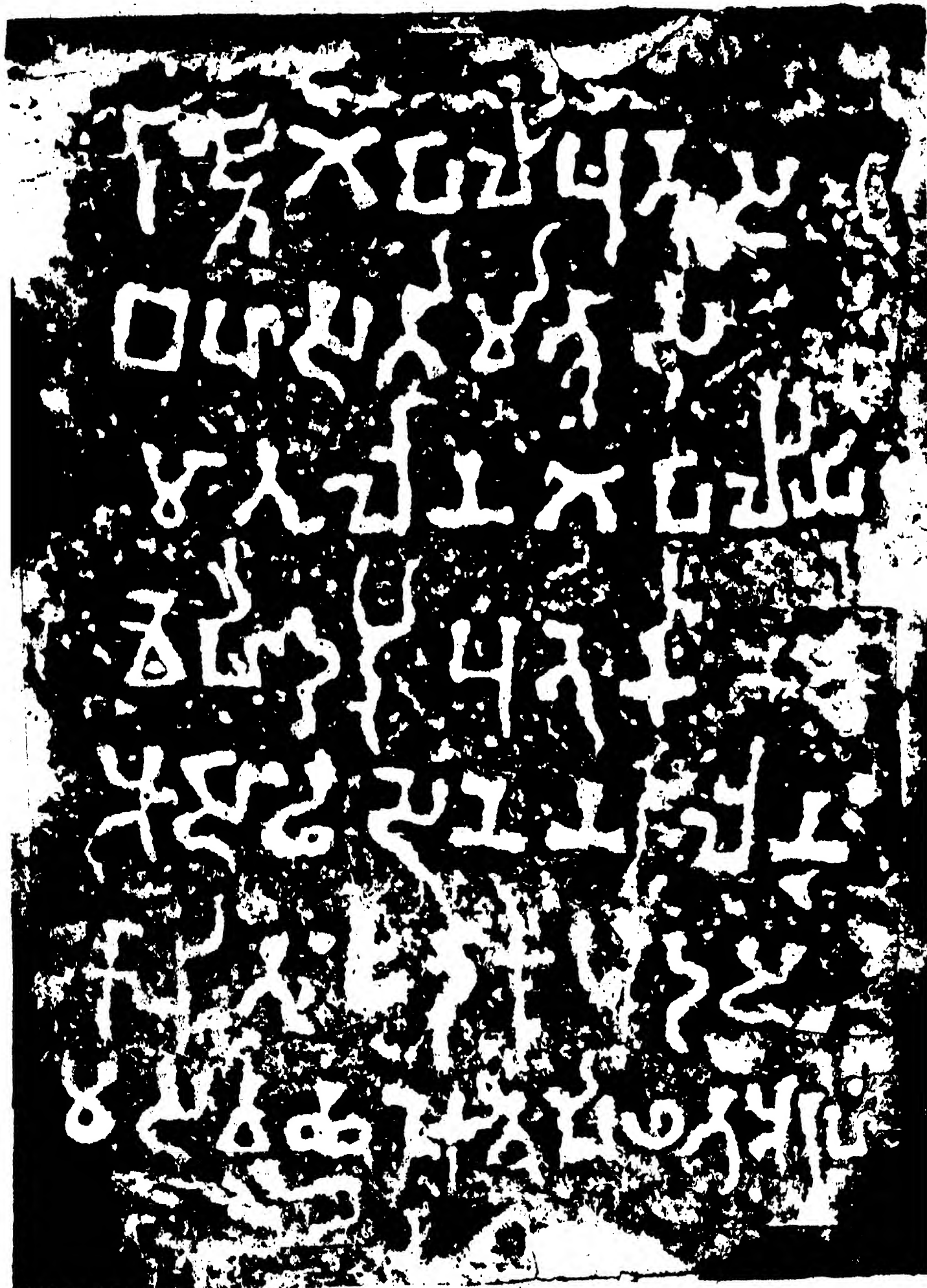
of a genitive, compare, e.g. अश्वमेधेन सवृषस्य (Āpastamba); न खीपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य (Pāṇini).

<sup>9</sup> Afterwards erased.

<sup>10</sup> All letters doubtful.

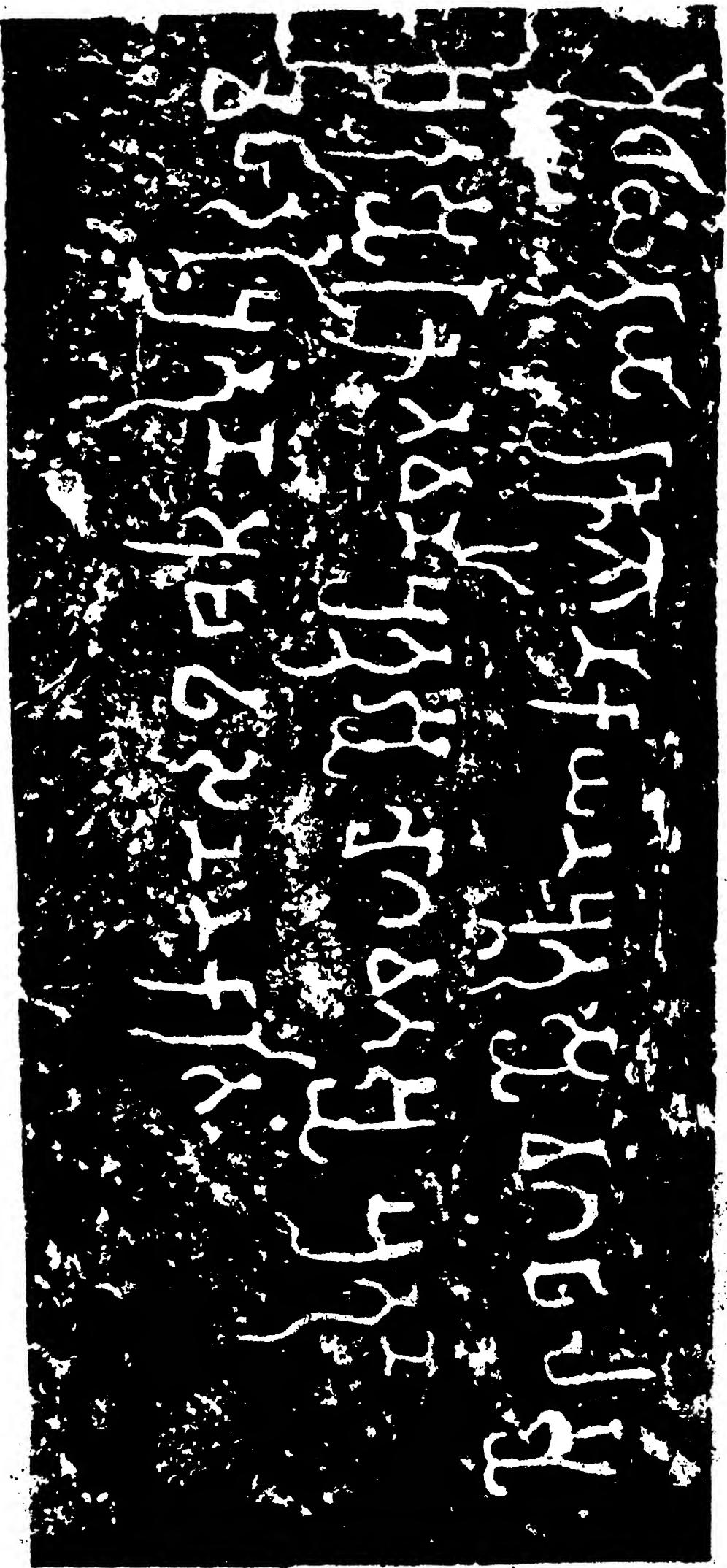
<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Bühler for the interpretation of this passage.







PABHOSA INSCRIPTION NO. II,—INSIDE THE CAVE, ON WEST WALL.



*After Dr. D. G. Millard*

Scale: 1-3rd.



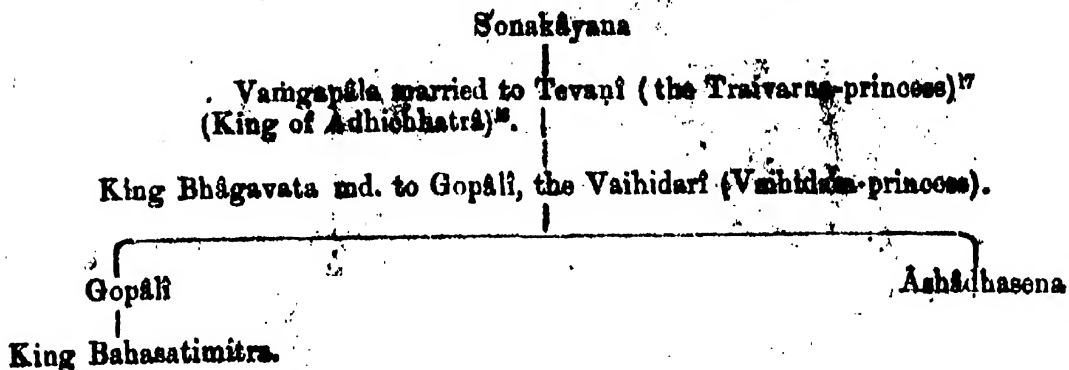
Text.<sup>13</sup>

- L. 1. अश्विहताया राज्ञी योगजायनपुत्रस्य वरुणपालस्य  
 2. पुत्रस्य राज्ञी<sup>14</sup> तैवनीपुत्रस्य भागवतस्य पुत्रस्य  
 3. वैहिदरीपुत्रस्य आषाढसेनेन कृतम् [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

"Caused to be made by Āśhādhasena, son of the Vaihidari (i.e. *Vaihidara*—princess, and) son of king Bhāgavata, son of the Tevani (i.e. *Traivarna*-princess, and) son of king Vamgapāla, son of Sonakāyana (Sāunakāyana) of Adhichhatrā."

On account of the resemblance to the letters of the Sunga times, the two inscriptions may be assigned with confidence to the second or first century B.C. Of special historical value is the pedigree of the early kings of Adhichhatrā,<sup>15</sup> the capital of the once mighty kingdom of Northern Pāñchāla, here furnished to us:—



Where king Bahasatimitra ruled, and who his father was, is not stated; but we may safely conclude that he was king of Kauśāmbī, as the latter place is close to Prabhāsa, and as many of his coins<sup>19</sup> have been found at Kauśāmbī.

## No. III.

*In the modern Dharmśālā.*

This inscription is incised on a tablet of red sandstone, and is now fixed into the wall of the modern Dharmśālā in the village of Pabhosā. It records the consecration

<sup>13</sup> See Facsimile No. II.

<sup>14</sup> Possibly वरुण<sup>१३</sup> or वरुण<sup>१४</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Possibly वरुण<sup>१५</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> The modern Rāmāgar in Rohilkhand, see Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. I, pp. 255—265, Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p.p. 28—29. The same form Adhichhatrā, and not the usual Ahikshatra, Ahikshattra, or Ahichchhattra of the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivamśa*, and *Pāṇini*, occurs also in several inscriptions of the first century B.C., lately excavated by me at Rāmāgar.

<sup>17</sup> Compare the *Adiastāpa* of Ptolemy, *Geog.* vii. 1, 55.

<sup>18</sup> The epithets Traivarna and Vaihidari are no doubt derivatives from the names of nations or countries although not found in the Paurāṇik lists. Compare e.g. कुरुक्षेत्र "the queen of the Kekaya-race," कुरुक्षेत्र "the queen of the Kuru-family." Compare also the epithet Tevanika, or Traivarnika occurring in one of the Mathurā inscriptions, *ante*, vol. I, p. 294 and 297.

<sup>19</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham, *Coinage of Ancient India*, Pt. I, p. 78, where the king's name is wrongly read Bahasatimitra. The Lucknow Museum Coin cabinet possesses fifteen coins of Bahasatimitra, nine of which were excavated by me at Kauśāmbī in 1887, and six at Adhichhatrā (Rāmāgar) in 1891.



of an image of the glorious Jina (Pārśvanātha) on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśīrṣa, in Samvat 1881, by Sādhu<sup>19</sup> Śrī Hīrālāl of Allahābād, on the top of the hill of Prabhāsa, outside the city of Kauśāmbī. The document is also interesting in another respect, as it clearly shows that the modern villages of Kosām and Pabhosa were identified already in A.D. 1824-25 by the people of the country with Kauśāmbī and Prabhāsa.

TEXT.<sup>20</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १८८१ मिति मार्गशीर्षशुक्लपक्षां शुक्लवास-  
 2. रे काष्ठासंचे मायुरगच्छे पुष्करगणे लोहाचार्यान्वायि  
 3. भट्टारकश्रीजगन्नीर्त्तिस्तत्पदे भट्टारकश्रीललितकी-  
 4. र्त्तिजितदात्रायि अश्वोत्तमान्वये गौडसंगोत्रे प्रयागन-  
 5. गरवास्यसाधुश्रीरायजीमस्तदनुजफेबम-  
 6. स्तत्पुत्रसाधुश्रीमिहरचंदस्तद्भातासुमिहचंद-  
 7. स्तदनुजसाधुश्रीमार्गिकचंदस्तत्पुत्रसाधुश्रीही-  
 8. रालालेन कौशांबीनगरवाह्य प्रभासपर्वतोपरि श्री-  
 9. पद्मप्रभजिनदीक्षादानकल्याणकक्षेत्रे श्रीजिन-  
 10. विवप्रतिष्ठा कारिता चंगरेजवहादुरराज्ये सु[य]मं [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

"(This) image of the glorious Jina (Pārśvanātha) has been consecrated under the rule of the noble English, on a site made auspicious by the consecration and invocation of the glorious Jina Padmaprabha, on the upper side of the hill of Prabhāsa, outside the town of Kauśāmbī, by Sādhu Śrī Hīrālāl, son of Sādhu Śrī Mānikya Chand, younger brother of Sumeru Chand, brother of Sādhu Śrī Mehar (i.e., Mihir) Chand, son of Pheru Mall, younger brother of Sādhu Śrī Bāraj Mall, inhabitant of the town of Prayāga (Allahābād), belonging to the Goyālā gotra, the Agrotakā<sup>21</sup> family, and being (spiritual) client of bhāṭṭāraka the illustrious Lalitakirttijit, in the line of bhāṭṭāraka the illustrious Jagatkirtti, the descendant of Lohāchārya, in the Pushkara gaṇa, the Mathurā gachchha, and the Kāshthāsamgha, on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśīrṣa, in Samvat 1881. May it be propitious!"

The modern Jaina temple possesses a small white marble image of Neminātha, dated Samvat 1881, and a large undated copper statue of Pārśvanātha, the setting up of which in this temple our inscription undoubtedly records.

<sup>19</sup> i.e. banker and merchant.

<sup>20</sup> See facsimile No. III.

<sup>21</sup> The modern *Agarwālā Banīyās*, see ante, vol. I, p. 84.



संवत् १८८९ सिनेमागमिषं शुक्लपक्षा शुक्लवासा  
 रेकाद्यां संघेमापुरगधेपुष्कराण्ये लोहवाद्यां भाद्र  
 पदायकशीजगती त्रिसप्तदशे द्वारकशी बलितकी  
 त्रिजिह्वाद्याये अश्विनका न्दये गोद्युत गोत्रे अश्विन  
 गरवा हस्तसाधकशी सुवर्ज्या मल्लसदनुजकेरुम  
 ल्लसत्पुनसाधकशी मंदरचंद्रसज्ञाता सुभरुचंद्र  
 सदनुजसाधकशी माणिक्यचंद्रसत्पुनसाधकशी दो  
 राजातेन कौशंवी नगरवाद्या प्रभासपर्वणे परिक्षी  
 पक्ष प्रभजिनदी लाव्यानकल्याणकथे अज्ञो भिन  
 विवश्रतिष्ठाकारिता अंगरेजवहाउरराज्ये सुभ







## XX.—THE PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚOKA.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the Pillar edicts of Aśoka the following materials have been used :—

I. *Dehli-Sivalik*,—(1) Dr. Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306ff. (2) A paper-rubbing of the second half of edict vii (the so-called circular edict), kindly supplied by Sir A. Cunningham.

II. *Dehli-Mirat*,—Dr. Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 122ff., and the paper-impressions, according to which the excellent facsimiles have been prepared.<sup>1</sup>

III. *Allahabad*,—Dr. Fleet's facsimile, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306.

IV. *Radhia (Lauria-Ararāj)*, *Mathia (Lauria-Navandgarh)* and *Rāmpūrvā*,—Mr. Garrick's facsimiles, published with this paper.

None of the older reproductions have been consulted, because they are of no value whatever. They have been made either according to eye-copies or according to rubbings,—not impressions—where the outlines of the letters have been afterwards marked in with pencil. The preservation of the Pillar edicts is in general so excellent that, except in the Dehli-Mirat and Allahabad versions, hardly a vowel-stroke is doubtful. For these two versions, especially for the first, a comparison of the original impressions is highly desirable. Unfortunately the originals of the Allahabad version were not accessible to me, and it is therefore not impossible that on a comparison of the squeezes some small corrections may become necessary. Such corrections will not, however, affect the interpretation in any way. Compared with the readings of other scholars, the present ones show very few differences in the Dehli-Sivalik and Allahabad versions, for which accurate facsimiles have been accessible during the last eight years.

The changes in the Radhia and Mathia texts are more numerous and, thanks to the new materials, decidedly for the better. The fragments of the Rāmpūrvā version have been printed once before with my German papers on the Pillar edicts in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLV, pp. 144ff, and vol. XLVI, pp. 51ff. According to the account<sup>2</sup> of Mr. Garrick, the Rāmpūrvā Pillar lies half buried in the ground. Hence only a portion of the inscription is accessible. As the Rāmpūrvā version agrees exactly with those of Radhia and Mathia, it is of no great importance for the interpretation of these documents. These three eastern versions have either been engraved according to the same MS., or, at least, according to three MSS. written out by the same Karkun. Their verbal discrepancies are so exceedingly slight that they cannot possibly be ascribed to different draughtsmen. The two Dehli versions are also closely allied to each other. This agreement extends in both cases also to the grouping of the words, which the present edition indicates by hyphens put between those written continuously. I believe that it is advisable to attend to this point, because evidently only those words have been placed close together, which may

<sup>1</sup> These impressions, which Dr. Fleet kindly presented to me, have been made over to the Oriental Institute of the Vienna University.

<sup>2</sup> See Cunningham's *Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 110f.



be joined according to the construction. There is not a single instance in which words written continuously belong to different sentences. It would seem that the clerks connected those words, which in reading the documents they pronounced together. Hence the breaks are equivalent to signs of interpunction, commas, semi-colons and full stops, and they, as well as the combined groups, must be taken into account in the interpretation. And it follows, *e.g.*, that in the second edict the division of the group *chakhudānēpi* into *cha khu dāne pi* is impossible, and again that the attempt to combine the separated words *isyā kālanena*, in the third edict, cannot be upheld.

As regards the translation and interpretation of the Pillar edicts, the majority of the numerous problems, which Lassen and Burnouf left behind, have been solved by Professor Kern in his *Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten*, and in his *Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien*, or by M. Senart in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, tome ii, and in his articles in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. XVII and XVIII, which Mr. Grierson has translated in excellent style. Hence there was not very much remaining for me, especially as M. Senart in his latest publication has adopted my suggestion (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306) that the so-called eighth circular edict on the Dehli-Sivalik pillar is only the end of the seventh.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, I hope that my translation and notes will not be superfluous.

I differ from my predecessors, especially from M. Senart, in several essential points. First, as I hold on principle all conjectural emendations, which alter the texts of several versions, to be inadmissible, I have tried to show that in all cases, where such changes have been proposed in the Pillar edicts, the original readings admit of explanation. Secondly, I have attempted to further substantiate my view that a full explanation of Aśoka's edicts can only be given with the help of the Brahmanical literature and by a careful utilisation of the actualities of Hindu life. I have called attention to this point in the introductory remarks to my German articles on the Rock edicts, and in explaining the latter, I have shown how a certain proportion of the institutions in Aśoka's empire agrees with those prescribed by the Brahmanical *Rājanīti*, as well as, that certain other details become easily intelligible, when one consults other *Śāstras* or pays attention to still existing Indian customs. This principle of interpretation is, it seems to me, particularly important for the fourth and fifth Pillar edicts, and hence the remarks on these two pieces have become rather extensive.

Thirdly, I believe it to be certain that Piyadasi-Aśoka had not yet joined the Buddhists, when the Pillar edicts were completed. His conversion to Buddhism fell, as I shall show in a new discussion of the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth edicts, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. Up to the end of his twenty-seventh year the king continued to preach and otherwise to work for the spread of that general morality which all Indian religions, based on the *Jñānamārga* or Path of Knowledge, prescribe for the people at large and which is common to the Brahmans, Jainas and Buddhists. This conviction, of course, has forced me to demur against a specially Buddhistic interpretation of various words and terms.

Finally, there are some passages, *e.g.*, in the second, third, fourth and seventh edicts, where I have tried, by new divisions of the continuously written syllables or new trans-

<sup>3</sup>In justice to Professor Kern I must point out that he has recognised this very obvious fact quite independently, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 384.



literations of the Prakrit words into Sanskrit, to elicit a more satisfactory sense than that obtained through the older interpretations. Most philologists will have felt that the hitherto current explanations of *chakhuddāne-pi-me bahuvīdhe dīṃne*, *kālanena-va-hakam mā palibhasayisanti*, *ndīkā-va-kāni nijhapayisanti*, etc., do not carry conviction, and could only be regarded as make-shifts which might be excused as long as nothing more plausible offered.

In the fifth edict I have left many names of animals unexplained. Every one of them will probably be traceable, if the medical *Samhitās* and *Nighaṇṭus* are thoroughly examined, of which for the moment only a small proportion is accessible to me. A special examination of the older Buddhist and Jaina literature, which I have begun, but been unable to complete, will probably furnish the means for the further explanation of some other words, which have still to be translated conjecturally or stand in need of further elucidation. In his contributions to the *Academy* of 1891, Dr. Morris has shown that something may still be done in this way, and some of my notes will show that the Jaina literature also furnishes contributions for the Aśoka inscriptions. Eventually, and, I believe, in a not very distant future, every word and form of these precious documents will admit of as certain an interpretation as those of the ordinary classical texts.

## EDICT I.

*Dehli-Sivalik.**Dehli-Mirat.**Allahabad.*

Devānam-piye Piyadasī lāja-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Devānam piye Piyadaśī lājā
bevaṃ-āhā [:] saḍuvīsati <sup>4</sup> [1]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	bevaṃ āhā [:] saḍuvīsativasābhi-
vasa abhisitena-me iyaṃ-dham-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	sitena me iyaṃ dhammalipi likhā-
malipi likhāpitā[:][2] hidatapā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	pitā[:] hidatapālate dusaṃpaṭipād-
late dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṃnata-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	(a)y(e)[1] aṃnata agāya dham-
agāyā-dhammakāmatāyā[3] agā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	makāmatāya agāya palikhāya
ya-palikhāyā agāya-susūṣāyā age-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	agāya susūṣāyā agena bhayena
na-bhayenā[4] agena-usāhenā[.]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	[age]na usāhena[.] Esa chu kho
Esa-chu-kho-mama anusathiyā[5]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	mama anusathiyā [2] dhammā-
dhammāpekḥā dhammakāmatā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	pekḥā dhammakāmatā cha suve
chā suve-suve-vaḍhitā vaḍhisati-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati chevā[.]
chevā-[6] Pulisā-pi-cha-me ukasā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā
chā gevayā-chā majhimā-chā anu-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	cha majhimā chā anuvīdhīyanti
vidhīyanti [7] saṃpaṭipādayaṃ-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	saṃpaṭipādayanti cha [3] alam
ti-chā alam-chapalam-samādapay-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	chapalam samādapayitave[:] heme-
itave[:] hemevā-aṃta [8] mahā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	va aṃtamahāmātā pi [.] Esā hi
mātā-pi [.] Esā-pi <sup>5</sup> -vidhī yā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	vidhī yā iyaṃ dhammena pālanā
iyaṃ-dhammena-pālanā dham-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	dhammena vidhāne dhammen[a]
mena-vidhāne [9] dhammena-	[1]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	sukhīyanā dhammena guti ti chu
sukhīyanā dhammena-gotī-ti [.]	khi[ya]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	[4][.]
										[2][.]

<sup>4</sup> The sign, read here *du*, appears exactly in the same shape in the Sānchi inscriptions, e.g., in *Pāḍukulikā*, i.e., *Pāṇḍukulikā*. With the form *saḍuvīsati* compare *duve*, *duvāla*, *kuḍumala*.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly the stone may have *hi* instead of *pi*, which former appears to be the correct reading.

<sup>6</sup> I give the words *ti-chu* on the strength of Dr. Fleet's note, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, p. 310. The vowel sign of *ti* stands irregularly to the left of the consonant, just as in the Kāśi version of the Rock Ed. XIII, 2 l. 12, in the last syllables of *anuvīdhīyanti* and *anuvīdhīyanti*.



## EDICT I.

*Radhia.*

Devānām-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
 hevaṁ-āha [:] saḍuṣativasābhhi-  
 sitena-me iyaṁ-dharmmalipi [1]  
 likhāpita [:] hidatapālute<sup>7</sup> dusaṁ-  
 paṭipādaye aṁnata-agāya-dham-  
 makāmatāy[a] agāya-palikhāya  
 [2] agāya-susūsāya aṁena-bhaye-  
 na aṁena-usāheṇa [.] Esa-chu-  
 kho-mama - anusathiya dhamma-  
 pekha [3] dhammakāmatā-cha  
 suve-suve-vaḍhitā vaḍhisati cheva  
 [.] Pulisā-pi-me ukasā-cha geva-  
 yā-cha majjhimā-cha anuvihā-  
 yanti [4] saṁpaṭipādayanti-cha  
 alam-chapalam samādapayitave  
 hemeva-aṁtamahāmātā-pi[.] Esā-  
 hi-vidhi yā-iyam dhammena-pāla-  
 na[5] dhammena-vidhāne dham-  
 mena-sukhīyana dhammena goti-  
 ti [6] [.]

*Mathia.*

Devānām - piye Piyadasi - lāja  
 hevaṁ-āha [:] saḍuṣativasābhhi-  
 lena me iyaṁ [1] dharmmalipi  
 likhāpita [:] hidatapālate dusaṁ-  
 paṭipādaye aṁnata-agāya dham-  
 makāmatāya [2] agāya-palikhāya  
 agāya-susūsāya aṁena-bhayeṇa  
 aṁena-usāheṇa [.] Esa-chu- kho-  
 mama [3] anusathiya dhammā-  
 pekha dhammakāmatā-cha suve-  
 suve-vaḍhita vaḍhisati-cheva [.]  
 Pulisā-pi-me[4] ukasā-cha geva-  
 yā-cha majjhimā-cha anuvihāyam-  
 ti saṁpaṭipādayanti-cha alam-  
 chapalam-samādapayitave [5] he-  
 meva-aṁtamahāmātā-pi[.] Esā-  
 hi-vidhi yā iyaṁ dhammena-pāla-  
 na dhammena-vidhāne dhammena-  
 sukhīyana [6] dhammena-gotī-ti  
 [7.]

*Rāmpūrvā.*

Devānām in-piye Piyadasi-lājaja .  
 hevaṁ-āha [:] sa[ḍu] . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . [1] dusaṁpaṭipādaye  
 aṁnata-agāya dhammakāmatāya  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . [5.]  
 . . . . . [2] Esa-chu-  
 kho-mama anusathiya dhammā-  
 pekha dhamma . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . [3] geva-yā-cha majhi-  
 mā-cha anuvihāyanti saṁpaṭi-  
 pādayanti . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . [4] yā iyaṁ dhammena  
 pālana dhammena vidhāne dham-  
 mena s[u] . . . . .

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to gain except by the greatest love of the sacred law, the greatest circumspection, the greatest obedience, the greatest fear, the greatest energy.<sup>8</sup> But, through my instructions, these have, indeed, increased day by day, and will increase still more (*viz.*) the longing for the sacred law and the love of the sacred law. And my servants, the great ones, the lowly ones<sup>9</sup> and those of middle rank, being able to lead sinners<sup>10</sup> back to their duty, obey and carry out (*my orders*), likewise also the wardens of the marches.<sup>11</sup> Now the order (*for them*) is to protect according to the sacred law,<sup>12</sup> to govern according to the sacred law, to give happiness in accordance with the sacred law, to guard according to the sacred law."

<sup>7</sup> Burnouf's explanation of *hidata* and *pālata*, which are found also below IV, (l. 7 (D. S.), l. 18 (D. S.), VII, 2, l. 10 as inflected forms of the adverbs in *tra*, is no doubt correct. In popular Sanskrit, too, *paratram* is used in the sense of *paralokaḥ* or *pāralaukikam*, see *Pañchatantra*, iii, p. 54, l. 17 (Bo. edition).

<sup>8</sup> *Circumspection*, i.e., a careful examination, whether one's actions are lawful or not; *obedience*, i.e., towards Piyadasi's sacred law; *fear*, i.e., of sin.

<sup>9</sup> *Gevayā*, 'the lowly ones' or 'subalterns' is derived from the Sanskrit root *gep* or *glep*, which the *Dhātupāṭha* explains by *daṁṣe*. The corresponding Sanskrit word was, no doubt, \**gepya*-\**glepya*, literally 'the poor' or 'wretched.'

<sup>10</sup> *Chapala*, literally 'fickle', means both in Pali and in Sanskrit *durvinīta*, 'ill-behaved', 'a sinner.'

<sup>11</sup> The *aṁtamahāmātā*, 'the wardens of the marches,' are the *antapālāḥ* of the Sanskrit writers, see, e.g., *Mālavikāgnimitra*, p. 16, l. 7 (Bo. S. Ser., 2nd ed.).

<sup>12</sup> It will be best to take *hi* here *aradhyaṇe*, i.e., in the sense of 'indeed', 'even', which it has not rarely in Sanskrit prose.



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Ed. V

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Ed. VI

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## EDICT II.

## Delhi-Sialik.

Devānam piye Piyadasi-lāja  
[10] hevaṃ-āha[.] dhamme-sādh[.]  
Kiyam-chu-dhamme-ti[?] Apāsi-  
nave bahu-kayāne daya dāne  
[11] sāche-sochaye[.] Chakhu-  
dāne-pi-me bahuvidhe-dimne du-  
pada[12] chatupadesu  
pakhivāliche[.] vividhe-me-anu-  
gahe-kate ā-pāna[13] dākhināye  
amāni-pi-cha-me bahūni kayān-  
āni-kaṭāni[.] Etāye-me[14]  
athāye iyaṃ-dhammalipi-likhā-  
pita[.] hevaṃ-anupatipajamtu  
chilam[15] thitika-cha-hotū-ti-  
ti[.] Ye-cha-hevaṃ-sampatipa-  
jisati se-sukataṃ-kachhati-ti[16]

## Delhi-Mirat.

Devānam piye Piyadasi-lāja-  
hev...[.] dhamme-sādh[17]  
Kiyam...[?] Apāsinave  
bahu-kayāne daya dāne sāche [so]-  
chaye [.] [Chakhu]dā[ni]-  
pi-me [4] bahuvidhe-dimne du-  
padachatupadesu pakhivāliche[.] [vi-  
vidhe-me-anu] [5] gahe-kate ā-pā-  
nadākhināye amāni-pi-cha-me  
bahū[qi . yāni] [6] kaṭāni[.]  
Etāye-me-athāye iyaṃ-dhamma-  
lipi[.] [khāpita] . . [7] anupatipa-  
jamtu chilam[18] thitika-cha-  
hotū-ti[.] Ye-cha-he . . . . .  
[8] sati se-sukataṃ-ka[cha] [ti-  
ti] [9]

## Allahabad.

Devānam piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āha[.] dhamme-sādh[.]  
Kiyam-chu-dhamme-ti[?] Apāsi-  
nave bahu-kayāne daya dāne  
sāche sochaye[.] Chakhu-dāne pi-  
me[5] bahuvidhe-dimne du-  
padachatupadesu<sup>15</sup> pakhivāliche[.]  
vividhe-me-anugahe-kate ā-pā-  
nadākhināye<sup>16</sup> amāni-pi-cha-me  
bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni[6] Etāye  
me-athāye iyaṃ-dhammalipi-  
likhāpita[.] hevaṃ-anupatipa-  
jamtu chilam[18] thitika-cha-  
hotū-ti[.] Ye-cha-hevaṃ-sampatipa-  
jisati se-sukataṃ-kachhati-ti[7]

## EDICT II.

## Radhia.

Devānam piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āha[.] dhamme-sādh[.]  
Kiyam-chu-dhamme-ti[?] Apāsi-  
nave bahu-kayāne daya dāne  
sāche [7] socheye-ti[.] Chakhu-  
dāne-pi-me bahuvidhe-dimne du-  
padachatupadesu pakhivāliche[.]  
vividhe-me-anugahe-kate [8] ā-pā-  
nadākhināye amāni-pi-cha-me  
bahūni kayānāni-kaṭāni[.] Etāye-  
me-athāye iyaṃ-dhammalipi-likhā-  
pita[.] hevaṃ [9] anupatipajamtu  
chilam[18] thitika-cha-hotū-ti[.] Ye-  
cha-hevaṃ-sampatipajisati se-su-  
kataṃ-kachhati-ti[10]

## Muthia.

Devānam piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āha[.] dhamme-sādh[.]  
Kiyam-chu-dhamme-ti[.] Apāsi-  
nave bahu-kayāne [8] daya dāne  
sāche socheye-ti[.] Chakhu-dāne-  
pi-me bahuvidhe-dimne du-  
padachatupadesu pakhivāliche[.]  
vividhe-me-anugahe-kate ā-pā-  
nadākhināye amāni-pi-cha-me  
bahūni kayānāni [10] kaṭāni[.]  
Etāye-me-athāye iyaṃ-dhamma-  
malipi-likhāpita[.] hevaṃ-anu-  
patipajamtu chilam[18] thitika-cha-  
hotū-ti[11] Ye-cha-hevaṃ-sam-  
patipajisati se-sukataṃ-kachhati  
[12]

## Rāmpūrrā.

Devānam piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āha[.] dhamme-sādh[.]  
Kiyam . . . . .  
[6] bahuvidhe-dimne  
dupadachatupadesu pakhivāliche-  
lesu vivi . . . . .  
[7] . . . . .  
Etāye-me-athāye iyaṃ-dhamma-  
lipi-likhāpita[.] hevaṃ . . . . .  
[8]

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—“(To fulfill) the law is meritorious. But what does (the fulfilment of) the law include? (It includes) sinlessness, many good works, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity. The gift of spiritual insight I have given (to men) in various ways; on two-footed and four-footed beings, on birds and aquatic animals I have conferred benefits of many kinds, even the boon of life, and in other ways have I done much good. It is for this purpose that I

<sup>10</sup> The quantity of the second vowel of *sādh* is not certain.

<sup>11</sup> *Chilam*<sup>10</sup> looks like *child*<sup>10</sup>; possibly *thitika* to be read.

<sup>12</sup> Possibly *dupadamahatupadesu*. But the dot after *da* is probably accidental.

<sup>13</sup> *Pānadakhinā* is the Sanskrit *prānadakṣhiṇā*, a less commonly used variant for *abhaya-dakṣhiṇā* of safety. The smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, however, gives it in this sense.



have caused this religious edict to be written, (etc.) that men may thus act accordingly, and that it may endure for a long time. And he who will act thus will perform a deed of merit.

## REMARKS.

a. I explain *apāsinave* by *apāśravam*, used in the sense of *apāśravatvam*. It may be noted that the Jainas possess a term *anḥaya*, which exactly corresponds to *āsinava*, and is derived, like the latter, from *ānu* (see Weber: *Indische Studien*, vol. XVI, p. 326, note 7). Piyadasi's theory of the *āsinava*, which is more fully developed in the next edict, does not agree with the Buddhist doctrine of the threefold or fourfold *āśava*, but comes closer to that of the Jain *anḥaya*, which includes injury to living beings, lying, stealing, unchastity, and attachment to worldly possessions.

b. The usual interpretation of *chakkuddāne* by *cha kku dāne* cannot stand, because the enclitic words *cha* and *kku* cannot begin a sentence, and because the continuousness of the syllables in the text does not permit their being taken as parts of two sentences. The metaphorical use of *chakku*, in Sanskrit *chakṣus*, 'eye,' for 'spiritual insight or knowledge,' is common with all Hindu sects. Piyadasi alludes here to the *dharmasūvanāni* and *dharmānusathini*, 'sermons on, and instruction in, the sacred law,' of which he speaks more fully below (VII, 2, l. 1); compare also *dharmadāne* (Rock Edicts XI and the note to the latter passage).

## EDICT III.

## Dehli-Sivalik.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āha[.] kayānamm-eva-de-  
khati[.] iyaṃ-me[17] kayāne-ka-  
te-ti[.] No-mina-pāpam-dekhati  
[.] iyaṃ-me-pāpe-ka-te-ti iyaṃ-  
vā-āsinave[18] nāma-ti[.] Dupa-  
ṭivekhe-chu-kho-esa[.] Hevaṃ-  
chu-kho-esa-dekhiye[.] imāni[19]  
āsinavagāmi-nāma atha-chaṃ-  
diye nībhūtiye kodhe māne iyaṃ  
[20] kālanena-va-bakam mā-pa-  
li-bhasayisam[.] Esa-bādhā-de-  
khiye[.] iyaṃ-me[21] hidatikāye  
iyaṃ-mana-me pālatikāye [21]

## Radhia.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āha[.] kayānamm-eva-de-  
khamti[.] iyaṃ-me-kayāne-ka-te-ti  
[.] No-mina-pāpam-dekhamti[.]  
iyaṃ-me-pāpe-ka-te-ti[11] iyaṃ-  
vā-āsinave-nāma-ti[.] Dupaṭive-  
khe-chu-kho-esa[.] Hevaṃ-chu-  
kho-esa-dekhiye[.] imāni-āsinave-

## Dehli-Mirat.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āha[.] kayānamm-va-  
d[ekha].(.) . . m.[10] kayāne-  
ka-te-ti[.] No minā-pāpam-de-  
khati[.] [i]iyaṃ-me-pāpam-ka[te-  
ti iyaṃ v.[11] āsinave-nā[ma]-ti  
[.]<sup>17</sup> Dupaṭivekhe-chu-kho-esa  
[.] Hevaṃ-chu . . [sa d]ekhiye  
[12] [i]imāni-āsinavag[āmi]-  
nāma atha<sup>18</sup> chaṃdiye nībhū-  
tiye-kodhe[13] māne iyaṃ kāla-  
na-v[ā]<sup>19</sup> bakam-mā-palibha[sa]-  
yisa[.] . . bādhā[14] dekhiye[.]  
iyaṃ . e [hidati]kāye iyaṃ-me-  
pālatikāye[15]

## Mathia.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āha[.] kayānamm-eva-dek-  
hamti[.] iyaṃ-me-kayāne-ka-te-ti[.]  
No-mina-pāpam [18] d[ekha]hamti-  
[.] iyaṃ-me-pāpe-ka-te-ti iyaṃ-  
vā-āsinave-nāma-ti[.] Dupaṭivek-  
he-chu-kho-esa[.] Hevaṃ-chu-kho-  
esa-dekhiye[14] imāni-āsinave-

## Allahabad.

Devānam piye Piyadasi lāja  
hevaṃ āha[.] kayānam-eva de-  
khati[.] iyaṃ me kayāne ka-te ti  
[.] No minā pāpakam dekhati[.]  
iyaṃ me pāpake ka-te ti iyaṃ vā  
āsinave nāma ti[18]

## Rāmpur.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āha[.] kayānamm-eva-de-  
khamti[.] iyaṃ-me-kayāne-ka-te-ti[.]  
No-mina-pāpam [18] d[ekha]hamti-  
[.] iyaṃ-me-pāpe-ka-te-ti iyaṃ-  
vā-āsinave-nāma-ti[.] Dupaṭivek-  
he-chu-kho-esa[.] He[va]. [v.] . . . . .  
[9] iyaṃ-vā-āsinave-nā-  
ma-ti[.] Dupaṭivekhe-chu-kho-  
esa[.] He[va]. [v.] . . . . .

<sup>17</sup> Possibly *nāma-ti* is to be read.

<sup>18</sup> The apparent vowel-stroke to the left of *āha* is probably an accidental scratch.

<sup>19</sup> Possible *vā* is to be read.



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347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

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*Rámpúrvá.*

. . . [10] kodhe mâne isya  
 kâlanena-va-hakam mâ-palibhasa-  
 yi. . . . .  
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 . . . . . [11]

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kâ] chaghamti-[â]lâ[dhayi-  
tave] [.2]  
tu asva[the-ho]

**2 K 2**



*Allahabad.*

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hālasamatâ chā  
siyâ damḍasamatâ cha[.] Ava \*\*  
ite pi cha me āvuti[:] bamdhana-  
badhānam munisānam tīlītadam-  
dānam patavadhānam timni di-  
vasāni yote dimne[:17] . . . va  
kāni nijhapayisaṁti jīvātaye tā-  
nam nāsamtam vā nijhapayitā  
dānam dāhamti pālaticam upavā-  
sam vā kachhamti[:18] . . .  
me[:] hevaṁ niludhasi pi kālasi  
pālutam ālādhayevu janasa cha  
vaḍhati vividhe dharmmachalane  
sayame dānasavibhāge [:19]

*Rámpúrvá.*

Devānaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṁ-āha[:] saduvāsati . . .  
[12] janasi-āyata tesam-  
ye-abhihale-va daṁḍe-va atapati .  
[13]  
hitasukhaṁ-upadahevu anugahi-  
nevu-cha[.] Sukhīyanadu . . .  
[14] ālādhayevū-ti[.]  
Lajûkā-pi-laghamti paṭichal-  
itave-maṁ . . .  
[15] chaghamti ālādhayitave[.]  
Athā-hi-pajam viyatāye-dhātiye-

<sup>24</sup> Possibly *dra-ite* is to be read.



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SECRET







EDICT IV—*contd.**Radhia.*

tu asvathe-hoti[;] viyata-dhâti-  
chaghati-me-pajam-sukham-pali-  
haṭave-ti[18] hevaṁ-mama-la-  
jûka-kaṭa<sup>26</sup> jânapadasa-hitasu-  
khâye[;] yena-ete-abhîta-asvathâ-  
saṁtām-avimāna-kāṁmāni-pava-  
tayevû-ti[.] Etena-me-lajûkâ-  
nām-abhihâle-va[19] dāṁde-va-  
atapatiye-kaṭe[.] Ichhitaviye-hi-  
esa[;] kim-ti[?] viyohâlasamatâ-  
cha-siya dāṁḍasamatâ-cha[.]  
Âvâ-ite-pi-cha-me-âvuti[;] bāṁ-  
dhanabadhānam[20] munisā-  
nām-tīlitadāṁḍānam-patavadhā-  
nām-timni-divasāni-me-yote-  
dimne[.] Nātikâ-va-kāni-nijha-  
payisaṁti jīvitāye-tānam-nāsaṁ-  
tām-va[21] nijhapayitave dānam-  
dāharnti-pālatikam-upavāsam-  
va-kachharnti[.] Ichhâ-hi-me[;]  
hevaṁ-niludhasi-pi-kālasi pālat-  
am-âlādhayevû-ti[22] janasa-cha-  
vaḍhati vividhe-dharmmachalane  
sayame dānasarivibhāge-ti[23]

*Mathia.*

nisijitu asvathe-hoti[;] viyata-  
dhâti-chaghati-me-pajam su-  
kham-palihaṭave-ti[22] hevaṁ-  
mama-lajûka-kaṭa jânapadasa-  
hitasukhâye[;] y[e]na-ete-abhîta-  
asvathâ-saṁtām avimāna-kāṁ-  
māni-pavatayevû-ti[23] Etena-  
me-lajûkânām-abhihâle-va-dāṁ-  
de-va-atapatiye-kaṭe[.] Ichhita-  
viye-hi-esa[;] kim-ti[?]-viiyohâla-  
samatâ-cha-siya dāṁḍasamatâ-  
cha[24] Âvâ-ite-pi-cha-me-âvu-  
ti[;] bāṁdhanabadhānam-mu-  
nisāna[m]tīlitadāṁḍānam-patava-  
dhānam-timni-divasāni-me-yote-  
dimne[.] Nātikâ-va-kāni[25] ni-  
jhapayisaṁti jīvitāye-tānam  
nāsaṁtām-va-nijhapayitave dān-  
am-dāharnti-pālatikam-upavāsam-  
va-kachharnti[.] Ichhâ-hi-me[;]  
hevaṁ[26] niludhasi-pi-kālasi pā-  
latam-âlādhayevû-ti janasa-cha  
vaḍhati vividhe-dharmmachalane  
sayame dānasavibhāge-ti[27]

*Rāmpūurvā.*

ni . . . . .  
[16] jânapadasa-hitasukhâye yena-ete-  
abhîta-asvathâ . . . . .  
[17] Ichhitaviye-hi-esa[;] kî-ti[?] vi-  
yohâlasamatâ-cha-siya . . . . .  
[18] timni-  
divasāni-me y[o]te-dimne[.] Nā-  
tikâ-va-kāni nijha- . . . . .  
[19] Ichhâ-hi-me-hevaṁ  
niludhasi-pi-kālasi pālatam . . . . .  
[20]

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. My *Lajûkas*<sup>a</sup> are established (*as rulers*) among the people, among many hundred thousand souls; I have made them independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments<sup>b</sup>—Why? In order that the *Lajûkas* may do their work tranquilly and fearlessly, that they may give welfare and happiness to the people of the provinces and may confer benefits (*on them*). They will know what gives happiness and what inflicts pain, and they will exhort the provincials in accordance with the principles of the sacred law,<sup>c</sup>—How?—That they may gain for themselves happiness in this world and in the next. But the *Lajûkas* are eager to serve me<sup>d</sup>. My (*other*) servants also, who know my will, will serve (*me*), and they, too will exhort some (*men*), in order that the *Lajûkas* may strive to gain my favour.<sup>e</sup> For, as (*a man*) feels tranquil after making over his child to a clever nurse,—saying unto himself, 'The clever nurse strives to bring up my child well,'—even so I have acted with my *Lajûkas* for the welfare and happiness of the provincials, intending that, being fearless and feeling tranquil, they may do their work without perplexity. For this reason I have made the *Lajûkas* independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments. For the following is desirable:—What? That there may be equity in official business<sup>26</sup> and

<sup>25</sup> It is possible to read *lajûka-kaṭe*. But the seeming *e*-stroke is much shorter than the real ones, and, hence, is probably due to an accidental flaw in the stone.

<sup>26</sup> Though *viiyohâla*, in Sanskrit *vyavahâra*, frequently means 'legal business,' 'judicial proceedings,' there is no objection to taking it here in the not less common wider sense 'business,' 'official business,' as the translation of *abhihâra* by "awarding honours" makes advisable.



equity in the award of punishments.' And even so far goes my order, "I have granted a respite of three days to prisoners on whom judgment has been passed and who have been condemned to death."<sup>27</sup> Their relatives will make some (*of them*) meditate deeply (*and*) in order to save the lives of those (*men*) or in order to make (*the condemned*) who is to be executed, meditate deeply, they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform fasts'. For my wish is that they (*the condemned*) even during their imprisonment<sup>28</sup> may thus gain bliss in the next world; and various religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow among the people."

#### REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

a. In note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III, I have pointed out that Professor Jacobi has found the Jaina Prakrit representative of *lajūka* or *rājūka* (Gir-nār) in the *Kalpasūtra*, where *rajjā* means "a writer, a clerk." I have added that *lajūka*, i.e. *lajjūka*, was an old name of the writer caste, which is later called *Divira* (*Dabīr*) or *Kāyastha*, and that Aśoka calls his great administrative officials simply "the writers," because they were chiefly taken from that caste. Though I do not see any reason to change this view, I now leave the word untranslated, because the rendering "writers" might mislead. Regarding my explanation of *āyatā*, which I take to be equivalent to *pratishthilāh*, note 2, on Sep. Ed. I, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

b. Professor Kern has without doubt correctly explained the general meaning of this sentence. Piyadasi declares that he has made his *Lajūkas* independent in the discharge of their duties and has abolished the appeals to higher authorities. This follows from the further statement (see below) that he has confided his subjects to them, just as a man confides his child to an intelligent nurse. I may add that there is a weighty objection to M. Senart's view, according to which Piyadasi says that he will keep legal proceedings against, and punishments of, the *Lajūkas* in his own hands. For, in all Native States of India a high official, who is "placed over many hundred thousand souls," is solely answerable to the king for his actions, and it is a matter of course that the same was the case in ancient India, as indeed in all despotic countries. An order enjoining that such men were to be punished by the king alone would have been quite superfluous. As regards the construction, I explain the sentence in Sanskrit as follows:—*teshām yo' bhihāro vā dāṇḍo vā [tatrā] mayā [teshām] svatantratā kṛitā*, and I take *ātmapatyam* [*svatantratā*] as a substantive, formed according to the analogy of *ādhipatyam* and so forth. The term *abhihāra* occurs in Pali in the sense of "honour, honorarium," see *Jātakas*, vol. V, p. 58, verse 143, and *ibid.* p. 59, l. 28f. In the former passage the commentary explains *abhihāram* by *pūjam*. It is obvious that this meaning fits here excellently.

c. I interpret *dhammayutena* with Professor Kern by *dharmayuktena*, i. e. *dharmayuktyā*. M. Senart's attempt to translate it by 'together with the Faithful,' i.e.

<sup>27</sup> In the interpretation of *ava ite* (Dh. A.) and *āvā ite* (M. R.) I follow Professor Kern and M. Senart, who explain it by *yāvad itaḥ*, and I take *āvuti* with M. Senart as equivalent to *āyuktiḥ*. *Tīlita* or *tīlita* has here the same sense as *tīrita* Manu, IX, 233.

<sup>28</sup> *Niludhasi pi kālasi*, literally *niruddhe pi kāle*, may be taken in the sense of *nīrodhakāle pi*. Similar phrases occur in Pali, e.g., *mithyācārahā* and *anācārahā* *chinnādivase* for *anācārahā* *aparādivase*, *Jāt.* i, p. 300.



the Buddhists, is not tenable. The passage, Pillar Edict VII, 2, 2, which he connects with this, has nothing to do with it. For, *dharmmayulam janam* means there 'the loyal people,' and denotes Piyadasi's subjects, as distinguished from the *amtā*, 'the free borderers.'

(d) M. Senart's conjectural emendation *chaghamti* for *laghamti* is barred by the fact that the four complete versions all offer *laghamti*, and that the supposed *varia lectio* '*chaghamti*' does not exist. *Laghamti* seems to be the representative of Sanskrit *raṅghante* 'they hasten', i.e. 'are eager.' I fully agree with the same scholar's remark that *paṭichal* must be taken in the sense of Sanskrit *parichar*, because in Pali the preposition *paṭi* is frequently used for *pari*. Its correctness is demonstrated by the fact that in the Jaina Mahārāshṭrī, *paḍiyar*, i.e. literally *pratichar*, means 'to serve,' see Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāshṭrī*, glossary *sub voce* '*paḍiyariya*.'

(e) As there are no other instances in which the neuter terminations are added to feminines in *a*, I cannot explain *chhamdamnāni* with M. Senart as a Dvandva compound, formed of *cḥhanda* and *ājñā*. I take it with Burnouf, as a Tatpurusha compound, equivalent to *chhandam janantīti chhandajñāh*, 'knowing the will,' and construe it with *pulisāni*, 'the servants.' This explanation seems also advisable, because one naturally expects that *mam* must be understood and is the object of *paṭichalisamti*, as of the preceding *paṭichalitave*. The 'servants', whom Piyadasi mentions here, are most probably the *paṭivedakas*, the spies, whom the great Maurya employed according to Rock Edict VI, in order to watch the actions of his great officials, of the Pañchs and other bodies in accordance with the precepts of the Indian *Rājanīti*. The further statement that these servants will exhort *kāni*, "some" (as must be read with M. Senart), in order that the Lajūkas may strive to gain the favour of the king, probably means that these "servants" will exhort remiss Lajūkas, and that they will also, by exhorting or spreading the Dharma among the provincials at large, rouse the zeal of the Lajūkas. *Kāni* thus refers both to the Lajūkas and the provincials. With the phrase *mam-ālādhayitave* compare *lājālādhi*,—Sep. Ed. I, 15 (Dhauḷi). To Professor Kern's excellent explanation of the verb *chagh* by the Hindī *chāh-nā*, I would add that *chāh* occurs in all Indian vernaculars and without doubt belongs to the ancient stock of Aryan speech.

'Regarding this passage I can only agree with one of my predecessors in a single point. I believe that M. Senart is right in deriving *nijhapayisamti* and *nijhapayitā* from the Prakrit causative of *nidhyāi* and not from *nikshapayati*. This derivation is perfectly justified by the word *nijhati*, below, VII, 2, 8, which in its general sense is certainly equivalent to Sanskrit *nididhyāsanā* 'profound meditation.' In all other respects I differ. I am unable to accept the assertion of Professor Lassen, approved of by Professor Kern and M. Senart, that *nātikāvākāni* is a compound, meaning 'neither more nor less.' The six syllables certainly must be separated into the three words *nātikā-va-kāni*, i.e. *jñātaya eva kāmśchit*. That is the only explanation which is grammatically possible, and gives, as will be shown presently, an excellent sense. I am further unable to disregard the well authenticated reading *nijhapayitave*, which R. and M. offer, instead of *nijhapayitā*. *Nijhapayitave* is clearly an infinitive in *tave*, such as occurs frequently in Piyadasi's inscriptions. This form must in my opinion be used in order to explain the more difficult *nijhapayitā*. The latter may be, too, an infinitive, on the supposition that it stands for *nijhapayitāya*. And the contraction of the syllable *āya* does occur in Pali, e. g., in



With these new interpretations the passage may be translated into Sanskrit as follows:—*jñātaya eva kāmśchit [prāptavadhān] nididhyāsayishyanti [tathā] teshām jīvanāya nāśyamānam vā nididhyāsayitum pāratrīkam dānam dāsyanty upācāsam vā karishyanti*. The general sense is : “ During the respite of three days the relatives will exhort the condemned criminals to turn their thoughts to higher things, and they will give religious gifts (not bribes to the Lajūkas) or undergo fasts, hoping that either the lives of the condemned may be spared, or that at least the hearts of those who must die, will be softened and turn heavenwards.” This sense is a perfectly natural one and agrees with the further remark in the next sentence, that the king wishes them, *i. e.* the criminals, to gain heaven, while they lie in prison, and that among the people at large the performance of religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow in consequence of the king’s measures. Against the earlier interpretation, which ascribes the gifts and fasts not to the anxious relatives, but to the condemned criminals themselves, it must be objected that a Hindu criminal sentenced to death has nothing to give away. His property is confiscated just as that of an English felon was formerly taken by the Crown. The written Hindu law does not always state that capital punishment entails confiscation of property. But, numerous stories from ancient and modern times leave no doubt that the practice prevailed universally under Native Governments.

*Allahabad.*

... piye Piyadasî lājā hevam  
 āhā[.] saduvīsativasābhisitena me  
 imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni  
 [.] se yatha suke sālīkā alune  
 chakavāke .. [20] .. mukhe ge-  
 lāṭe jatūke<sup>39</sup> ambākipilikā dadī<sup>30</sup>  
 anathikamachhe vedaveyake gar-  
 gāpu putake samkujamachhe ka-  
 pphaṭa .. ke parmnasase simale  
 sam . [21] ..... kapote  
 gāmakapote save chatupade ye  
 paṭibhogam . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

<sup>31</sup> The apparent *i*-stroke above the last syllable of *kaphaṭa* is, as Dr. Fleet states (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 310) the lower part of the visarga of *Mahādevaḥ* in the intervening line of later writing just above *kaphaṭa*.



*Allahabad.*

[illegible]

Devânam-piye Piyadasi-lâja-  
 hevam-âha [:] saḍuvîsativasâbhi-  
 sitasa-me imâni-pi [1] jâtâni ava-  
 dhyâni-katâni [,] se-yathâ<sup>38</sup> [16]  
 suke sâlika alune chakavâke ham-  
 se [2] namdîmukhe gelâte jatûka  
 ambâkapilika duḍi anathikama-  
 chhe vedaveyake [3] garigâpu-  
 putake samkujamachhe kaphaṭa-  
 seyake paṁnasase simale samḍake  
 okapimḍe [4] palasate setâka-

<sup>38</sup> The *d*-stroke of *vathd* is not certain.



makapote save chatupade[4] ye-  
paṭipogaṃ-no-eti<sup>39</sup> na-cha-khādi-  
yati [.] Ajakā-nāni edakā-cha  
sūkalī-cha gabhinī-va pāyamānā-  
va[5] avadhya potake-cha-kāni  
āsaṃmāsike [.] Vadhikukūṭe no  
kaṭaviye [.] tuse-sajīve no jhā-  
payitaviye[.] dāve [6] anathāye-  
va vihisāye-va no jhāpayitaviye  
[.] jīvena jīve no-pusitaviye [.]  
Tīsu-chāturmāsīsu tisyam [7]  
purnamāsīyam timni divasāni  
chāvudasaṃ parṇaḍasaṃ paṭi-  
padaṃ dhuvāye-cha anuposathaṃ  
machhe avadhya no pi [8] viketa-  
viye[.] Etāni-yeva-divasāni nā-  
gavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yāni-aṃ-  
nāni-pi-jīvanikāyāni[9] no-haṃ-  
taviyāni[.] Aṭhamipakhāye chā-  
vudasāye parṇaḍasāye  
tisāye punāvasune tīsu-chā-  
turmāsīsu[10] sudivasāye gone-  
no-nīlakhitaviye ajake edake sū-  
kale e-vā-pi-aṃne nīlakhiyati no-  
nīlakhitaviye[.] Tisāye punā-  
vasune chāturmāsīye chāturmā-  
sipakhāye asvasa gonasa lakbane-  
no-kaṭaviye[.] Yāva-saḍvīsa-  
tivasābhisitasa-me etāye aṃtali-  
kāye paṃnavīsati baṃdhana-  
mokhāni kaṭāni[.]13]

pote gāmakapote save-chatupade  
ye-paṭibhogaṃ-no-eti na-cha khā-  
diyati[5] Ajakā-nāni edakā-cha  
sūkalī-cha gabhinī-va pāyamānā-  
va avadhya potake-cha-kāni [6]  
āsaṃmāsike[.] Vadhikukūṭe no-  
kaṭaviye[.] tuse-sajīve-no-jhā-  
payitaviye[.] Dāve-anathāye-va  
[7] vihisāye-va no-jhāpayitavi-  
ye [.] jīvena-jīve-no-pusitaviye[.]  
Tīsu-chāturmāsīsu tisiyaṃ [8]  
purnamāsīyam timni—divasāni  
chāvudasaṃ-parṇaḍasaṃ paṭi-  
padaṃ dhuvāye-cha-anuposathaṃ  
machhe avadhya [9] no-pi-vike-  
taviye [.] Etāni-yeva-divasāni  
nāgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yāni-  
aṃnāni-pi[10] jīvanikāyāni no-  
haṃtaviyāni[.] Aṭhamipakhāye  
chāvudasāye parṇaḍasāye  
tisāye punāvasune[11] tīsu-chā-  
turmāsīsu sudivasāye gone-  
no-nīlakhitaviye ajake edake sū-  
kale e-vā-pi-aṃne[2]nīlakhiyati  
no-nīlakhitaviye[.] Tisāye-pu-  
nāvasune chāturmāsīye chāturm-  
māsipakhāye asvasa gonasa[13]  
lakhane-no-kaṭaviye[.] Yāva-sa-  
ḍvīsativasābhisitena-me etāye  
aṃtalikāye paṃnavīsati[14]  
baṃdhanamokhāni kaṭāni[.]15]

## EDICT V.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I forbade the slaughter of the following creatures," viz. parrots, starlings,<sup>b</sup> *alunas*, Brāhmanī ducks, swans,<sup>c</sup> *nandīmukhas*,<sup>40</sup> *gelāṭas*, *jatukas*,<sup>41</sup> *ambāka-pilikās*,<sup>d</sup> terrapins,<sup>e</sup> boneless fish,<sup>f</sup> *vedaveyakas*, *gamgāpuputakas*, *sankuja*-fish,<sup>g</sup> tortoises, porcupines,<sup>h</sup> *paṃnasasas*,<sup>i</sup> *śrimaras*,<sup>j</sup> bulls set free, (?) *okapiṇḍas*,<sup>k</sup> rhinoceros,<sup>l</sup> grey doves,<sup>m</sup> village-pigeons,<sup>42</sup> and all quadrupeds, which are not used<sup>n</sup> nor are eaten. She-goats, ewes and sows, (*i.e.*) those which are with young or in milk, must not be slaughtered, nor their young ones, (*i.e.*) some (*of them*) which are less than six months old<sup>o</sup>. Caponing cocks is forbidden; husks, containing living animals, must not be burned;<sup>p</sup> forests must not be burnt out of mischief or in order to injure (*living beings*);<sup>q</sup> living creatures must not be fed with living creatures<sup>r</sup>. \*At the (*full moon of each*) of the three seasons and at the full

<sup>39</sup> Read *paṭibhagam*.

<sup>40</sup> According to the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary* the *Nandīmukha* is mentioned as an aquatic bird in the *Bhāva-prakāśa*.

<sup>41</sup> *Jatuka*, no doubt, means 'a bat'. But I must confess that I do not understand, how bats come on this list, as in general they are neither eaten nor used in any way. Possibly the flying foxes which otherwise have the separate name *manthāla* or *rāgvada*, may be meant. These are eaten at least by low-caste people, like the Kāṭkars. Their flesh is forbidden in some of the law-books, e.g., Gautama, xvii, 34.

<sup>42</sup> *Gāmakapote* is, of course, the blue rock pigeon, found in most villages and towns, especially in the wells.



moon of Taisha fish shall neither be killed nor be sold during three days, (*viz.*) the fourteenth, the fifteenth (*and*) the first (*of the following fortnight*), nor constantly, on each fast day.\* On the same days no other animals, found in the elephant-preserves and in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.† On the eighth of (*each*) fortnight,‡ on the fourteenth, the fifteenth, on the Tishya and Punarvasu days,§ on the full-moon days of the three seasons, and on festivals<sup>43</sup> bulls shall not be castrated,¶ nor he-goats, rams, and boars; nor shall any other animal be castrated which is (*commonly*) castrated. On the Tishya and Punarvasu days, on the full-moon days of the seasons, and during the fortnights connected with the full-moons of the seasons,‡ the marking of horses and oxen is forbidden.¶ Up to the twenty-sixth (*anniversary*) of my coronation I have decreed twenty-five (*times*) the liberation of (*all*) prisoners‡.

## REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(a) According to the general maxim, prevalent in Sanskrit and the Prakrits, which permits the neuter of the perfect participle past to be used in the sense of the noun of action in *ti*, *jātam* might be interpreted with M. Senart by *jāti* and be translated by “animals of the following kinds.” But, as the neuter *jāta* means also “creature,” I prefer this simpler interpretation. The eastern versions offer: “Of even the following creatures.”

(b) M. Senart's latest translation gives correctly the modern Indian expression “*maina*.” I prefer to put the English word. All the European dictionaries translate *sārikā* wrongly or omit the translation. Molesworth gives the right meaning in the *Marāṭhī Dictionary*. The scientific name of the bird is *Acridotheres tristis*, Linn., Murray, *Avifauna of British India*, No. 912.

(c) This term probably includes wild geese and large ducks, see Molesworth, *Marāṭhī Dictionary sub voce*. The birds, which were pointed out to me as *hamsas* in the palace at Kolhāpur and elsewhere, looked very much like Turkish ducks.

(d) M. Senart connects the first part of *ambākapilikā* or *ambākapilika* with *ambu*, ‘water,’ and translates “water-ants(?)”. As far as I am aware, no such animal is known in natural history. The explanation ‘mother-ant,’ or ‘queen-ant,’ is at least possible. For the queens of the white-ants are eagerly sought after and eaten, because they are considered to act as a strong aphrodisiac. The only time when I obtained a queen-ant, it was at once stolen by my servants. But, as three versions read *kapilikā*, it may be doubted if the word is the Pali representative of *pipilikā*.

(e) As *duḍḍī* is said to be a small tortoise, it is no doubt the terrapin, which is found in many Indian gardens. Tortoises belong to the five-toed animals that may be eaten, —see remark (h).

(f) M. Senart's conjecture that prawns are meant by the expression ‘boneless fish’ is not improbable.

(g) M. Senart's suggestion that *samkuja* is identical with Sanskrit *śaṅkuchi* ‘a skate,’ seems very probable.

<sup>43</sup> The translation of *sudivasa* by ‘festival’ is merely conjectural, but may be defended by its etymological meaning *sobhana divasa*, which would suit a festival. I think that popular festivals, like the modern Divāli, Dasara, and the like may be meant.



(h) *Sayaka* and *seyaka* (R. M.), of course, represent Sanskrit *śalyaka*. The *śalyaka* is one of the five-toed animals that may be eaten by Aryans, see—*e.g.*, Âpastamba, *Dh. Śā.* i, 17, 37, Baudhâyana, *Dh. Śā.* i, 12, 5, Gautama, *Dh. Śā.* xvii, 27, Vasishṭha, *Dh. Śā.* xiv, 39. It is associated with the *kaphaṭa*, *i.e.*, according to M. Senart's excellent conjecture, *kamaṭha*, 'the tortoise,' because in the law-books *śalyaka* and *kachchhapa* are always closely put together among the eatable five-toed animals.

(i) According to the analogy of *parnamṛiga*, 'an animal living in the leaves of trees,' *pamnasase i.e. parṇaśaśaḥ* may mean 'a hare, *i.e.* a hare-like animal living in the leaves of trees,' and denote the large white-bellied, red squirrel, which is found in the forests of the Western Ghâts. It is quite as large as a hare, and its skinned body looks exactly like that of a hare. I have shot it near Yellapur in Kanara. Its meat tasted very much like that of a hare.

(j) *Simale* corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit *śṛimara*. Vâgbhata, *Aṣṭāṅgahṛīdaya Śā.* I, 49, names this animal, among the ten *mahāmṛiga* or large wild animals, next to the *chamara* or yak-ox and the rhinoceros. It stands also next to the yak in the enumeration of wild animals, which occurs in the *Jātakamālā* xxvi, 7, see the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, sub voce *śṛimara*). Perhaps it may be the large Bârâsing stag.

(k) M. Senart has called attention to the passage of the *Mahāvagga*, vi, 17, where the *ukkapinḍā* are said to eat the provisions of the monks. According to the note to the translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XVII, p. 70, Buddhaghosha explains the term by *bilālamūsikagodhāmungusā*, 'cats, mice, iguanas and mongooses'. He takes it evidently in its etymological sense, *ukke i.e. oke pinḍo yeshām te* 'animals which find their food in the houses,' *i.e.* 'vermin.' This general explanation does not suit here, because cats, mice and mongooses are not eaten, and because a particular kind of animal must be meant. I would suggest that Piyadasi forbids the slaughter of one of the animals named by Buddhaghosha, *viz.* of the *godhā*, the large lizard, which, according to the law-books, quoted in note (h) belongs to the eatable five-toed animals.

(l) M. Senart's correction *palapate* for *palasate* is inadmissible, because all the three versions agree, and because the turtle-dove is denoted by the next term. Mr. Trenckner's explanation of the corresponding Pali *parasato* by 'rhinoceros' (*Pāli Miscellany*, I, 50) fits excellently. For the rhinoceros is also one of the five-toed animals which may be eaten,—see the passages from the law-books, quoted in note (h). Moreover, the rules regarding the Śrāddhas show clearly that the meat of the rhinoceros was highly esteemed. According to Manu, iii, 272, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis, rhinoceros meat satisfies the manes "for an endless time."

(m) *Setakapote*, no doubt, denotes the whitish-grey doves, which are found in large numbers in many parts of India, and which are usually included in the general term *hollo* or *hullā*. White pigeons, as indeed all tame pigeons, are only kept by Musalmans, not by Hindus.

(n) M. Senart has stated that *paṭibhoga*, literally 'enjoyment,' does not refer *exclusively* to nourishment. I should say that on account of the following clause "nor are eaten" it must mean "other use than for food" and that Piyadasi means to forbid the slaughter of all animals whose skins, fur, feathers, etc., are not required, as well as of those which are not eaten.



(o) *Ajakānāni* must be separated into *ajakā nāni*. *Nāni* is the neuter plural of the pronoun *na*, which is associated with a feminine in utter disregard of the rules of concord, as happens more frequently in these inscriptions. The proper form of the sentence would be in Sanskrit *ajā edikāścha sūkaryaścha tā garbhīnyo dhayantyo vā avadhyaḥ*. M. Senart's conjectural emendation *pīyamānā* for *pāyamānā* is inadmissible, because all the versions agree in giving the latter word and because *pīyamānā* is against the Pali idiom. *Pāyati*, not *pīyati*, means in Pali 'to suckle', see Childers Dictionary, *sub voce pibati*. Nor is it necessary to change the vowel of the affix. The affix *mīna-mīna* occurs more frequently for *māna* in the inscriptions, and it is evidently an interesting relic of ancient times, as the Zend *mana-mna*, the Greek *menos* and the Latin *mini-mina* show. The additional clause may be translated and explained thus:—

*Potakās cha [api cha, D. S., D. M.] kechit [te cha kathambhūtāḥ] āshaṇmāsikāḥ [avadhyā iti śeṣaḥ]*. The plural *kāni* is joined with the singular *potake*, because the latter is taken in a collective sense. M. Senart's derivation of *āsaṇmāsika* from *āshaṇmāsam* 'up to six months,' may be defended by the analogy of *ākālīka*, the adjective belonging to *ākālam*, 'up to the same hour on the next day'. Piyadasi's prohibition agrees with the sentiments of the Brahmanical teachers, who all forbid to sacrifice animals which have not changed their teeth, and who sometimes forbid their flesh to be eaten, see, e.g., Gautama, *Dh. Śā.*, xviii, 31.

(p) This prohibition probably refers to the practice, which here and there still survives, of burning the last remnants of the husks remaining on the threshing-floor of the village, in order to destroy the vermin.

(q) *Vihisāye*, 'to injure living beings' very probably refers, as M. Senart suggests, to the custom of setting the jungles on fire in order to drive out the game and of thus destroying it.

(r) I here again follow M. Senart, whose explanation appears to me the most natural. The prohibition probably refers to cases where sacred crocodiles or snakes, tame tigers and other carnivorous animals were fed with living fowls, sheep or goats.

(s) *Chātummāsī*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *chāturmāsī*, is the full moon of each term or season of four months, which according to one reckoning is considered the last day of that period, and according to another as falling in its beginning. The formation of the Sanskrit *chāturmāsī* is taught in Vārttika 7 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 94:—*saṃjñāyām aṇ*. "To *chaturmāsa*," 'a period of four months', (is added) the affix *a*, which causes Vṛddhi of the first syllable, in a (word of) technical import." Patañjali adds: "*chaturshu māseshu bhavā chāturmāsī paurṇamāsī*, 'the full-moon day which falls after a period of four months is called *chāturmāsī*,' and the *Kāśikā*, which repeats Patañjali's explanation, says further that the three full-moon days of Āshāḍha, Kārttika and Phālguna are meant." More explicit are the statements, which the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* makes on *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii, 1 (p. 139), while explaining the words *Komudiyā chātumāsiniyā* "on the full-moon (night or *tithi*) of Kārttika (which is) *chātumasinī*." It says:—*chātumāsiniyā ti chātumāsīyā sā hi chatuṇṇaṃ māsāṇaṃ pariyosānabhūtā chātumāsī idha pana chātumāsiniṭi vuchchati*. "*Chātumāsiniyā* is equivalent to *chātumāsīyā*. For that (full-

<sup>44</sup> This must be understood from Vārttika 6: *chaturmāsāṇaṃ yo yajñe tatra bhavē*. See the *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, 361 (ed. Kielhorn).

<sup>45</sup> Compare also Haradatta on Āpastamba, *Dharma Sūtra*, I, 10, 1.



moon of *Kārttika*) is the end of four months (and is) hence (called) *chātumāsi*, but here *chātumāsini*.<sup>46</sup> It thus appears that the real meaning of *chātumāsi-chātumāsini* is "that which falls at the end of a period of four months." And this explanation presupposes a division of the year into three periods of four months each, the months ending, according to what is called the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of Northern India, with the full-moon days.

The division of the year into three seasons of four months certainly was in India the most popular in the prehistorical period and in the earlier part of the historical period.<sup>47</sup> Each of them was called a *Chaturmāsam* or *Chāturmāsyam*.<sup>48</sup> Both the *Brāhmaṇas* and the Brahmanical *Sūtras*, as well as the canonical books of the Buddhists, frequently refer to the division of the year into three seasons, which is at the bottom of various religious institutions. With the Brahmans it was the cause of the celebration of the *Chāturmāsya*<sup>49</sup> sacrifices which were offered according to some 'at the end,' according to others 'at the beginning' of each season.<sup>50</sup> With the Buddhist monks it was the reason for extending the retreat during the rainy season, the *vassa*, over four months, see *Mahāvagga*, iii, 2, 2 and iii, 14, 11. The same period was kept by the Jaina Nirgranthas and the ancient Brahmanical ascetics. It further was used in official documents, and influenced the manner of dating them in most parts of India. The second Separate Edict prescribes the reading of the document 'on the Tishya day at each *Chātummāsa*.' The large majority of the ancient dated inscriptions, those from Mathurā incised during the rule of the Indo-Scythic kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 371, ff. and vol. II, p. 195 ff.; Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* vol. III, plates xiii-xv), two Gupta inscriptions from the same town (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 210), the early dated inscription of the Mathurā Satrap Śodāsa, the edicts of the Andhras and Abhīras (Burgess, *Rep. Arch. Surv. W. I.*, vol. IV; p. 103ff. and vol. V, p. 73ff.), the old Pallava land grant (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 1ff.) and the Sanskrit Kadamba inscription (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 37), invariably mention the season in which the documents were issued. And only three seasons occur, viz. *grīshmāḥ-gimhā*, 'summer,' *varshāḥ-vasā*, 'the rains,' *hemantāḥ-hemantā* 'winter,' the names of which are frequently abbreviated to *gri* or *gri*, *va* and *he*. In the inscriptions from Mathurā and the neighbourhood each season is divided into four months, and we actually find, Mathurā inscriptions, 2nd series (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, No. 4; Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, vol. III, No. 12) *gri*, (i.e. *grīshmamāse*)

<sup>46</sup> The Sanskrit equivalent *chāturmāsin* likewise exists, but has a different meaning, see Vārttika 5 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 94.

<sup>47</sup> Other divisions, especially that into six seasons, are no doubt equally ancient, see Prof. Weber, *Die Nachrichten von den vedischen Nakshatra*, ii, p. 327ff. But they do not seem to have been used in popular life to an equal extent.

<sup>48</sup> *Chāturmāsyam* is formed according to the analogy of *trailokyam*, *trāimāsyam*, *chāturvarṇyam*, *chāturāśramyam* and so forth, see Vārttika 1 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 124, and the explanation of the passage in the *Kāśikā*. I point this out in order to meet the doubt which M. Senait, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 76, feels regarding my explanation of the compound *anuchātummāsam* in the second Separate Edict. He thinks that, if *anuchātummāsam* meant 'at the commencement of every term or season of four months,' it must be *anuchātummāsam* with a short *a* in the third syllable. In stating this he has overlooked that *chāturmāsyam*, in Pali *chātummāsam*, is a perfectly correct synonym of *chaturmāsam*.

<sup>49</sup> The word *chāturmāsyā* is according to Vārttika 6 on Pāṇini v. 1, 95, derived from *chaturmāsam* by the affix *ya*, causing Vṛiddhi, and meaning *tatra bhava*, falling into that.

<sup>50</sup> See Manu, iv, 26, and the parallel passages in the synopsis to my translation. Manu says that they are to be offered *ritvante*, and thus reckons the three full-moon days as the last of the season. Similarly he uses IV, 119, *ritvantāsu rātrishu* for *chāturmāsihu*. Baudhāyana has *ritumukhe*, and other passages from the Śrauta Sūtras and Brāhmaṇas are quoted by Professor Weber in his *Nachrichten v.d. Nakshatra*, ii, 329ff. The discrepancy has no doubt been caused by a difference in the reckoning of the commencement of the seasons.



4; Mathurâ inscriptions, 1st series, No. 3, and second series, No. 20, *va*, (i.e., *varshamāse*) 4, Cunningham, No. 20, *varshamāse* 4; Mathurâ inscription, 1st series, No. 21, *hemantamāse chaturthē* 4, ibidem No. 8, *hemantamāse* 4, and Cunningham, No. 20, *he* 4. In the inscriptions from Southern India each season is divided into eight fortnights, and the latest, actually mentioned, are the fifth (Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 16 and 17, Kanheri inscriptions Nos. 4 and 16), the sixth (Pallava land grant of Śivaskandavarman) and the eighth (Kadamba inscription of Mrigēśavarman). The period during which this method of dating was in general use, embraces the first century B.C. and the first two centuries A.D. But, in Mathurâ it survived until the fifth century A.D., as No. 39 of the second series was incised during the reign of Kumārāgupta and in the Gupta year 113 or A.D. 431—2 Kā[rttikahema]ntamās[e] divase 20, “on the 20th day of the winter month of Kārttika. In Southern India it presumably lasted at least until the same period, to which the Kadamba land grants probably belong.

Finally, it may be noted that the old division into three seasons is the only one used by the common people in the districts known to me. The Gujarātī villagers and all persons not affected by the learning of the *Śāstras* speak only of the *unhāḷo* (*ushṇa-kāla*) *varsād nā dehādā* or *ohomāsūm* and *shīyāḷo*. The Marāṭhas know only *unhālā*, *pāvasālā* (*prāvṛish* and *kāla*) and *himvālā* (*himakāla*.) Further north and east I have frequently heard the terms mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*,<sup>51</sup> *dhūpkāl*, *barkhakāl* and *sītkāl* or equivalents thereof. With respect to the beginning of each season the authorities differ. The oldest, the *Brāhmaṇas*, as well as some *Śrauta Sūtras*, begin the hot season with the month of Phālguna, other *Śrauta Sūtras* with the month of Chaitra.<sup>52</sup> The two schemes of the seasons, therefore, are:—

|          | I   | II   |
|----------|---|--|
| Grīshmāh | { Phālguna.<br>Chaitra.<br>Vaiśākha.<br>Jyāishṭha.                            | { Chaitra.<br>Vaiśākha.<br>Jyāishṭha.<br>Āshāḍha.                  |
| Varsbh   | { Āshāḍha.<br>Śrāvaṇa.<br>Bhādrapada or Praushṭhapada.<br>Āsvina or Āsvayuja. | { Śrāvaṇa.<br>Bhādrapada or Praushṭhapada.<br>Āsvina.<br>Kārttika. |
| Hemantāh | { Kārttika.<br>Mārgaśīrsha.<br>Pauṣha or Taiṣha.<br>Māgha.                    | { Mārgaśīrsha.<br>Pauṣha.<br>Māgha.<br>Phālguna.                   |

The statements of the Buddhists show the same discrepancies. Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-yūki*, vol. I, p. 72 (Beal), alleges that “according to the holy doctrine of Tathāgata the year is divided into three seasons,” the hot, the wet and the cold, the scheme of which agrees with the second given above. But the canonical books of the southern Buddhists show clearly that their authors knew also the scheme according to which the hot season began with Phālguna. For they prescribe for the *vasso*, the retreat during the rainy season, an “earlier” period, beginning with “the day after the full moon in Āshāḍha,”

<sup>51</sup> Gladwin ed., vol. I, p. 266; see Sir A. Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 3; Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, § 1083; and Hillebrandt, *Die Sonnenwend feste*, p. 26f.

<sup>52</sup> See A. Weber: *op. cit.*, p. 329f.



and a later one, commencing "a month later than the full-moon of Āshāḍha," i.e. with the day after the full-moon of Śrāvaṇa. And it is further stated that the "later" term closed with *Komudī chātumāsini*, "the full moon of Kārttika with which the season of four months ends".<sup>63</sup> Both these passages presuppose, just like that from the *Dīgha Nikāya* (above, p. 261), the use of the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning for the months.

In the inscriptions of the Indo-Scythic period there is no indication showing when the seasons began. But, if the restoration of the Gupta inscription No. 39 is correct, it follows that in the fifth century A.D. the winter began with Kārttika, and that the scheme of the seasons was the older one, given under No. I.

Under these circumstances it is not possible to decide with certainty which full moons are meant by "the three Chātummāsīs." They may be either those of Phālguna, Āshāḍha and Kārttika, or those of Chaitra, Śrāvaṇa and Mārgaśīrsha. It is further not certain if these full-moon days were considered respectively as the last days of winter, summer and the rains, or as falling in the beginning of summer, the rains and winter. But the *consensus* of the three passages from the Buddhist scriptures and of Manu's passages induces me to assume that the former view was that held in Piyadasi's times, as these works were probably composed not very long before and after Piyadasi.

The fourth full moon, which our passage mentions, is that of Taiśha or Pausha, December—January. The forms *tīyam* (R) and *tisiyam* (M) are derived from the feminine adjective *tisī*, which has been formed from *tishya* without Vṛddhi in the first syllable. With the form *tisāyam* (D. S., D. M.), the locative of *tisā*, i.e. *tissā* (*tishyā*), compare the first part of the Vedic *tishyā-pūrṇamāsa* (see Prof. Weber, *op. cit.*, II, p. 326). The word *dhruvāye* which stands before *anuposatham* must no doubt be taken in the sense of the Sanskrit *dhruvāya*, "constantly" (see the Petersburg Dict., *sub voce*) i.e. "in all months". *Anuposatham* consists of *anu* and *posatha*, and it is worthy of note that the form *posatha*, with which Piyadasi denotes the fast days or Parvan days, stands midway between the Pali *uposatha* and the Jaina Prakrit *posaha*.

The total number of days on which Piyadasi prohibited the killing and sale of fish, amounts to fifty-six in the year, viz. :—

(1) Six in each of the months in which a new season began and in Taiśha or Pausha, the eighth of each fortnight, the full-moon days with those immediately preceding and following them and the new-moon day, or 24 in all; (2) four in the remaining eight months, the full and new-moon days, and the eighth of each fortnight, or 32 in all.

As regards the reasons which induced Piyadasi to apply his prohibition to the particular days mentioned, the selection of the Posatha days as well as of those at the end and beginning of the seasons is easily intelligible. The four days of the changes of the moon, which the Brahmans designate by the astronomical term Parvan, were the ancient Sabbath days of the orthodox Hindus. The Brahmanical Sūtras prescribe on the two chief Parvans, the full and new-moon days, for every householder, the performance of sacrifices, which are preceded by fasting. Moreover, there are in the *Dharma-sūtras* and *Dharmaśāstras*<sup>64</sup> a number of rules which make the Parvan days times of

<sup>63</sup> See *Sacred Books of the East* vol. XIII, p. 299 f. and p. 324. The note on the second passage explains the word *Chātumāsini* erroneously. I translate it according to the explanation given in the *Sumaṅgala Vildāsinī*, see above, p. 261.

<sup>64</sup> See Manu iii, 45, and iv, 128, as well as iv, 150 and 153, and the passages quoted in the Synopsis to my Translation.



continence, worship, prayer, and abstention from doing injury even to plants.<sup>65</sup> According to the commentaries most of these rules refer to the two chief Parvans alone. But the texts, one and all, state explicitly that the injunction of continence applies also to the eighth days of each fortnight, and it is not improbable that the other rules in reality were meant to apply likewise to these two days. All the four Parvan days were kept as holidays in the Brahmanical schools. The *Dharmasūtras* and metrical *Smṛitis* prescribe that the Veda-study is to be interrupted on these occasions for a whole day and night<sup>66</sup> and a verse is adduced which describes the bad results of a breach of this rule. It would thus appear that the Buddhists and the Jainas, in giving their rules for the Uposatha or Posaha days, did not much more than take over and perpetuate the ancient rules of the orthodox Hindus, and it would further appear that, by ordering a partial *amāra*,<sup>67</sup> Piyadasi acted in accordance with the sentiments not only of the heterodox sects, but also of his orthodox subjects. It is equally easy to understand why Piyadasi's rule applies to the end and the beginning of each season. The three *Châturmâsi* full-moons were also great holidays. The orthodox Brahmans, who kept three sacred fires, performed on these occasions the Châturmâsya sacrifices, those who kept a single fire celebrated corresponding rites, and the Brahmanical schools kept them as holidays<sup>68</sup> on which studying was forbidden. According to the Buddhistic *Sumaṅgala Vilâsini*, p. 140 (explanation of the words *upariprasâdavaragata*) at least one of these days, the full moon of Kârttika was kept as a popular festival. The *Nakshatra*, i.e. the conjunction, was publicly proclaimed, the houses were gaily decorated, and the citizens gave themselves up to celebrating the Nakshatra by amusements of various kinds. From the *Dīpavansa*, XV, 19, it appears that the Buddhists worshipped the sacred relics on that day. Similar popular and sectarian festivals were probably held on the other two days, and it is very likely that the modern Śivite festival on Kârttika sudi 15, the Holi on Phâlguna sudi 15, and the practice of making presents to Brahmans on Kârttika and Âshâdha sudi 15, may go back to the earliest times or be connected with the more ancient popular holidays at the end and the beginning of the three seasons.

More difficult is the answer to the question why Piyadasi included in his prohibition the three days at full moon of Taisha or Pausha. But it may be suggested that the day may have been regarded as the conventional beginning of the Uttarâyana, the sun's progress towards the north. This is still a great festival, now called *Makarasaṁkrānti*, and celebrated not on the actual day of the entrance of the sun into the zodiacal sign, but later in January.

(t) The term *nāgavana*, "elephant-preserve," is found both in Pali and in Sanskrit. It occurs repeatedly in the *Chūllahatthipadopamasutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. Thus we read, p. 178 (ed. Trenckner):—*Seyyuthā pi brāhmaṇa nāgavaniko nāgavanam paviseyya, so passeya nāgavane mahantam hatthipadam dīghato cha āyataṁ tiriyaṇ cha vitthataṁ, etc.* "Just as when, O Brāhmaṇa, the keeper of an elephant-preserve, enters

<sup>65</sup> Vishnu, lxi, 87, says: "Let him not cut even a blade of grass."

<sup>66</sup> Manu, iv, 113—114, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis.

<sup>67</sup> Partial and temporary prohibitions to kill were issued occasionally even in much later times. Thus the Śātrufijaya inscriptions, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 37, state that the emperor Akbar stopped for a year the killing of aquatic animals at the instance of Jīṇahansa Sūri, and that the same prince forbade the slaughter of all animals during six months in accordance with the prayer of Hīravijaya Sūri.

<sup>68</sup> Manu, iv, 119, and the parallel passages in the Synopsis.



the elephant-preserve, he may see in the elephant-preserve large footmarks of elephants, both long in length and broad in breadth, etc." In Sanskrit it occurs in Bâṇa's *Harsha-charita*.<sup>59</sup> The taming of elephants was in India a royal prerogative and the sale of elephants a royal monopoly, see Medhâtithi on Manu, viii, 399. Particular forests, belonging to the Crown, were no doubt reserved in Piyadasi's days, as at present, for the breeding of elephants, and these are meant here.

The word *kevaṭabhoga* has not been traced in literary works. But its meaning is not doubtful both on account of its co-ordination with *nāgavana* and on account of its etymological meaning, 'that which is enjoyed or used by fishermen.' Probably particular lakes or portions of the rivers are meant, which were set apart for the fishermen of the various towns and villages, and were consequently their *bhog*, as the modern phrase is.

(u) M. Senart's explanation of *aṭhamīpakṣhāye* by "*pakshasyāśṭamyām* on the eighth of (each) fortnight" is no doubt correct. In the Jaina *Āchārāṅga*, ii, 15, 17, p. 125, Jacobi we have an exactly analogous compound *dasamīpakṣheṇa* "on the tenth of the fortnight." The position of the parts of the compounds is inverted in accordance with a license or slovenliness, frequently observable in all Prakrits, compare, e. g. the Deśi *valayabāhu* 'armlet' (Hemachandra, *Deśīkośa*, VII, 52) for *bāhuvalaya*. Some formations of this kind like *vārabāṇa*, 'a protection against arrows, i. e. 'a coat-of-mail,' have even crept into Sanskrit in addition to those words where the grammar or classical usage sanctions the irregular position of the parts of the compound.

(v) The days of the month were commonly named according to the Nakshatras, with which the moon was supposed to be in conjunction, see my note 11 on the Sep. Ed. I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Ges.* vol. XLI. As no specification is added, Piyadasi's prohibition probably applies to the Tishya and Punarvasu days of each month. Both are among the *punya nakshatra* and Tishya or Pushya is occasionally cited as an example of an auspicious constellation. It is probable that, as the holier one, it has been placed before Punarvasu, which in the list of the Nakshatras stands earlier, being the fifth, while Tishya is the sixth. Brihaspati is the guardian deity of the latter; Aditi of the former.

(w) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nīlakhiyati* by *nīrlakshyate*, and correctly assigned to it the meaning 'is castrated.' I may add that the Deśi word<sup>60</sup> *nelachchho* or *nelachchho*, 'a eunuch,' furnishes the proof for his assertion.

(x) According to the analogies, found in the *Śrauta Sūtras*, *chātummāsīpakṣa*, the fortnight connected with the full moons of the seasons, may mean either the dark fortnight following the *Chaturmāsī pūrṇimā*, as Mr. Senart assumes, or the bright fortnight preceding it. For Kātyāyana uses *māghīpakṣa* for the dark half of Māgha, and Lātyāyana *phālgunīpakṣa* for the bright half of Phālguna.<sup>61</sup> If, however, as I believe, Piyadasi used the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning, the second explanation is the more natural one.

(y) According to a passage, quoted by Professor Weber (*Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, II, p. 330, Note 2), the Brāhmans considered the new-moon day of Phālguna to be the proper time for marking cows (see also *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, III, 10.)

<sup>59</sup> See also passage quoted in the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*.

<sup>60</sup> See Hemachandra *Deśīkośa*, iv, 44, and *Pāyālachchhī*, verso 235, as well as the note in the glossary to the latter.

<sup>61</sup> See the *Petersburg Dictionaries* under the two words, and the commentaries on the passages quoted there and in Professor Weber's *Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, Bd. II, p. 327.



### EDICT VI.

*Allahabad.*

[27] . . . Piyadasî lâ-

. . . i pā-  
[.] Hevaṃ [28]  
hitasukhe-ti-pañivekhāmi atha  
. [tisu].  
. āsañne[su] hevaṃ apaka-  
.[;] kimañ  
da[hā]mi[.] Hevaṃmeva sava-  
. yesu pañivekhāmi[.29] Sa-  
vapāsandā pi-me-pūjitā vividhā-  
ya pūjāyā[.] Echuiyamatanā  
pachupagamane se me mukhya-  
mute[.]

. lipi likhāpitā-ti[.30]

*Mathia.*

Devânarn-piye Piyadasi-lâja  
hevarn-âha[:] duvâdasavasâbhi-  
sitena-me dhammalipi-likhâpita  
lokasa [16(1)] hitasukhâye[:]  
se-tam-apahata tam-tam-dham-  
mavaadhi-pâpova[.] Hevarn lo-  
kasa[17(2)] hitasukhe-ti pative-  
khâmi athâ-iyarn-nâtisu hevarn-  
patyâsamnesu hevarn-apakathesu  
[.18(3)] kimmar-kâni-sukham  
âvahâmî-ti tathâ-cha-vidahâmi  
[.] Hem-eva savanikâyesu pa-  
tivatekhâmi [.19(4)] Savapâsam-  
dâ-pi-me-pûjita vividhâya-pûjâya  
[.] E-chu-iyarn atana pachû-  
pagamane [20(5)] se-me-mo-  
khyamute[.] Saâduvîsati-vasâ-  
bhisitena-m iyarn-dhammalipi  
likhâpita [.21(6)]

<sup>62</sup> The stroke which makes *pápova* look like *pipova* is clearly due to an accidental scratch.



## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—After I had been anointed twelve years,<sup>62</sup> I ordered religious edicts to be written for the welfare and happiness of the people, (*in order that the people*), giving up that (*unrighteousness which they practised*), might obtain a growth of the sacred law (*in*) this or that (*respect*).<sup>63</sup> (*Saying unto myself*) “the welfare and happiness of the people (*is concerned*),” I thus direct my attention not only to my relatives, but also to those who are near and far ;—why so ? “In order that I may lead some of them<sup>64</sup> to happiness.” In like manner I direct my attention to all bodies corporate.<sup>65</sup> I have also honoured men of all creeds with various honours.<sup>66</sup> But I consider that to be most essential, what (*I call*) ‘the approach through one’s own free will.’ After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written.

## REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(a) *Dhammalipi*, being a generic term, may refer to more than one edict. The edicts referred to are the third and fourth Rock Edicts. The former says, “when I had been anointed twelve years, I issued the following order,” and the latter states with equal clearness at the end, “king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, ordered this to be written, when he had been anointed twelve years.” The earlier part of Piyadasi’s spiritual course is fixed by his own statements, as follows :—

- (1) After the conquest of Kalinga in his ninth year he repented of his cruelty, and resolved to make no further conquests by the sword (Rock Edict XIII).
- (2) In his eleventh year he began to hold an annual progress through his dominions in search of religious truth (Rock Edict VIII).
- (3) In his thirteenth year he solemnly adopted the *Dhamma* or Sacred Law, *i.e.* those principles of morality which he enumerates so frequently (Rock Edict IV), and ordered it to be spread by his officials and his vassals on their annual tours through their districts (Rock Edict III).
- (4) In his fourteenth year he appointed the *Dhammamahāmātas* or Superintendents of the Sacred Law. All this long precedes his conversion to Buddhism, which happened in or immediately after the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

(b) *Apahaṭā* (D. S.) or *apahaṭa* is undoubtedly, as M. Senart suggests, equivalent to *apahritya* or *apahrivā*. In my opinion it corresponds to the second form, just as *paṭiladdha*<sup>67</sup> (*Jātaka*, iv, 46, 23) stands for *pratilabdhvā*. With respect to the meaning I differ from M. Senart, as I take *apahri* in the sense of ‘to avoid, to give up,’ which it has not rarely in Sanskrit. *Tam*, the object of *apahaṭa*, stands for *tad*, and denotes ‘that which the people used to do, before they were taught better.’ The whole sentence down to *pāporā* gives briefly the contents of Rock Edict IV, and it would have been clearer if *ti* had been added at the end. I transliterate and explain the passage in Sans-

<sup>62</sup> Compare with this sentence the statements in the twelfth Rock Edict.

<sup>64</sup> The verse runs as follows :—*Samkappam etam paṭiladdha pāpam ahoḥāhītam kamma karosi luddam.*



krit as follows :—*Saḥ[loka ityarthāḥ] tad [kriyamāṇam adharmam ityarthāḥ] apahṛitya [parihṛityetyarthāḥ] tāṃ tāṃ dharmavṛiddhiṃ prāpnuyāt.*

(c) The explanation of the statement that the king directs his attention to his relatives is given by the remarks in the fourth Rock Edict and the seventh Pillar Edict, according to which the gifts of his children, brothers and sisters were supervised by the Dhammamahāmātas. By “those who are near,” Piyadasi probably means his Lājūkas and other officials, who are supervised and taught their duties by him, see the fourth Pillar Edict and the Separate Edicts. “Those who are far,” *apakatha*, may be the wardens of the marches or perhaps the free borderers and the subjects of his friend the Yavana king Antiyoka, on whom Piyadasi conferred benefits according to the second Rock Edict, and whom he tried to convert to the Dhamma by ambassadors, as the thirteenth Rock Edict (Part ii) alleges.

(d) M. Senart has recognised that *kimam* is equivalent to the very common phrase *kimti*. As R. M. read plainly *kimmam*, I would suggest that *kimam* too stands for *kimmam*, and is a contraction of *kimva*, i.e. *kimiva*, with the not uncommon nasalisation of the last vowel.

(e) *Nikāya*, ‘body corporate,’ refers probably not only, as M. Senart suggests, to the classes of officials which are called *nikāyā* in the twelfth Rock Edict, but also to the castes and sects called *nikāyā* in the thirteenth Rock Edict.

(f.) *Pachchūpagamana*, in Sanscrit *pratyupagamana*, might mean ‘the return to,’ but may also be taken as ‘the approach towards.’ The latter sense suits here best, and what is meant is the voluntary approach which one sect is to make towards the other in accordance with Piyadasi’s recommendation in the twelfth Rock Edict :—“They shall hear each other’s law and love to hear it. For it is the desire of the Beloved of the gods—what?—that men of all creeds shall have heard much and possess holy doctrines.”

*Dehli-Sivalik Pillar.*

EDICT VII, 1.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā[:]ye-atikaṃtam [11]  
 aṃtalam lājāne husu[,]hevaṃ ichhisu[:]katham-jane[12]  
 dhammavadhiyā vadheyā[?] No-chu-jane anulupāyā dhammavadhiyā[13]  
 vadhihā[.] Etam devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ-āhā[:] esa-me[14]  
 huthā[,] atikaṃtam-cha aṃtalam hevaṃ ichhisu lājāne katham-jane[15]  
 anulupāyā dhammavadhiyā vadheyā-ti[:] no-cha-jane anulupāyā[16]  
 dhammavadhiyā vadhihā[:] se-kina-su jane anupaṭipajeyā<sup>66</sup>[,17]  
 kina-su jane anulupāyā dhammavadhiyā vadheyā-ti[:]kina-su-kāni [18]  
 abhyumnāmayeham dhammavadhiyā-ti[?] Etam-devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ [19]  
 āhā[:]esa-me huthā[,] dhammasāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhammānusathini[20]  
 anus[ā]sāmi<sup>66</sup>[:] etam-jane sutu anupaṭipajīsati abhyumnāmisati[,21]

<sup>66</sup> The second *pa* of *anupaṭipajeyā* stands above the line.

<sup>66</sup> This might be read *anusāsāmi*, but I believe the blotched line above the *ā*-stroke to be accidental. *Anusāsāmi* is also used by Asoka elsewhere, e.g. Sep. Ed., II, 6, (8), etc.]



## EDICT VII, 2.

dhammavādhiyā-cha bādham vādhisati[.] Etāye-me aṭhāye dhammasāvanāni sāvāpitāni  
dhammānusathini vividhāni ānapitāni yath[ā me pul]isā-pi<sup>67</sup> bahune<sup>68</sup> janasi āyatā ete  
paliyovadisamti-pi pavithalisamti-pi[.] Laj[ā]kā-pi<sup>69</sup> bahukesu pānasatasahasesu āyatā  
tepi-me ānapitā[.] hevaṃ-cha hevaṃ-cha paliyovadātha[1]  
janam dhammayu[ta]m<sup>70</sup>[.] [D]e[v]ānam-piye Piyadasi hevaṃ-āhā[.] etam-eva-me anu-  
vekhamāne dhammathambhāni-kaṭāni[.] dhammanahāmātā-kaṭā[.] dhamma[s]ā[van]e<sup>71</sup>-  
kaṭe[.] Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā-hevaṃ āhā[.] magesu-pi-me nigohāni lopāpitāni[.]  
chhāyopagāni hosamti pasumunisānam[.] ambāvāḍikyā lopāpitā[.] adhak[o]s[i]kyāni-  
pi-me-udupānāni[2]  
khānāpāpitāni[.] nimsidhiyā-cha<sup>72</sup> kālāpitā[.] jāpānāni-me bahukāni tata-tata kālāpitāni  
paṭibhogāye pasumunisānam[.] La[huke chu]<sup>73</sup> esa paṭibhoge nāma<sup>74</sup>[.] Vividhāyā-  
hi sukhāyanāyā pulimchi-pi lājhi mamayā-cha sukhayite loke[.] Imam-chu dhammā-  
nupaṭipatī anupaṭipajamtu-ti[.] etadathā-me[3]  
esa-kaṭe[.] Devānam-piye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā[.] dhammamahāmātā-pi-me t[e]-bahuvi-  
dhesu<sup>75</sup> aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭā-se pavajītanam-cheva gihithānam-cha[.] sava-  
[pāsam]desu-pi-cha<sup>76</sup> viyāpaṭā-se[.] Saṃghaṭhasi-pi-me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohamti-ti  
[.] hemeva bābhanesu Ājīvikesu-pi-me kaṭe[4]  
ime viyāpaṭā hohamti-ti[.] Nigamṭhesu-pi-me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohamti[.] nānā-  
pāsamdesu-pi-me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohamti-ti[.] Paṭivisiṭham paṭivisiṭham tesu-tesu  
te-[t]e [ma]hāmātā[.] Dhammamahāmātā-chu-me etesu-cheva viyā[pa]ṭā savesu-cha  
amnesu pāsamdesu[.] Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā-hevaṃ āhā[.] 5  
ete-cha amne-cha bahukā mukhā dānavisagasi viyāpaṭā-se mama-cheva devinam-cha[.]  
savasi-cha-me olodhanasi te-bahuvidhena ā[kā]lena<sup>76</sup> tāni tāni tuṭhāyatan[ā]ni paṭi-  
[pādayamti] hida-cheva disāsu-cha[.] Dālakānam-pi-cha-me kaṭe amnānam-cha deviku-  
mālānam ime dānavisagesu viyāpaṭā hohamti-ti[6]  
dhammāpadānathāye dhammānupaṭipatiye[.] Esa-hi dhammāpadāne dhammapaṭipati-cha  
yā-iyam dayā dāne sache sochave madave sādha[ve]-cha lokasa hevaṃ vādhisati-ti[.]

<sup>67</sup> Faintly visible are, both on Dr. Fleet's facsimile and on Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, the following letters—*ya tha* . . . *i* and the left-hand curve of *śd*, while the right half of *śd* is quite plain. The restoration is not doubtful, because there is exactly room for three lost consonants and because the phrase *pulisā-pi-me* "my servants" occurs above Pillar Edict, I, l. 7 (D. S.), l. 3 (A), and elsewhere. From Professor Kern's analysis of this edict, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 385, I infer that he would restore the passage in the same manner.

<sup>68</sup> *Bahune* is possibly a clerical mistake for *bahuke*. But it may be defended by the locative *punāvāsune* above,—v. 16, 18 (D. S.).

<sup>69</sup> The quantity of the second vowel of *lajūkā* is not certain.

<sup>70</sup> The last syllable of *dhammayutam* has been placed more than an inch from the rest, because there is a flaw in the stone.

<sup>71</sup> The restoration has been made correctly by M. Senart. The rubbing shows the *ā*-stroke distinctly, and the facsimile has the final *e*.

<sup>72</sup> The continuation of the same flaw in the stone, which caused the separation of the syllables *dhammayu* and *tam* in l. 2, has here made necessary the division *nimsi dhiyā* (not *dhiyā*). Of course, nothing has been lost.

<sup>73</sup> The initial *la* (not *sa*) is perfectly plain, both on the facsimile and on the rubbing. Between *la* and *esa*, three, or possibly four, syllables have been lost. The phrase was, therefore, either *lahuke chu esa* or *lahuke chu kha esa*, compare Rock Edict, XIII, 2, l. 14 (Kālsī), *lahukā vu kha śd piti*, and below, l. 9, *tata chu lahu-se dhammaniyame*.

<sup>74</sup> The *nā* of *nāma* stands above the line, and has been added afterwards as a correction.

<sup>75</sup> Though the *ta* is damaged at the top, it seems probable, both according to the rubbing and the facsimiles, that the reading was *te*. The *se* after *vīyāpaṭā* is, of course, not required. Compare also the first clause in l. 5, where another redundant *se* occurs.

<sup>76</sup> The restoration has been given correctly by M. Senart.



Devānam-piye [Piyada]s[i] lājā hevām-āhā[:] yāni-hi-kāni-chi mamiyā sādhavāni kaṭāni  
tam-loke anūpatīpamne tam-cha anuvidhiyamti[;]tena vadhitā-cha[7]

vadhisamti-cha mātāpitisu sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayomahālakānam anupatīpatiyā  
bābhanasamanesu kapanavalākesu āva dāsabhātaquesu sampatīpatiyā[.] Devānam-piy[e  
Pi]yadasi lājā hevām-āhā[:] munisānam-chu yā-iyam dhammavadhi vadhitā duvehi-  
yeva ākālehi dhammaniyamena-cha nijhatiyā-cha[.8]

Tata-chu lahu-se dhammaniyame[.] nijhatiyā-va bhuye[.] Dhammaniyame-chu-kho  
esa ye-me iyam-kaṭe imāni-cha imāni<sup>77</sup> jātāni avadhiyāni[.] amnāni-pi-chu bahu[kāni]  
dhammaniyamāni yāni-me kaṭāni[.] Nijhatiyā-va-chu bhuye munisānam dhammavadhi  
vadhitā avihimsāye bhutānam[9]

anālambhāyo pānānam [.] Se-etaye aṭhāye iyam kaṭe [ , ] putāpapotike chaṁda-  
masuliyike hotu-ti [ , ] tathā-cha anupatīpajamtu-ti [ . ] Hevām-hi anupatīpajamtam  
hidata[pāla]te āladhe hoti [ . ] Satavisativasābhisitena me iyam dhammalibi likhāpā-  
pitā-ti [ . ] Etam devānam-piye āhā : ] iyam [10]

dhammalibi ata athi silāthambhāni-vā silāphalakāni-vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa chila-  
ṭhitike siyā [11].

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

“Those kings who lived during the past ages conceived this wish, ‘Might mankind in some way grow the growth of the sacred law,’! But mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law.”

Concerning this<sup>b</sup> (*matter*) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

“This (*thought*) came to me, ‘On the one hand kings conceived during the past ages this wish, Might mankind in some way grow a befitting growth of the sacred law!’ On the other hand mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law. By what means then would mankind (*be moved*) to obey? By what means would mankind grow a befitting growth of the sacred law? By what means may I raise up<sup>c</sup> some among them to (*grow*) the growth of the sacred law?”

Concerning this (*matter*) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

“This (*thought*) came to me “Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached; instruction in the sacred law I will order to be given. When men hear it, they will obey, they will raise themselves,<sup>d</sup> and mightily they will grow the growth of the sacred law.” For this purpose I have ordered sermons on the sacred law to be preached, and have directed various instructions on the sacred law to be given, so that [*even my servants*] who dwell (*as rulers*) among many men, shall give instruction and expand it. Even the *lajūkas* who dwell (*as rulers*) among many hundred thousands of souls, even they have been ordered by me, “Instruct (*my*) loyal people<sup>e</sup> in this way and in that.”

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

“Having regard to this same matter,<sup>78</sup> I have erected pillars of the sacred law, I have appointed superintendents of the sacred law, I have ordered to be preached [*sermons on*] the sacred law.”

<sup>77</sup> Read *imāni cha*, as the sense requires.

<sup>78</sup> *Etam-eva-me anuvekhamāne* (i.e., *anuvekshyamānam*) may be explained as a nominative absolute, analogous to *arijitam hi vijinamane*, Rock Edict XIII (l. 36, k.). But it is not impossible that *anuvekhamānena* (i.e. *anuvekshamānena*) was what Asoka really wrote.



King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

“I have also planted banian-trees on the high-roads, (*intending that*) they shall give shade to men and beasts. I have planted mango-gardens.” I have also ordered wells to be dug at every half *kos*<sup>79</sup> and I have ordered rest-houses<sup>8</sup> to be built; and I have ordered many watering stations<sup>1</sup> to be made here and there for the enjoyment of men and beasts. [*But something small indeed is*] this so-called enjoyment. Both former kings and myself have blessed the world with various blessings. But I have done (*all*) this (*in order*) that men may render their obedience to the sacred law.”

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

“My superintendents of the sacred law are also occupied with the various matters of grace, affecting both ascetics and householders; and they are likewise occupied with men of all creeds. I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the affairs of the Samgha<sup>2</sup>; likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Âjivikas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Nigamṭhas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with (*all*) the manifold creeds. Various officials (*have been appointed*) for various (*classes of men and purposes*) in accordance with the several requirements. But my superintendents of the sacred law are occupied both with those (*mentioned*) and with the men of all creeds.”

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

Both these and many other chief officials<sup>80</sup> are occupied with the distribution of gifts, both my own and those of the queens; and in my whole harem they [*point out*] various ways the manifold sources of contentment<sup>3</sup> both here (*in Pāṭaliputra*) and in the distance. And I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the distribution of the gifts both of my sons and of the other princes<sup>1</sup> in order (*to promote*) noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and obedience to the sacred law. For, these are noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and this is action in accordance with the sacred law, whereby compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and holiness will thus<sup>81</sup> grow among men.”

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

“Whatever works of holiness I have worked, these men have followed, and these they will imitate in future; and thereby they have grown and will grow in future in obedience towards parents, in obedience towards venerable men, in reverence towards the aged, in proper conduct towards Brahmans and ascetics, towards the poor and the wretched, even towards slaves and servants.”

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

“But men have grown this growth of the sacred law in two ways, (*viz.*) through restrictive religious rules and through deep meditation”. But, among these two<sup>82</sup> the restrictive religious rules are something small, more (*is worked*) by deep meditation.

<sup>79</sup> Regarding the short *a* of °*vaḍikya* see note 17 on the Queen's Edict, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 123, where it has been pointed out that the corresponding *ambāvaḍikā* may stand for *ambāvaḍḍikā*. Regarding the long *ā* of *ambā*, see below, note 20.

<sup>80</sup> *Mukkhā* has either been used in the sense of *mukha*, m, a leader (see the smaller *Pet. Dict.*, sub voce), or it stands for *mukkhā* and corresponds to *mukhyāḥ* ‘chiefs,’ i.e. ‘officials of high rank.’

<sup>81</sup> *Thus.* i.e. in the manner desired by the king.

<sup>82</sup> *Tata*, i.e. *tatra*, has here, as often in Sanskrit, a distributive sense, and *tata-cha* is equivalent to *tayastu*.



But the restrictive religious rules, indeed, are these, that I have ordered various kinds of creatures to be exempt from slaughter;<sup>83</sup> but there are also numerous other restrictive religious rules which I have imposed. But by deep meditation the growth of the sacred law has been increased more among men, so that they do not injure created beings, so that they do not slaughter living creatures."

For the following purpose these (*orders*) have been issued, (*viz.*) that they may last as long as my sons and great-grandsons reign", as long as moon and sun endure, and that men may act accordingly. If man obeys them in this manner, happiness has been gained both in this world and the next. I have caused this religious edict to be written after I had been anointed twenty-seven years.

Concerning this the Beloved of the gods speaks (*thus*):—

"This religious edict must be incised there, where either stone pillars or stone tablets are found, in order that it may endure for a long time."

#### REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(a) As the preceding clause states that the kings "conceived a wish," it is not possible to take *katham* as an interrogative adverb. It must have the sense of an indefinite pronoun, just as *kāni* has more frequently.

(b) Though it is perhaps not absolutely impossible to take *etam* with M. Senart as equivalent to *itra* or *atra*, I prefer to explain it by *etad*, and to assume that we have here the "accusative of relation," which, as Professor Delbrück has shown (*Altindische Syntax*, p. 165f.), appears not rarely with verbs of speaking, wishing, considering and the like.

(c) *Abhyumnāmayeham* is the future with the meaning of the subjunctive (see Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 266f., and especially the quotation from the *Rāmāyana* under b). *E* for *i* appears similarly in *paridahessati*, etc. (see E. Müller: *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p. 118).

(d) *Abhyumnamisati* may be either the future of the active *abhyunnamati*, or, equivalent to *abhyunnammissati*, the future of the passive of the causative *abhyunnamayati*. The use of the active *unnamati*, *abhyunnamati*, *pronnami*, and so forth, in the sense of 'to rise up,' is the usual one both in Sanskrit and in the Prakrits.

(e) *Lajūka* means literally 'a writer, clerk,' and denotes here probably a high official, taken from the writer caste (see note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III). Regarding the meaning of *āyatā* note 2 to my German translation of the Sep. Ed. I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

(f) *Paliyovadātha* is one of the few instances of the Vedic subjunctive, preserved in the old Prakrits of India (see Professor Pischel in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. XXIII, p. 424, and Professor E. Müller, *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p. 108).

(g) *Adhakosikyāni* corresponds to a Sanskrit *ārdhakrośikīyāni*. The *krośa* or *kos* meant here, must be that equal to 8,000 Hastas, or half a *gavyūti*, which thus corresponds to the so-called *Sultānā kos* of 3 English miles. The ordinary *kos*, equal to one and a half or one and three-quarter miles, cannot be meant, as the wells would come to close to each other.

<sup>83</sup> See above, Pillar Edict V.



(h) *Nimsidhiyā* no doubt stands for *nisdhiyā*, just like the Pali *mahimsa* for *mahisa*, and is an equivalent of *nishidiyā*, 'dwelling,' which occurs in the Nāgarjunī Hill Cave inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 364f., in the compound *vāshanishidiyāye*. Both *nimsidhiyā* and *nishidiyā* are Pali representatives of the Sanskrit *nishadyā*, "a couch, a market-hall." They have, however, been derived not from the root *nishad*, but from the stem of the present tense *nishīd*. The lingual *dha* of *nimsidhiyā* is due to the influence of the original *sha* of *nishīdyā*. The Jains use closely allied words *nīśīdhi*, *nishīdhi* and *nisdhi* for the last resting-place, the ornamental tombs, of their saints, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 99. *Nimsidhiyā* denotes here, of course, the public rest-houses or serais, which are found at certain distances on most Indian high-roads and which are frequently built *dharmārtham* by benevolent and rich-men. Ushavadāta, the pious son-in-law of the Satrap and king Nahapāna boasts in the Nasik inscriptions, *Rep. Arch. Surv. West Ind.* vol. IV, p. 99, that he erected many such buildings.

(i) *Apāna* cannot have here its usual meaning "tavern, liquor-shop." As Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 385, assumes, it must denote a watering station. Probably the huts on the roads are meant, where water is distributed to travellers and their beasts gratis or against payment. The usual Sanskrit name is *prapā*.

(j) *Samgha*, of course, denotes the order of Buddhist monks. The Ājīvikas are probably, as Professor Kern assumes, orthodox Vaishṇava ascetics, see my discussion of the question in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 362. The Nigamṭhas are the Jaina ascetics or Nirgranthas. I take *paṭivisiṭham paṭivisiṭham*, "according to the several requirements" in the sense of *prativīśesham*, (see the smaller *Petersburg Diet.* sub voce). *Tesu-tesu*, literally "for these and those," probably refers not only to various classes of men, but also to various purposes, for which the unnamed officials were appointed. Compare the end of Rock Edict XII, where the Superintendents of women, the Vachabhūmikas and other bodies of officials are mentioned.

(k) I here follow Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 386, who takes *tuthāyatanāni*, i.e. *tushtyāyatanāni*, "sources of contentment," in the sense of "opportunities for charity." Such opportunities are to be pointed out to all the inmates of the king's harem. With this interpretation the necessity of the restoration *paṭi* [*pādayamti*] is self-evident.

(l) *Devikumāla* 'prince' means literally 'son of a queen,' i.e. of such a lady who has the title *devī*. As the sons of the king have been mentioned separately, it follows that 'the princes' are the sons of the wives of Piyadasi's predecessors, i.e. his brothers and possibly his paternal uncles. In the parallel passage, Rock Edict V, Piyadasi names 'his brothers, sisters and other relatives.'

(m) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nijhāti* as a derivative from the causative of *nidhyāi* and appropriately translated it by "reflexion." It is equivalent to Sanskrit *nididhyāsanā* "reflexion, deep meditation," which is derived by other affixes from the same verb.

(n) In *putāpapotike* the nominative of the plural *putā* takes the place of the stem just as in *ambā-vadikyā*, above l. 2. Similarly the nominative singular frequently takes the place of the stem in the inscriptions from Mathurā, *ante*, vol. I, p. 371 ff. Rare instances occur also in Pali. Thus we have, *Jāt.* iv, 184, 18, *sakhābhariyam*, 'the wife of a friend.'



## XXI.—THE MAHĀBAN PRAŚASTĪ OF SAMVAT 1207.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined inscription is identical with that which I have published, *ante*, vol. I, p. 287, under the title *Mathurā Praśasti of the Reign of Vijayapāla*, according to an impression, furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer and described as an 'Inscription on black basalt recovered from Keśava mound at Mathurā, 10th February 1889.'

Shortly after the publication of my article Dr. Führer wrote to me that he did not agree with my restoration of the king's name as Vijayapāla, because he had obtained lately from Mahāban another small inscription of the same period, which showed a different reading. His remarks induced me to look over Sir A. Cunningham's notices of Mahāban in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, where I found the facsimile<sup>1</sup> of a much more complete version of this supposed *Mathurā Praśasti*, and the statement that the document had been obtained at Mahāban in 1882-83; my friend, Professor Kielhorn, likewise pointed it out to me. For some time I thought that Dr. Führer's inscription, in which the central portion has been rubbed out by the stone being used for grinding spices or *dāl* and a large piece at the right-hand corner has been broken off, might be a duplicate of Sir A. Cunningham's. But this theory became doubtful, when in answer to my enquiries Dr. Führer stated that Sir A. Cunningham's stone was not traceable at Mahāban. And it became absolutely untenable, when some time ago Dr. J. Burgess found Sir A. Cunningham's impression from which his lithograph was prepared. A comparison with Dr. Führer's impression shows that the latter has, in the portions preserved, all the minor abrasions which are found on Sir A. Cunningham's slab, whereby the identity of the two originals is established. It would now seem that, after Sir A. Cunningham's impression was taken in 1882-83, the stone was taken away from Mahāban, used as a grinding stone by somebody, and finally brought as a find from the Keśava mound to Dr. Führer, who in 1889 received quite a number of fragments<sup>2</sup> from the railway-workmen at Mathurā.

I now re-edit the inscription according to Sir A. Cunningham's impression, which is reproduced in the accompanying plate and permits me to give a much better version.

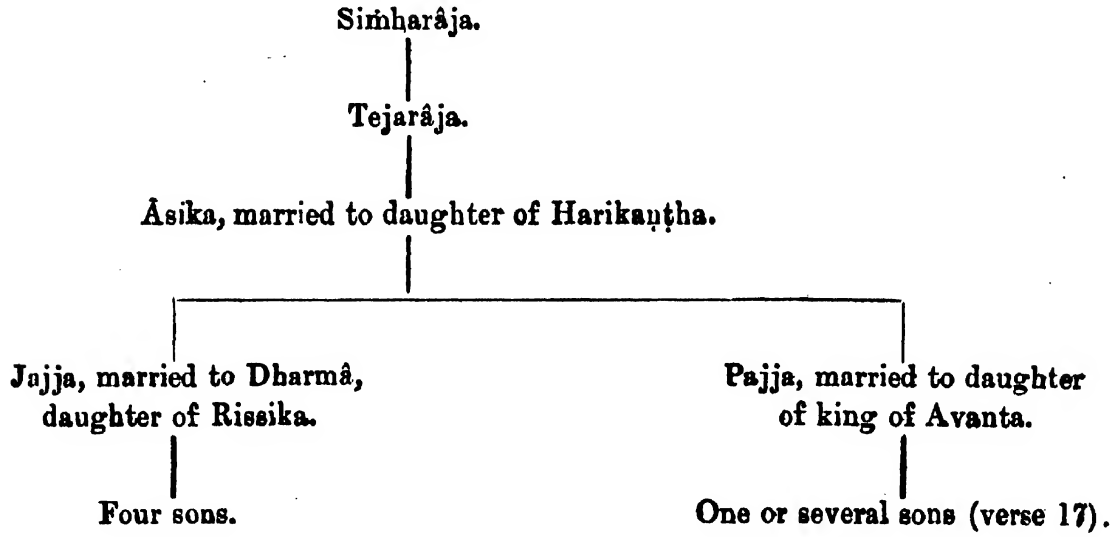
As regards the contents of the inscription, it is now plain that it refers to the erection of a temple at Mahāban. The paramount king, mentioned in the colophon, is probably, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated, *op. cit.*, vol. XX, p. 42, Ajayapāla, not Vijayapāla. And he may belong to the Yaduvamśi dynasty of Bayānā-Śrīpathā (see the pedigree *op. cit.*, p. 7). This view, which Sir A. Cunningham has put forward, is confirmed by the fact that Dr. Führer's above mentioned new inscription from

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*,<sup>\*</sup> vol. XX, pl. x.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the slab for grinding condiments upon is perfectly evident from the impression, where a round piece in the centre is blank, and at the sides the deeper strokes of the letters are visible, while the shallower ones have disappeared. Dr. Führer has also sent me squeezes of several other fragments, which bear in pencil the dates when they came into his hands. One which is unfortunately very small shows the name of *paramēśvara-śrī-Silādityadeva* and may belong to the seventh century.



Mahābān shows the name of Ajayapāla's successor Haripāla and the date Samvat 1227. The pedigree of the Rājput who built the temple now stands as follows :—



## TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. श्री ॥ श्री [ग]णपतेये<sup>१</sup> नमः ।  
 दिश्यात्स वः कैरवकु — — —  
 — यांसि<sup>२</sup> दंतो हिरदाननस्य [१]  
 विजित्य विघ्नानिव — १ — शंके (?)  
 सुखे समाधातुमुपाहितो यः [॥१]
- L. 2. [श्री]रिः कञ्जलकांतिरस्वसिलता भूत्ये ि — — —<sup>३</sup> करा-  
 त्कालिंदीव समुद्रता सरभसं या स्वर्धुनीस्पर्धया ।  
 यत्रा[न्त]र्जलमानुषीव कमला डिण्डीरपिण्डो-
- L. 3. पमः  
 कम्बुर्ध्वितमम्बरं क[मलिनी]किञ्जल्कपुंजायते<sup>४</sup> ॥ [२]  
 स वोवतु ज — <sup>५</sup> — : सकलदैत्यदर्पाह्नः  
 महानर[क]मर्ह[नः] प्रचुरचौरसंतर्ह-
- L. 4. नः [१]  
 समस्तभुवनाकरः कमलचक्रभूषाकरः  
 धृतामरमहाभरः तृ[ण]वदुष्टतस्माधरः ॥ [३]<sup>७</sup>  
 इति प्रथममेव ॥  
 शाखा[स]न्ततिसन्निवृत्त-
- L. 5. कलप्रोद्दामदिग्मण्डलः  
 आघाः पा[न्य]समाश्रयो द्विजकुलैः संसेव्यमानोधिकं ।

<sup>१</sup> Read गणपतेये. On Dr. Führer's impression the e-stroke above the ta has almost disappeared.

<sup>२</sup> Restore कैरवकुचलाभः श्रेयांसि.

<sup>३</sup> Restore चिरं वः.

<sup>४</sup> Read किञ्जल्कपुंजायते ।

<sup>७</sup> Read 'दृष्ट' ईनी ;—भूषाकरी ;—'महाभरत' ;—Restore वनाह्नः.











क्षीणीमण्डलमण्डनं बहुतरप्र[ख्यात]पर्वक्रमः  
श्रीमानस्ति ससु-

L. 6. कृतः क्षितितले राजन्यवंशी महान् ॥ [४]

सौजन्यामृतवारिधिर्गुरुगुणग्रामप्रकामावधिः  
श्रीमान्धर्मनिधिर्नयैकनिपुणक्षुब्धाध्वचक्रप्रधिः [1]

L. 7. तत्राभूत्कलिकालकल्मषमषीप्रक्षालनैकश्रमः

मान्यः क्षत्रियवर्गमौलितिलकः श्रीसिंहराजाद्वयः ॥ [५]<sup>8</sup>

दानेन लक्ष्मीर्विनयेन विद्या  
भावेन भ-

L. 8. क्षिः क्षमया च शक्तिः [1]

सत्येन सृष्टि — — तेन मूर्ति-

रलंकृतालं कृतिना च येन [॥६॥]<sup>9</sup>

तस्याभूत्तनयो नयोन्नतमतिः श्रीतेजराजाद्वयः  
सहस्रैकवचिः

L. 9. शुचिर्गुरुगुणग्राही विवेकाकरः ।

यश्चित्रं पुरुषोत्तमोपि विदितो धत्ते न वैकुण्ठता-

मैश्वर्येभ्युज्ज्वलो न तरलो यो नायकोपि स्फुटं ॥ [७]<sup>1</sup>

L. 10. तस्मात्सूनुरजायतो ज्वलतरप्रख्यातकीर्त्युच्चयः

श्रीमानासिक इत्युदारमहिमा देवद्विजार्चरतः [1]

विद्वद्वाञ्छितपूर्त्तिकल्पविटपी न्यायैकनिष्ठः परं ॥

L. 11. — — — — रोमणिर्विमलधीर्धीरः सतां संमतः ॥<sup>11</sup> [८]

शंभुः शैलसुतामिव श्रियमिव श्रीशार्ङ्गपाखिः प्रभुः

पौलो[मोमिव] वृत्रहाम्बुधिरिव स्रोतस्त्रिनीं जाह्नवीं ।

शीतांशुः किल

L. 12. रोहिणीमिव मुनिर्मान्यामिवाकन्धर्ती

स श्रीमान्हरिकण्ठजामुदवहस्तद्वृत्तिभ — — तां ॥ [९]<sup>12</sup>

तस्यां तेन सुतो जज्ञे जज्जः सज्जनभूषणं ।

रामो दश-

L. 13. रथेनेव कौ[स]ल्यायामुदारधीः ॥ [१०]

कुम्भैरंभः कलयितुमलं वा[रि]धेः कस्य शक्तिः

को वा गङ्गापुलिनसिकतास्ताः परिच्छेत्तुमीशः [1]

नक्षत्रा-

<sup>8</sup> According to Cunningham's rubbing one might read श्रीमान्कर्म्म, but Führer's gives plainly °वर्म्

<sup>9</sup> Restore सृष्टिः सुकृतेन सृष्टि°.

<sup>10</sup> The second नयो° and the second क of विवेकाकरः stand below the line.

<sup>11</sup> The last Pāda stands in the margin, and there is a mark after परं in order to indicate the lacuna. Restore श्रीशार्ङ्गपाखिरीमणि°.

<sup>12</sup> Read श्रीशार्ङ्गपाखिः.—Restore सवृत्तिभारानता.



- L. 14. लीं दिवि गणयितुं कोङ्गुलीभिः समर्थः  
तस्य स्तोतुं सकल[म]थ वा कः प्रगल्भः गुणौघं ॥११॥  
चंद्रः कथंचित्समवाप्य वृष्टिं  
पक्षं किलैकं विम-
- L. 15. लं करोति [1]  
जज्जः पुनर्भूतलपार्व — —  
द्वावेव पक्षौ विमलौ विधत्ते ॥ [१२]<sup>13</sup>  
सङ्गः साधुभिरेव कोपशमने शक्तिश्च धर्मो मतिः  
दानेभ्यासविधिः प-
- L. 16. रोपकृतये कार्यं गुरुणां न[तिः ।]  
— — श्रीपुरुषोत्तमांङ्गियुगले गोष्ठी समं पंडितैः  
जज्जस्यासिकसंभवस्य सुमतेः किं किं न लीकोत्तरं ॥ [१३]<sup>14</sup>  
का-
- L. 17. यः परोपकृतिभिः सुकृतो ७ — ७  
— द्विर्मुरारिचरणस्मरणेन चेतः [1]  
लक्ष्मीरपि प्रणयिवांच्छितपूरणेन  
सत्येन वागपि च येन कृता कृता-
- L. 18. र्या ॥ [१४]<sup>15</sup>  
श्रीमान्निष्किकनामधेयविदितो राजन्यवंशोद्गतः  
तस्यासावुपयेमिवान्दुहितरं धर्माभिधानां सतीं ।  
श्रीलाचारविभूषणां शुभगुणां भर्तृव्र -
- L. 19. तां सम्मतां  
तस्यां [पुत्र]चतुष्टयं समभवद्धर्मोपपन्नं ततः ॥ [१५]  
तस्यानुजो गुणनिधिर्गुणिनां वरिष्ठः  
ख्यातः सुरहिजगुरुचितभक्तियुक्तः [1]  
गांभीर्य-
- L. 20. सत्यनयदान[विवे]कबुद्धिः  
श्रीआसिकात्मजमुनिर्मलपज्जनामा ॥ × [१६]  
अवन्तराजतनयां भार्यासुदवहत्सतीं ।  
तस्यां स जनयामास × × × × ७ — ७ ७ ॥ × [१७]<sup>16</sup>  
संसारं हरिभक्तिसारमखिलं विघ्नाय गोष्ठीजनैः  
सार्द्धं धर्मधुरां चिरा-
- L. 21. य वहता जज्जेन निर्मापितं ।  
विष्णोर्हर्म्यमनल्पशिल्परचनावैचित्र्यपात्रं वह-

<sup>13</sup> The reading of the stone seems to have been पार्ष्णेन्दुः.

<sup>14</sup> Restore भक्तिः श्रीपुरुषो°.

<sup>15</sup> Restore सुकृतोद्ययेन बुद्धिर्म°.

<sup>16</sup> Verse 17 stands in the margin, and is preceded by the figure 20, which refers to the line where it is to be inserted.



<sup>19</sup> The last word is probably meant for यावदाभूतसंप्रबं.



## XXII.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENGAL.

BY PAUL HORN, PH. D., STRASSBURG.

As in my previous paper on Muhammadan inscriptions from the Şûba of Dihlî, I have reproduced the texts of the inscriptions as they are found on the stone, adding no wanting dots, *tashdîds*, etc., except in the first six inscriptions.

## 1.—BHÂGALPÛR.

The history of Bhâgalpûr during the first four centuries of Muhammadan rule offers nothing very remarkable. The first inscription below of the time of Maḥmûd Shâh ibn Ibrâhîm Shâh of Jaunpûr, is of value, because it shows that Bhâgalpûr in the ninth Hijrat century belonged to the Sharqî kingdom, as did also Bihâr (*vide* below). In A. H. 982 it came into the possession of Akbar (*Akbarnâma*, III, 108). Further information regarding the place has been collected by C. J. O'Donnell in W. W. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XIV, p. 82.

The inscriptions Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are of little historical value; they bear the dates of the years 1032 (reign of Jahângîr), 1130 (reign of Farrukh Siyar) and 1793 A.D. The last falls in the period of English rule.

The first inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on a black basalt slab, fixed on a tomb in a garden belonging to Rânî Bibî in Mânda Roga Maḥalla, Bhâgalpûr; it is no longer *in situ*; the stone measures 36 inches by 18 inches; the size of the inscribed part is 30 by 13 inches.

قال النبي عليه السلام من بني مسجدًا في الدنيا بني الله له قصرًا في الجنة في زمن ملك العادل محمود  
 شاه السلطان بنا كرده اين مسجد خانم معظم خورشيد خان سر نوبت غير محليان في العاشر من جماد الاول سنة  
 خمسين وثمانماية

## TRANSLATION.

'The Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—says 'He who builds a mosque in this world, God will build for him a castle in Paradise'. During the time of the just king Maḥmûd Shâh the honoured Khân Khurshêd Khân, head of the guardians outside the palace, has built this mosque on the tenth of Jumâdi'l awwal, year 850 H. (3rd August 1446).'

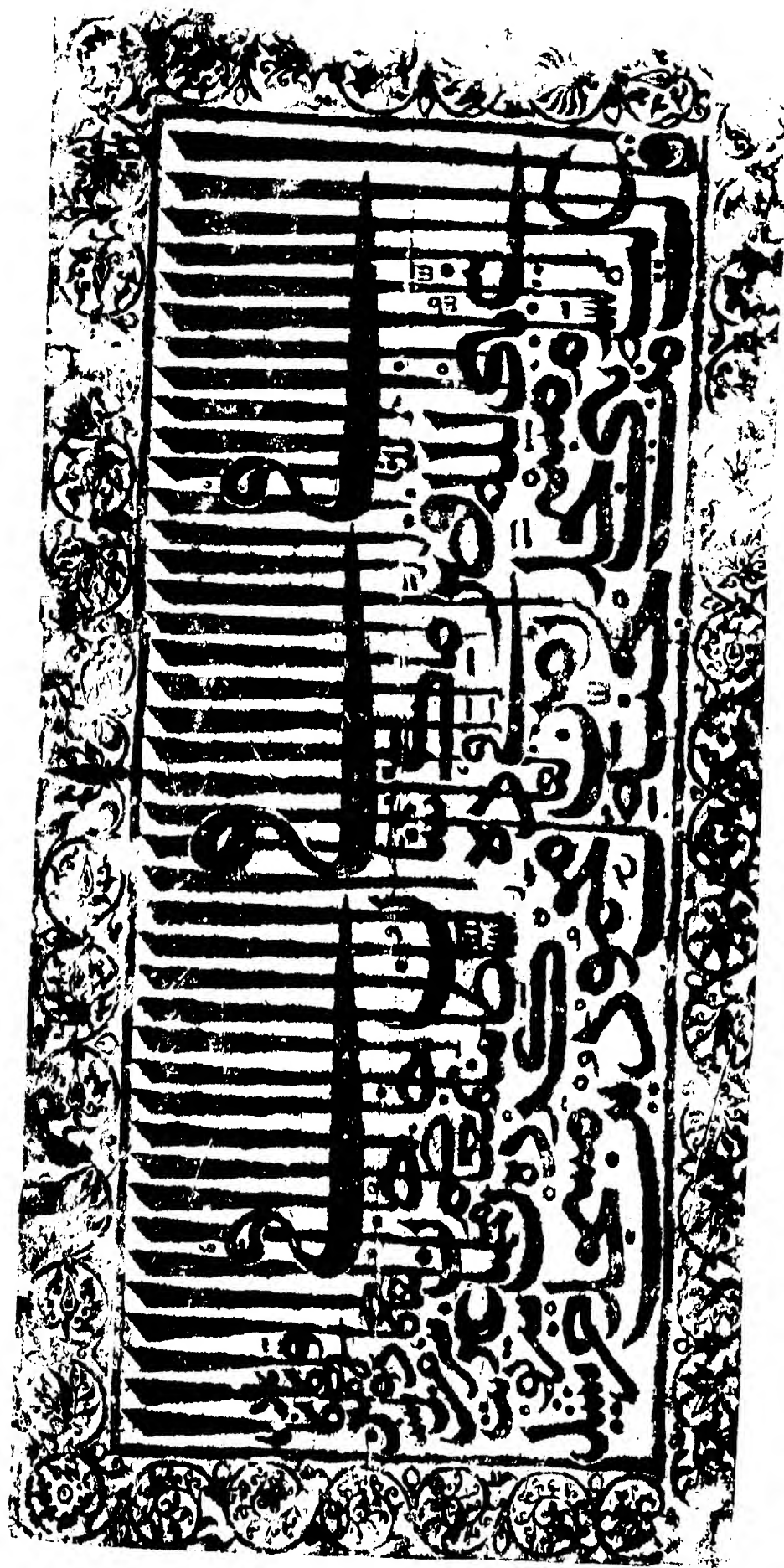
The arrangement of the words on the stone is not quite regular, and the deciphering is therefore more difficult than it seems at first sight. I have found no information relative to Khurshêd Khân, whose title *sar-î naubat-î ghair-maḥallîân* I have translated according to Blochmann (*Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 106, vol. XLII., p. 273, note).

2. The second inscription has already been published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, December 1873, p. 200. It is on a *Dargâh* called the Maskan-î Barârî or Makhdûm Shâh's Dargâh in Champanâgar near Bhâgal-

<sup>1</sup> See facsimile No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The same form occurs, e.g., in the inscriptions, *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 109, *Proceedings* for March 1874, p. 72.





NO. 2. MAITHILIPUR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 891.









pûr; the name of the saint buried there is not known. The basalt slab measures 27 by 16 inches, the inscribed part 20 by 13 inches; it contains four lines.—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 ابوبكر صديق | عمر فاروق | عثمان رضي | على كرم الله  
 رضي الله عليه | رضي الله عليه | الله عليه | وجهه  
 جرن اضعف عباد الله خواجه احمد سمرقندي حسب الحكم نواب قدسي القاب شاهزاده عالميان شاه پرويز  
 جهانكير بخدمت فوجداري سرکار منكير آمده بود به بنای عمارت این روضه منوره توفیق یافت سنه ۱۰۳۲ هزار  
 سي و دو

TRANSLATION.

‘There is no god but God and Muhammad is the Apostle of God.

Abû Bakr, the veracious—may God be pleased with him! ‘Omar, the distinguisher between right and wrong—may God be pleased with him! ‘Osmân—may God be pleased with him! ‘Alî—may God dignify his face!³.

When the humblest of the slaves of God, Khwâja Ahmad of Samarqand, according to the order of the Nawâb, bearing holy titles, the prince of the people of the world, Shâh Parwêz, son of Jahângîr, had entered the service as Faujdâr of Sarkâr Mungir, he found grace to build this splendid tomb in the year 1032 H. [began the 5th November 1622].’

Shâh Parwêz was the second son of the emperor Shâh Jahângîr. He died of *delirium tremens* on the 6th Şafar 1035 (7th November 1625). In the year 1032 H. he gave Bengal⁴ in *jâgîr* to Mahâbat Khân, after having defeated in battle Shâh Jahân (*Iqbâlnâma-î Jahângîrî*, p. 239), whereas Bihâr, to which sarkâr Mungir belonged (*Âin-î-Akbarî*, vol. I, p. 419), remained his own *tiyûl*.

In the *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XV, p. 63, is a long account of the town of Mungir, compiled by Blochmann.

3. This inscription was found near Cleveland’s public garden; the rectangular black basalt stone on which it is engraved measures about 36 by 13 inches, the inscription covers 16 by 10 inches.

از بسی افسوس بملک بقا  
 رخت سفر بست زفانی سرای  
 از سر اندوه بکو سال فوت  
 روح مجسم زجهان رفت رای

Metre,—*Sarî*’:

With much sorrow he tied up the dress of journey from the perishable house towards the country of eternity. From the head of (*the word*) grief say the year of the death, “The soul clothed with a body went from the world, alas!”

The last line gives, according to *abjad* reckoning, 1129. As the poet seems to mean that the head of *andûh*, i.e. the letter *alif*, is to be added to the *târîkh*, we get 1129+1=1130 H. [which began the 5th December 1717].

³ The four caliphs.

⁴ In Elliot-Dowson’s *History*, vol. VI, p. 417, l. 4, for Bihâr read Bengal.



The person referred to is not named.

4. The following inscription is from the same place as No. 3; the engraved area on the pillar is 12 by 5 inches.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| از ضیاء ملک این تالاب خرس تحفیر یافت           | بر لبش این دیر هم از سعی او تعمیر یافت |
| خواستم تاریخ هجر ( ۱ ) عسری ( ۱۸۵۰ ) سازم بیان | تا بود بر لوح سنگ از سال تعمیرش نشان   |
| ناکهان هاتف ز روی شادمانی لفظ بود              | بعد لفظ دیده اندر مصرع هشتم فرود       |
| آنکشان در کوش خاطر زد سررشتی بس عجب            | دیده کم اندر جهان آدم چنین جای غریب    |

#### TRANSLATION.

Metre,—*Ramal* :

By (order of) Ziyâ-i-Mulk this fair tank has been dug, on the bank of it this place of worship has also been erected by his exertion. I wanted to render manifest the date of the Christian era, so that there may exist a sign of the year of its erection on the face of the stone. Suddenly an invisible speaker by way of pleasure increased the word 'Bûd' after the word 'Dîdah' in the eighth hemistich; then in the ear of the mind he uttered a mysterious sound, indeed, strange: "Man has scarcely seen in the world such a rare place."

The letters of the *târîkh* which runs therefore 'Dîdah bûd kam' etc., give 1793 A.D.—the last hemistich=1781 + 12 (*bûd*)—i.e.—1208-9H.

Ziyâ-i-Mulk must have been the title of some English officer whose European name I am not able to make out here.

On a hill to the west of Bhâgalpûr Station is a Muhammadan shrine, the tomb of Shâhjangî (Shâhbâz), to which belongs a tank. That tank which had gone out of use was cleaned and fitted with stone steps by order of Mr. Edward Latore, Magistrate, Zila' Bhâgalpûr, in 1843 A.D., corresponding with 1250 Faşlî. As a memorial of that fact a Hindûstânî inscription has been engraved in a circle on the side wall of the ghât, and the names of the personages who furthered the work with money have been inscribed in the margin. The total sum amounts to R2,677, if I have added rightly.\*

#### II.—HAZRAT PAṆDUAH.

The following inscriptions from Paṇduah belong to the *Adîna* (i.e. Friday) Mosque of which large ruins still remain. These have been described at length by the late J. H. Ravenshaw in his *Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions*, pp. 60 ff., where also a ground plan of the masjid is given.

The mosque was built by Abu'l Mujâhid Sikandar Shâh, son of Shams-addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Ilyâs Shâh, king of Bengal, who adorned his capital Paṇduah with that magnificent edifice. Except one, the inscriptions inside and outside the mosque are of no historical value, containing only verses from the *Qorân*. The rubbings transmitted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Cunningham and Mr. W. L. Heeley are very fine and worthy of the beautiful penmanship which can hardly be surpassed in other Indian Muhammadan inscriptions.

\* There is another rubbing of a Hindûstânî inscription of the month of August of 1845 which has been engraved on a large basalt pillar near the public garden on the bank of a tank opposite Cleveland's house, but the inscription seems to be much defaced, so that it is not possible to decipher it from the rubbing. It relates also to a *tâlib* and a *sa'dî juyyâr*.



5. On the outer wall of the central nave near the doorway, which is very small in proportion to the size of the edifice, the inscription has been cut, which mentions the builder of the mosque and the year of its erection. The size of the stone is 58 by 11 inches, that of the inscribed part is 57 by 9 inches ; it runs—

امريضاء العمارة هذا المسجد الجامع في ايام [ م ] الدولة السلطان الاعظم اعلم اعدل اكرم اكمل السلاطين  
العرب والعجم الواصلين بتأييد الرحمن ابرالمجاهد سكندر شاه سلطان بن الياس شاه السلطان خلد خلافته الى  
يوم الموعود كتبه في التاريخ رجب سنة ست [ ر ] سبعين وسبعماية

TRANSLATION.

‘The edifice of this Jâmi’ Masjid was ordered to be built during the days of the reign of the great king, the wisest, the justest, the most liberal, the most perfect of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abu’l Mujâhid Sikandar Shâh, the king, son of Ilyâs Shâh, the king—May his reign be perpetuated till the day of promise! He wrote it during Rajab of the year 776 (began the 6th December 1374).’

There are some mistakes in Blochmann’s readings of this inscription (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 257, and repeated in Ravenshaw’s *Gaur*, p. 62). Regarding the accuracy of my conjecture that the eighth word is to be read *ayyâm*, there can hardly be any doubt. The statement of the date at the end of the inscription is quite ungrammatical, if, with Blochmann, we read *rajâb sitt* ; besides, the succession of the words should be *sitt rajâb*. Grammatical mistakes are very numerous in Bengal inscriptions, but the construction *rajâb sitt* instead of *sâdis* would be too faulty even for them. I therefore prefer to supply a *va* (and) before *sab’in* or to read the *va* standing before *sab’miat* twice, a case that occurs not at all unfrequently.

We do not know the year in which the Âdîna mosque was finished ; the *Riyâs* mentions only that the beginning fell in the year 766 H. It is very probable that the building required a space of ten years, e.g. the Jâmi’ Masjid at Kotila in Eastern Rajputana was erected within eight years, and ten are therefore not too much to allow for the erection of that ‘gigantic barn,’ as General Cunningham calls the Âdîna mosque (*Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 90).<sup>6</sup>

6. Over the doorway of the king’s platform (Ravenshaw calls it *Bâdshâh ka takht*) we find the words of the *Kalima*. The size of the inscription is 8 by 7 inches.

Over the central prayer niche (*mihrâb*) are inscribed on two stones the verses of *Qorân*, Sûr. xxxiii, 56, and Sûr. xxii, 76, the latter being quoted with the omission of some words in Major W. Francklin’s *Journal of a Route from Râjmahâl to Gaur*, A. D. 1810, see Ravenshaw, p. 64.

Round the three other prayer niches are also engraved passages from the *Qorân*, on the northern, the combined verses’ Sûr. ii, 63, iii, 31, ii, 121 and Sûr. ix, 20, 21.

<sup>6</sup> I see, however, that nothing can be too faulty for the Indian Muhammadan inscriptions, for I have found once again at least the above construction, with the number *sitt* (inscr. of the *rauza* of Muhammad Sharif of Balkh in Dihli,—*Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.*, for 1875, p. 212.

<sup>7</sup> The exordial phrase is— ‘ قال الله تعالى من قائل رجل من متكلم ’ (“God has said, who is raised above another speaker and more glorious than another orator”).



Round the middle prayer niche runs Sûr. xlvi, 27 28, 29 (size: 153 inches by 12 inches, the measure of the whole stone is 160 by 15 inches); round the southern (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate xlv) Sûr. ii, 256, 257 has been inscribed. The intervals between the single letters and words are always copiously ornamented with flower arabesques.

The inscription over the prayer niche in the transept (Ravenshaw, photograph plate xli) has been mentioned by Blochmann in the *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 256. A facsimile is given in Ravenshaw's work, plate xlv; it contains *Qorân*, Sûr. ix 18, 19. The top line is in Kufik, a character of writing the artist was evidently not very conversant with, and contains the *Fâtiha*.

A stone (20 by 14 inches) once fixed in the wall of the nave, now lost, bore round a square which contains arabesques and the name of Muḥammad twice, besides the *Kalima*, the text of Sûra cxii.

### III.—GAUR.

For the city of Gaur, the reader may be referred to Ravenshaw's work already cited, the photographs of which give a picture of the former grandeur and magnificence of the town. It also gives a historical sketch of Gaur from the Muhammadan conquest to the end of its independence (pp. 95ff). Some of the following inscriptions have been already published either in this work or by Blochmann.

7. Over the entrance to the court of the Qadam-Rasûl mosque (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate 13, and facsimile, plate 48, No. 6) is an inscription, 2' 1" by 1' 2" in two lines—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله تعالى له سبعين قصرا فى الجنة بنى هذا المسجد  
فى عهد السلطان ابن السلطان شمس الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر  
يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باركشاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان بنى هذا المسجد خان اعظم و خاتانم معظم  
مرجاد خان اتابك ذات اعلى بتاريخ هـ ٨٥٥ ماه مبارك رمضان سنة خمس و ثمانين و ثمانماية

### TRANSLATION.

'The Prophet (on whom be peace!) has said: 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the time of the king, the son of a king, who was the son of a king,' Shamsaddunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Yûsuf Shâh, the king, son of Bârbak Shâh, the king, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, the king. This mosque was built by the great Khân, the exalted Khâqân Marjâd Khân, the *atabeg* of the high person. On the 13th day of the blessed month Ramazân 885 (17th November 1480).'

In Ravenshaw's book the mistakes of Mr. Blochmann are reproduced. Blochmann has also published three other inscriptions of Yûsuf Shâh, of the years 882 (*Journal As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLII, p. 275), 884 (*ib.* p. 276), and 885 (*ib.* vol. XLIV, p. 293); they are from Paṇḍuah or the neighbourhood of Dhâka. The information about Yûsuf Shâh which the histories furnish is very meagre.

\* هـ ٨٥٥.

\* This reiteration occurs also on coins.



8. Over the central door of the small golden mosque in Gaur (Ravenshaw, plate xxii) is an inscription. One corner of the stone which contained the date has been broken away in three lines (dimensions 9 feet by 1' 8")—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله واليوم الآخر و اقام الصلوة  
 راتى الزكرة ولم يخش الا الله فعسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني  
 مسجدا لله بني الله له بيتا في الجنة مثله و عمارة هذا المسجد الجامع  
 فى عهد سلطان السلاطين سيد السادات منبع السعادات ارحم المسلمين والمسلمات معلى كلمات الحق  
 والحسنات المريد بتأييد الديان المجاهد فى سبيل الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجة والبرهان غوث الاسلام والمسلمين  
 علاء الدنيا والدين  
 ابرالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بني هذا المسجد الجامع خالصا مخلصا  
 متوكلا على الله الولي محمد بن علي المخاطب بخطاب مجلس المجالس مجلس منصور نصره الله تعالى  
 فى الدنيا والاخرة و تاريخه الميمون فى الرابع عشر من شهر الله المبارك رجب رجب قدره سن [ ٥ ... .. ] ...

TRANSLATION.

‘In the name, etc. God Almighty has said: “He only shall repair,” etc. (*Qorán*, Sûr. ix, 18). And the Prophet (may God’s blessing rest upon him!) has said “He who builds,” etc.

The erection of this Jâmi’ masjid took place in the time of the king of kings, the Sayyid of the Sayyids, the fountain of auspiciousness, the most merciful of the faithful men and women, who exalts the words of truth and good deeds, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, who strives on the road of the merciful, the viceregent of God, with proof and testimony, the defender of Islâm and the Muslims, ‘Alâ addunyâ waddîn Abu’l Muzaffar Husain Shâh, the king, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! This Jâmi’ masjid was built, from pure and sincere motives, and from trust in God, by the Walî Muḥammad, son of ‘Alî, who has the title of *majlis al majâlis majlis-i mansûr*—may God render him victorious in this world and the next! Its auspicious date is the 14th of God’s blessed month of Rajab—may its value increase! of the year . . . . .’

Husain Shâh reigned from 899 till 929 A. H., we possess many inscriptions of his reign. I have noted 29. This one has been published in Ravenshaw’s work, p. 38.

9. From Shâh N’imat Allâh’s *âsitâna* near the Jâmi’ masjid in the Fîrôzpûr suburb of Gaur. Two lines (dimensions 3 feet by 1' 4")—

بنى هذا الباب الحصن فى عهد السلطان المعظم المكرم علاء الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر حسين شاه  
 السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه فى سنه ثمان عشر و تسعمائة

TRANSLATION.

‘This gate of the fort was built in the time of the exalted and liberal king, ‘Alâ-addunyâ waddîn Abu’l Muzaffar Husain Shâh the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf,



the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! In the year 918 (*began the 19th March 1512*).<sup>10</sup>

10. At the same place two other inscriptions have been found containing only passages from the *Qorán*. Both are richly ornamented with varied patterns of flowers and arabesques. The first measures 6' 5" by 9 in.; on four lines, *Qorán*, Sûr. vi, 59; viii, 19; xxxv, 2; xlviii, 1, 2, 3, etc., and in three circles the words *Yá rahmán, yá Alláh, yá rahím* are inscribed; the second measures 2' 4" by 8 in., and contains *Qorán*, Sûr. lxii, 9, 10, 11.

11. Over the centre arch of the Qadam-Rasûl masjid outside, in three lines (dimensions 2' 3" by 1' 6").—

قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها بنى هذه الصفة المطهرة التي فيها حجر<sup>11</sup> فيه اثر قدم رسول  
صلى الله عليه وسلم السلطان

المعظم المكرم السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان  
بن سيد اشرف الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلي امره و شانه في سنة سبع و ثلثين و تسعمائة

#### TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said: "He who brings a good work shall have ten like it" (*Qorán*, Sûr. vi, 161). This pure dais on which is a stone with the foot-print of the Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—was erected by the great, generous king, the king, the son of a king, Nâsiraddunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Nuṣrat Shâh, the king, son of Husain Shâh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his dignity! In the year 937 (*began the 25th August 1530*).'

Mr. Blochmann has remarked that these inscriptions rectify the *Riyâz* and Stewart, who give as the date of the completion of the *Qadam-Rasûl* mosque A.H. 939.

12. From Shâh Ni'mat Allâh's *âsitâna*, not *in situ*, in one line (dimensions 2' 1" by 7 in.)—

قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله باني هذا الباب خانبهان في التاريخ غرة من ذوالحجة سنة سبعين و تسعمائة

#### TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said "surely the mosques belong to God" (*Qorán*, Sûr. lxxii, 18). The builder of this gateway is Khânjahân. In the beginning of Zu'l Hijja, 970' (*22nd July 1563*).<sup>12</sup>

The inscription falls in the reign of Ghiyâs addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Jalâl Shâh of Bengal, 14 years before the conquest of Bengal by Akbar. Khânjahân was in 982 governor of Orîsâ (*Akbarnâma*, vol. I, p. 161 var.); he was therefore the successor of Lôdi Khân, *amîr al umarâ* of Sulaimân, king of Bengal, who was put to death by his sovereign the year before (*Badaunî*, vol. II, p. 174). In the Moghul empire the title of Khânjahân was the next to that of Khânkhânân (*Ma'âsir*, I, 649).

<sup>10</sup> This was published in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 295, and repeated in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 88, No. 19.

<sup>11</sup> There is no reason for Blochmann's *sic*, who has read faultily.

<sup>12</sup> Published in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 36. The number *tis'* is not legible on my rubbing.



13. From the Jâmi' masjid in the Fîrôzpûr suburb, evidently a fragmentary inscription (size 1' 4" by 2 in.), which contains *Qorân*, Sûr. lxii, 5 (it begins in the middle of the verse with the words [*kamis* | *li'l himâri*]).

IV.—MAHDÎPÛR (VILLAGE).<sup>13</sup>

14. The following inscription is now fixed in the modern mosque at Mahdîpûr, it is arranged in four squares and measures 4' 4" by 10 in.—

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله و اليوم الاخر اقام الصلوة واتى الزكوة ولم يخش الا الله  
فغسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين  
وقال الله تعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى  
مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله تعالى له بيتا فى الجنة  
بنى هذا المسجد فى عهد السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر فتحشاه السلطان ابن  
محمود شاه السلطان  
وقد بنا السيد الاعظم سيد دستور بن سيد راحت بالحسنة ثم جعله سر كنبد مولانا برخوردار ابن خانمعظم  
دا سر حكان فى شهر المبارک رمضان سنه احدى و سبعين و ثمانمائه

TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said "He only shall repair," etc. (*Qorân* Sûr ix, 18).

God Almighty has also said "verily, the mosques," etc. (*Qorân*, Sûr. lxxii, 18). The Prophet—on whom may rest God's blessing! has said "He who builds a mosque," etc.

This mosque was built in the time of the king, son of a king, Jalâl addunyâ wad-dîn Abu'l Muzaffar Path Shâh, the king, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, the king. Its builder was the exalted Sayyid, Sayyid Dastûr, son of Sayyid Râḥat—through good deeds he has collected fruits for himself—at the head of the vault of Maulânâ Barkhur-dâr, son of the exalted Khân Tâj Khân. In the blessed month of Ramazân of the year 891' (*began the 31st August 1486*).

The letters being very closely written it is not easy to decipher the names. This is the sixth inscription of Fath Shâh, who reigned from 886 till 893; the others fall in the years 886 from Bandar near Dhâkâ, (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 282), 887 from Dhâmraî, north of Dhâkâ, (*ib.*, vol. XLI, p. 109); 888 from Bikrampûr, Dhâkâ District (*ib.*, vol. XLII, p. 284), 889 from Sunârgâon, (*ib.*, vol. XLII, p. 285), and 892 from Sâtgânw, (*ib.*, vol. XXXIX, p. 293).

15. The following inscription of the same king has lost the date; it is from the Challa masjid (size 5' 7" by 4 in.), one line—

جلال الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر فتحشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلي امره  
رشانه بسعي خان الاعظم و خاقان المعظم الراضى بالملك المنان خانمعظم دولتخان وزير لشكر تقبل الله منه  
فى سنه اربع ... ..

<sup>13</sup> See facsimile No 2.



## TRANSLATION.

'Jalâl addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Fath Shâh, the king, son of Mah-mûd Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his rule! Through the exertion of the exalted Khân and the high Khâqân, who trusts upon the beneficent Lord, the exalted Khân Daulat Khân, the wazîr of the army—may God accept from him (*his prayers*)!<sup>14</sup> In the year . . . . .'

16. From the modern mosque, as No. 14. One line (size 1' 5" by 7 in.), a fragment—

الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان بنى هذا المسجد ملك يزيد معظم طهرحان بن ملك ...  
... سربوب ... در سهر ربيع الاحر [?] فى التاريخ سنة ...

## TRANSLATION.

[Alâ-]addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh. This mosque was built by Malik Yazîd Mu'azzam Zafar Khân, son of Malik . . . . . head of the guardians . . . . . in the month of Rabi' al âkhir, in the year . . . . .'

As the upper part of the left side is broken away, it is not possible to read correctly the name of the builder. Nothing is known about the original place of the stone which bears the inscription.

## V.—KHANDKARTOLA (SHÊRPÛR).

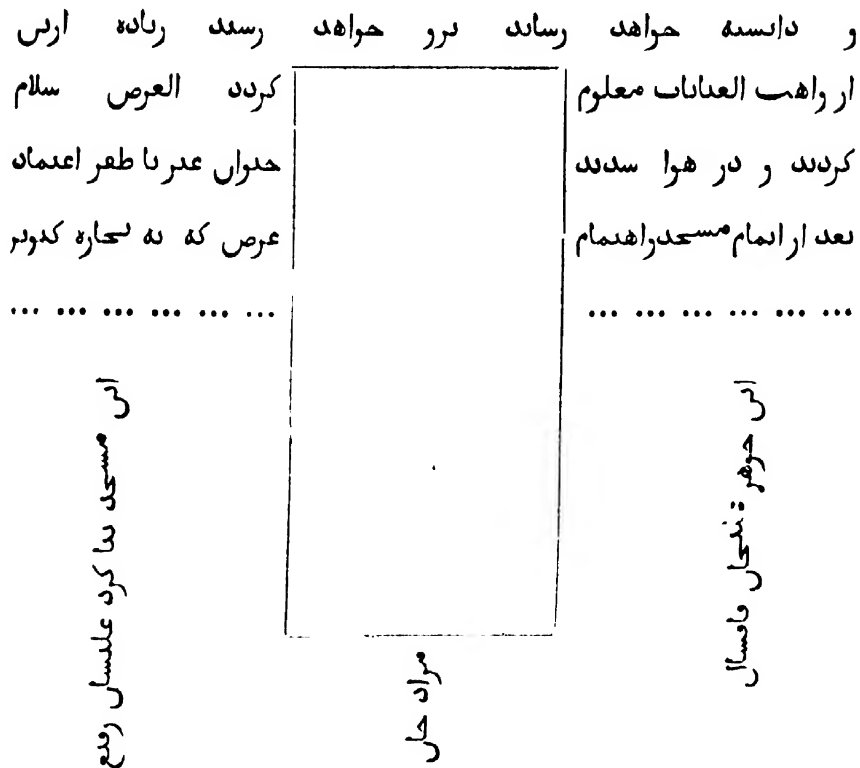
17. In the jungle in the midst of the deserted village of Khandkartola, about two miles south of the Shêrpûr municipality, are the ruins of the Khema masjid. Two slabs of equal size (4' 7" by 2' 4" by 3") bear the inscriptions, the middle portions of the stone being carved in a vase pattern in one and in a square in the other. The right slab is cracked in two or three places; the cracks seem to be very old. As Mr. H. Lee has remarked on the inscription form, these slabs were Hindu gods originally, but the gods have been turned round and the inscriptions cut on their backs. The holes were probably made to destroy the sanctity of the gods. About 500 yards distant are the remains of the Bâdishâhî masjid; both are in bad repair and will soon go to ruins.

The inscription on the left side runs—

یا مطهر العجايب  
مانده روز در سینه ۲۴ ماه ذوالحجہ سنہ ۹۸۹  
یا سعادت نواب مرزا مراد خان مسجد اعزاز کرد در زم زم روز  
سنہ ۲۴ بهر حال فرار مسجد مناد فقیر عبد الصمد در کتب  
سدروم از هوا فرو آمدند و سلام کردند و بعد از مبارکبادی عرض  
کردند که از مکه مبارکه نام رس و فلاح داریم برای ما و اصحاب ما در سن  
مسجد اسناد حکم خواهند فرمود فقیر کعب حرا نه اما مسجد  
روز منادا از مردم زمانه هر حفا درسد کعبد هرکه دنده

<sup>14</sup> In the Qorân, *qabala* occurs in the same manner without the addition of an object.





TRANSLATION.

'O (*Thou*) who manifestest spiritual wonders! On Monday, the 24th of month Zu'l Hijja A. 989, (19th January 1582), the Nawâb Mîrzâ Murâd Khân with sacred observances made the beginning of this mosque. The second day—, on Tuesday the 26th (*sic.*), the *faqîr* 'Abdaşşamad comes for the sake of the mosque. Two milk-white pigeons came down from the air and saluted him, and after the benediction<sup>15</sup> they said 'we are from the blessed Makka; will you command for us and our friends a place of rest in this mosque?' The *faqîr* said, 'Why not? But the mosque . . . . lest oppression . . . should come from the men of the world.' They said 'every one who purposely—brings it on him it will come. More than that will be known from the bestower of bounties.' They saluted and disappeared in the air . . . . After the completion of the mosque the petition which the pigeons . . . .

This mosque has been built by the noble exalted Murâd Khân, son of Jauhar 'Alî Khân Qâqshâl.'

Murâd Qâqshâl in 988 became commander of 1,000 and received the title of Khân (*Akbarnâma*, vol. III, pp. 304, 305). In 991 he fought against Ma'sûm Khân Kâbulî (p. 417).

It is well known that the mosque at Makka abounds in flocks of wild pigeons which are considered as inviolable and are called *kabûtar* (*hamâm*)-i *haram*, 'pigeons of the sacred boundary.' Such were those Makka pigeons which begged an asylum in Murâd Khân's mosque. Besides the impossibility of uniting the numbers 24 and 26 to each other without altering, a chronological difficulty seems to occur in this inscription. The 24th Zu'l Hijja A.H. 989 namely was not Monday but a Friday, and the 26th of the same month was not Tuesday, but a Sunday. I cannot make out these contradictions. In A.H. 988 the 24th Zu'l Hijja fell on a Monday, but the number 989 is quite clear on the rubbing.

<sup>15</sup> This form is not so rare as Rückert indicates, *Grammatik, Poetik and Rhetorik der Perser*, 2nd edition, by Pertsch, p. 249, note 1. Confer also 'bimubârabâd ishtighâldâst',—*Ma'âsir al Umarâ*, vol. I, p. 121.



The inscription on the right side seems to be of no historical value, and as I could not decipher the whole from the rubbing, I have omitted it.

18. From the Bâdishâhî masjid, 18 lines (size 2' 3" by 1' 5".)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ... .. بالخير  
 قال صدر جهان بن میان جدر بن یازید بن داود  
 بنی مسجدا فی بلد شیرپور بمناح التوکل علی الله الغفور  
 بحین شاه جهان جهانگیر مشهور سنه الف واثنی و اربعون بالشکور  
 قال الله تعالى و من یتوکل علی الله بنی مسجد فی دور شاه جهان  
 فهو حسبه ان الله بالغ امره و سوبه (sic) بنکاله معظم خان  
 قد جعل الله لكل شی قدرا  
 قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی  
 مسجدا فی الدنيا بنی له الله تعالى سبعین  
 قصرا فی الاخره سنه الف و اثنی و اربعین  
 الله کافی فی کل مسلمین

#### TRANSLATION.

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God ! . . . . .

Şadr Jahân, son of Miyân Jayû, son of Yâzîd, son of Dâûd, says—

The mosque in the town of Shêrpûr has been built through the benefit of confidence in the forgiving God in the time of Shâhjahân, the famous conqueror of the world, in the year 1042 (*began the 19th July 1632*). God Almighty has said "And whosoever relies on God," *etc.* (*Qorân*, Sûr. lxxv, 3, 4). The Prophet (on whom may rest God's blessing!) has said "He who builds a mosque in the world," *etc.* A. 1042.

This mosque has been built in the age of Shâhjahân in the Şâba of Bengal by Mu'azzam Khân in the year 1042. Allâh is a sufficiency for all the faithful.'

Şadr Jahân's poetry is not of the best. He was not Chief Şadr (*Sadr-ı Jahân*) as Şadr Jahân was who filled that office under Akbar and under Jahângîr and whose name coincided with the title of his dignity. If we may be allowed to judge of his poetical abilities from the verses of the above inscription—which to be sure are not worse than thousands of others—it is to be hoped that he imitated the example of his name-sake above mentioned who also composed poems at first, but later gave up poetry (*ma'âsir al Umarâ*, vol. III, pp. 350, 351).

Mu'azzam Khân or, as his name properly was, 'Azam Khân Mîr Muḥammad Bâqir Irâdat Khân became Governor of Bengal after Qâsim Khân in 1041. In the *Riyâz* (pp. 207, 208) it is related that he could not keep the province in order as it ought to be. The inhabitants of Assam (*Ashâm*), neighbours of Bengal, plundered the frontiers unpunished (cf. also *Munt. allubâb*, vol. II, p. 132); they defeated 'Abd al Islâm with a great army of infantry and thousands of horse and made him prisoner with a large booty. After that, A.H. 1044, 'Azam Khân was dismissed and his post bestowed upon Islâm Khân, who undertook successful campaigns against the Râja of Assam. 'Azam Khân was appointed Governor of Allâhâbâd. Shêrpûr which is mentioned in the last inscription



is the so-called Shêrpûr Mûrcha (in Elliot-Dowson: Shêrpûr Mîraja). The *Ain-i Akbarî*, vol. I, p. 405, identifies it with Mihmânshâhî, stating its revenues at 2,207,715 *dâms*. Its fort Salîmnagar was built by Râja Mân Singh, Governor of Bengal, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign *Akbarnâma*, vol. III, p. 697; it was so named in honour of Prince Salîm, afterwards the emperor Jahângîr. Shêrpûr was always an important place and a base of operations for the imperial troops.

VI.—BIHÂR.

The following six Bihâr inscriptions belong to four different portions of the history of that province. If we follow Blochmann's division (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 245), the two first inscriptions fall into the 'Initial period,' or the reigns of the Governors of Lak'hnautî appointed by the Dihlî sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muḥammad Bakhtyâr Khiljî, *viz.*, from A. H. 600 to 739, when Fakhr addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Mubâarak Shâh, armour-bearer to Bahrâm Khân, the Dihlî Governor of Sunârgâon, on his master's death, proclaimed himself ruler and established an independent dynasty in Bengal. But Bihâr was detached from Bengal and remained to the Dihlî empire till the foundation of the Jaunpûr kingdom, A. H. 796. This is the second period of the history of Bihâr. The third under the Sharqî rulers lasted till 881, when Jaunpûr again became subject to Dihlî. To this fourth period belongs one inscription (No. 22) while Nos. 21 and 24 are of the second, and No. 23 of the third period. Inscription Nos. 19, 20, 21, and 23 have been published by Blochmann.

19. On a fine slab of basalt leaning against the wall of the Choṭâ Dargâh, measuring 3 feet by 8 in.; it contains two lines—

بنی ہد المسجد فی بوندہ السلطان الاعظم سمس الدین والدین ابی المظفر مہرور شاہ السلطان وادام امارہ  
خافان الرمان المخاطب بحاجان  
ادام اللہ ظلہما العبد الراض بالہ وکرہمہ الراعی احقر الخلاف بہرام بن حاجی باب اللہ علیہ رغبہ  
لوالدہ فی العزہ من رحب سنہ خمس و عسره سعمانہ

TRANSLATION.

'This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sultân Shams addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Fîrôz Shâh, the king, and during the governorship of the Khâqân of the age, known as Hâtîm Khân—may God cause their shadows to last!—by the slave, who trusts in God and hopes for His mercy, the meanest of creatures, Bahrâm, son of Hâjî—may God forgive him and may He pardon his parents!—In the beginning of the month of Rajab of the year 715' (1st October 1315).

Hâtîm Khân was a son of Fîrôz Shâh, as we see from the inscription published by Blochmann (*ut sup.*). He must have been governor of Bihâr during the years 709—715.

20. Over the gateway of the *Sukûnat* or residency of the Imperial governor in Bihâr, was a beautiful inscription<sup>16</sup> (now in the Bayley Sarai) of three lines, measuring 4 feet by 1' 10"—

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم  
شد بتحدید عمارہ اس دروازہ عالی عالم ارای راین طاف ربیع ملک سالی  
درادام خلافت حلیفہ چہاندنہ اسمان بارکہ خدانگان سلاطین

<sup>16</sup> See facsimile No. 3.



کدهان فرمان فرمای عالمان ذی الامن والامان الاهل الامان وارث ملک سلیمان ابرالمجاهد محمد بن  
الملق شاه السلطان حلدت خلافته وسلطانه فی الغره من السهرالمبارک رمضا[ن سنه] ادنی و دلتس رسعمانه

## TRANSLATION.

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

This high and world-adorning gate, and this lofty, heaven-touching portico were renewed in the reign of the Khalifa, the asylum of the world, whose court is the heaven, the lord of the kings of the universe, the ruler of mankind, who gives security and safety to the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Salomon, Abu'l Mujâhid Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shâh, the king—May his kingdom and rule be perpetuated! In the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazân, 732' (27th May, 1332).

Muḥammad Shâh's inscriptions, which have been published up till now, are of the years 726 (*Proc. of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, p. 199), 732 (*Proceedings* for 1874, p. 72), and 737 (*Journal of the As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 299),—the last also being from Bihâr.

21. On the Dargâh of Ibrâhîm Abû Bakr Malik Bayyû's shrine, which lies on a hill to the north-west of the town, dimensions 5' 1" by 1' 2" two lines—

|                             |                                |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| بعد دولت شاه جهان کیر       | ۱۷ کی بادا در بهار ملک نوروز   |
| شهنشاه جهان مدرور سلطان     | کی بر شاهان کیبی کشت فیروز     |
| ملک سدرت ملک بیو براهیم     | کی بد در دین جو ابراهیم کن توز |
| بماه ذی الحجہ یکشنبہ از دهر | بدست خون سیرده از مهر درین سوز |
| بہجرت هفصد و بنجہ سه تاریخ  | مسافر شد ملک در جنب ابن روز    |
| خداوندا بفضل خورش بر روی    | کبی اسان حساب اخرین روز        |

## TRANSLATION.

Metre : *Haazaj*—

'In the time of the reign of the world-conquering Shâh (may the power of the new-year's day be in Bihâr!), the king of the world, Fîrôz, the king who was victorious over the kings of the universe. The king of virtue Malik Bayyû Ibrâhîm, who in the faith was as zealous as Abraham, in the month of Zi'l Hijja, on a Sunday, of the time when thirteen sun-burnt (*days were passed*) (?), in the year 753 A. H. (20th January 1353), travelled on that day to Paradise. O Lord, in Thy kindness, make the account of the last day light for him!'

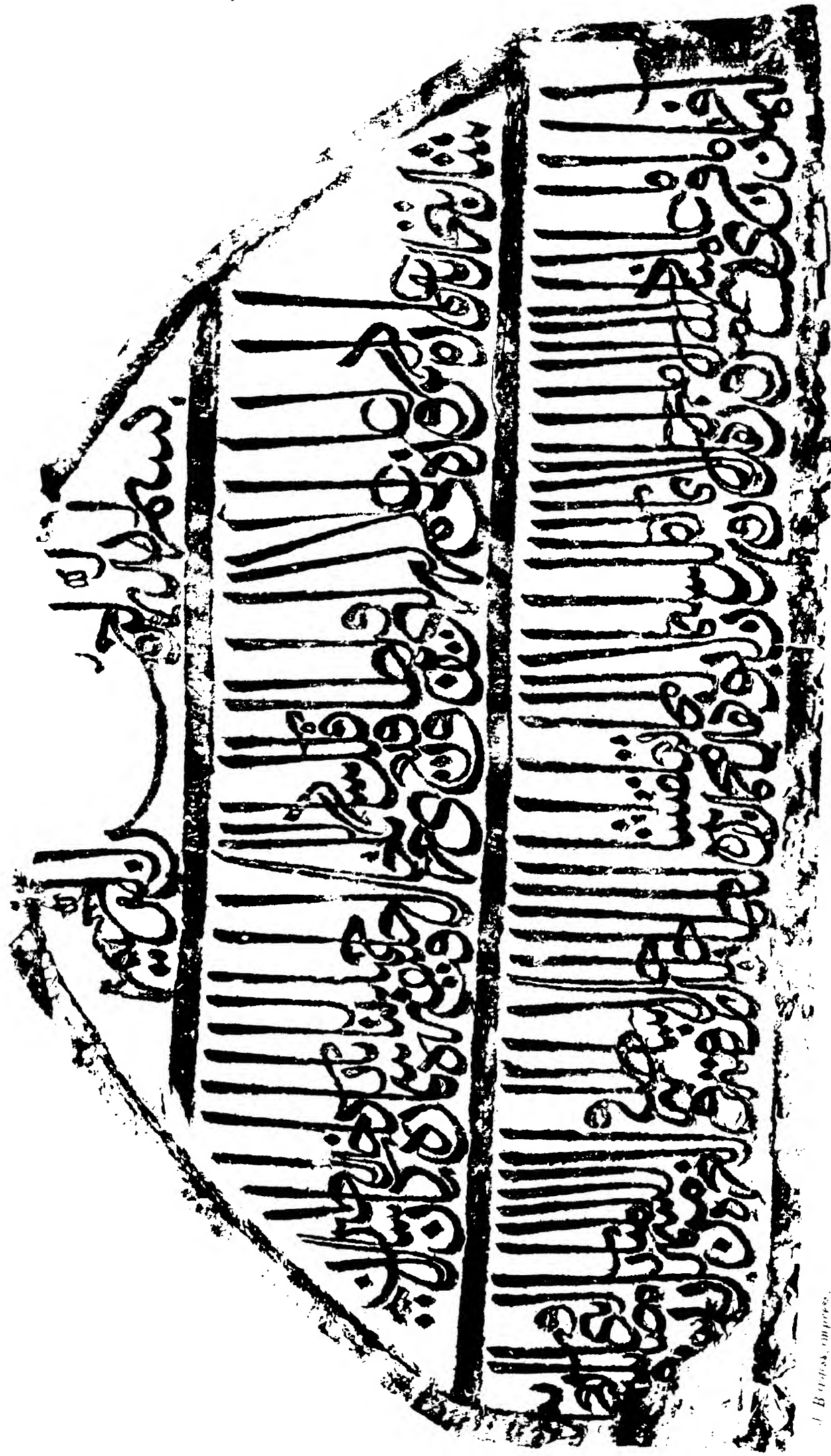
Respecting Malik Bayyû, who is, *par excellence*, the saint of Bihâr, see *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 300.

22. From the Bayley Sarâi at Bihâr. Two lines (size 1' 5" by 8 in.)—

بتاریخ نازدهم ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه ستون تسعمایه ناران شهید پسر حاجی اسحاق مرستجل [؟]  
درین مقام جمعہ اربع و حوض بناء اینجا . . . . . برسد روح جمعہ فالحه کان اذا لنا [س] [؟]

<sup>17</sup> This archaic spelling, instead of *kîh*, occurs several times in the inscriptions.





1890







TRANSLATION.

‘On the date of the 11th of month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 960 (*the 23rd January 1553*) Nārān Shakhīd, son of Hājī Ishāq . .

On this place . . . . .<sup>18</sup>

23. From a mosque which stood opposite to the Choṭā Takya on the other bank of the Adyānadi, in Bihār. The mosque has disappeared; only a large square stone platform is left, where the slab was found. The inscription is in two parts, each measuring 3' 5" by 1' 2" and bearing two lines—

|   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عليه السلام من بنى | مسجدا لله بنا الله له دنا في الحجة    |
| شد بدو فبق الهی راز طفیل مصطفی                | مسجد حمعه دعهده شاه دین سرور دنا      |
| شاه محمود ابن ابراهیم شاه عادل انك            | كشور ار شاهان ستاد باج لحد بر كدا     |
| دانی ابن مسجد ان مسند شریع هست كز             | ذات باكش قره العین نبی و مرضا         |
| سرور و صدر جهان ان سند احمك كه شد             | ملك و ملك و دین و دولت را در ار السجا |
| كرده فرمایش بناء خیر ملك الشرف كان            | مقطع دارد درین خطه نصیر ابن بها       |
| ان بنا شد استوار ار طاب كسری در بهار          | كعبه در عظمت برعت دت معمر علا         |
| عرة ماه رجب بد هیصد و چهل و هفت سال           | كادرین مسجد امامت شد بتایید خدا       |

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Ramal*—

‘In the name, *etc.* He upon whom be peace (*the Prophet*) says “He who builds *etc.*”

By divine grace and for the sake of Muṣṭafā (*Muhammad*), the Jum’a mosque was built in the reign of the faith-nourishing king Shāh Maḥmūd, son of Ibrāhīm, the just king who takes realms from kings, (*and*) gives beggars crowns. The builder of this mosque is the throne of law, who is pure in nature, the beloved of the Prophet and of Murtazā (*‘Alī*), the chief and the lord of the world, the perfect Sayyid, with whom realm and faith, religion and empire, take refuge. The *muqti*, the David<sup>19</sup> in this district, Naṣīr, son of Bahā, ordered this building (*to be erected*), the best in the Eastern kingdom (*Jaunpūr*). This building in Bihār is stronger than the portico of Kistrā; it is a Ka’ba in grandeur, and in loftiness the edifice of sublimity. It was in the beginning of Rajab, of the year 847<sup>20</sup> (*25th October 1443*), when, with the assistance of God, the (*first*) *iqāma* took place in this mosque.’

The metrical Bihār inscriptions are all remarkable for their very bad poetry. This is the fourth known inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh of Jaunpūr, the others being dated in the years A. H. 847 (from Bihār), 850 (above No. 1), and 859 (also from Bihār, published by Blochmann).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> I have not succeeded in making out the meaning of the second line.

<sup>19</sup> In this inscription the letters *re* and *ddl* often cannot be separated. Blochmann has read *dāwar*.

<sup>20</sup> The form *hiṣad*, instead of *hashtad*, is not at all, seldom in Indian inscriptions.

<sup>21</sup> The Maḥmūd Shāh inscription on a stone in the Hindu temple at Bediban is very dubious, see General Sir A. Cunningham’s *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 25, Plate iv.



24. Also from the Bayley Sarâî. Two lines (size 3 feet by 1' 3"); the right side is partly broken—

..... مدار .....  
 افشار اهل سيف و کارها اعتبار [?] .....  
 دندار تاریخ هجرت هفصد و ناسب و هف .....  
 ..... خاندان سلطان .....  
 ..... کردار .....  
 ..... شمار .....  
 ..... باز از ماه محرم فی شحر .....  
 ..... شمار .....

#### TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Ramal*—

'..... In the time of the Khânzâda.....

Who is the glory of the men of the world and an esteemed satirist (?).....

The account of the Hijra-date is 767 (*began the 18th September 1365*); backwards from the month of Muharram reckon.....<sup>22</sup>

#### VII.—MUNÊR.

Munêr, Mâner or Munair, is a very old place on the right bank of the Son at its confluence with the Ganges. Elliot-Dowson erroneously confounds it sometimes with Mungir. Firishta ascribes its foundation to the mythical times of Fîrôz Râî, son of Kêshû Râj, a contemporary of the hero Rustam (*lithogr. ed.*, vol. I, p. 18, *muqaddima*). General Cunningham, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. VIII, pp. 22, 23, offers a theory of his own about the establishment of Munêr immediately after the Muham-madan conquest. He supposes that the Son through some unknown cause at that time had abandoned its original bed and taken its present course, thus forming new waste lands which had no name before, not having been in existence. The town was almost half a *krôh* distant from the river. Bâbar in his *Memoirs* (p. 478) describes its situation in the following words: 'Down the stream from the place where I was I saw a large number of trees; they said to me that it was Munêr.'

In the *Âîn* (vol. I, p. 419) Munêr is registered with 89,039 *bighas*, 15 *biswas*, 7,049,179 *dâms*, (*say*) 325,380 *dâms*. Bâbar and Sikandar Shâh Lôdî are related to have made pilgrimages to the shrine of Shaikh Yahyâ, father of Shaikh Sharaf addîn (*Târikh-i Dâûdî* in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 462, Bâbar's *Memoirs*, p. 478), from whom the *pargana* occasionally is named *Munêr-i Shaikh Yahyâ*. Shaikh Sharaf addîn was also a renowned saint; in his honour his disciple Ibrâhîm Qiwâm Farûqî has called his dictionary *Sharafnâma* (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXVII, p. 7). Munêr now belongs to the district of Patna, subdivision Danâpûr.<sup>23</sup>

25. Two lines (dimensions 1' 9" by 8 in.)—

بحمد الله در عهد شه انجب .....  
 بپین مسجد که بُد بانی اول .....  
 جو حماد خطیرار .....  
 ز هجرت هفصد و هشت و نود بود .....  
 شه محمود سلطان مہذب .....  
 جلیل الحق ز اقصاب مقرب .....  
 عمارت کرد باز از سر مرتب .....  
 بعصمت دار بنیادش تر ای رب .....

<sup>22</sup> The first and the third hemistich have been almost ruined; besides the letters of the inscription are very rude, so that I could decipher it only fragmentarily.

<sup>23</sup> No information is given about the places where the following three Munêr inscriptions have been found.



TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Hazaj*—

‘By God’s grace (*it was*) in the time of the most noble king Maḥmūd, the sincere monarch, when this fine mosque, whose first builder was Jalīl al Haqq, one of the confidential chiefs, was rebuilt and newly adorned by Hammād Khâtīr . . . . .

It was in 798 A. H. (*began the 16th October 1395*). Preserve its foundation in security, O God.’

This and the Maḥmūd Shāh inscription of A. H. 799 (*Journ. of As. Soc. Beng. vol. XLII, p. 304*), are valuable, because they show that Nuṣrat Khān, the opposing king, who was advanced as a claimant to the throne by Sa’adat Khān A.H. 797, was not acknowledged in Bihār. It is not easy to form a correct picture of the complicated conditions then existing in the empire. Khwāja-i Jahān (*Malik ashsharq Khwāja-i Sarāī*), the founder of the Jaunpūr kingdom, had got into his possession the provinces of Qanauj, Karaḥ, Audh, Sandêlâ, Dalamau, Bahrâch, Bihār, and Jaunpūr; the emperor Maḥmūd was confined for some years only to old Dihlî, the fortress of Sîrî, and the Jâhânpanâh, while the districts of the Doâb, of Sambhal, Pânîpat, Jhajhar and Rohtak were occupied by Nuṣrat Khān, *viz.*, Sultân Naṣîraddîn, who had his residence at Fîrôz-Âbâd. Other provinces perpetually changed their masters, ambitious *amîrs* and *maliks*, who combatted each other angrily. The harvest was fully ripe for the bloody reaper Tîmûr.

26. Three lines (size 5’ 9” by 1’ 4”)—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ  
 رَسِيْقُ الَّذِينَ اتَّقَوْا رَبَّهُمْ إِلَى الْجَنَّةِ زُمَرًا حَتَّىٰ إِذَا جَاءُوهَا وَفُتِحَتْ أَبْوَابُهَا وَقَالَ لَهُمْ خَزَنَتُهَا سَلَامٌ عَلَيْكُمْ طَابَ لِمُ  
 وَادْخُلُوهَا خَالِدِينَ  
 كُنْتُ فِي فِكْرِ سَنِّ هَذَا الْبَابِ كَانَ قَلْبِي بِحَوْلِهِ سَاكِنًا  
 قَالَ عَقْلِي عَلَي طَرِيقِ الْأَمْرِ قُلْ مَنْ دَخَلَهُ كَانَ آمِنًا  
 چوں در روضه مقدس شاه روی رفعت نهاد [بر اتمام]  
 سال انجامش از خرد جستم خردم بهر این خجسته مقام  
 بدعا لب كشوده ر كفتا در دولت كشا[ده باد دوام]

TRANSLATION.

‘There is no God, *etc.* But those who fear their Lord, *etc.* (*Qorân*, Sûr. xxxix, 73).

Metre: *Ramal*—

I was thinking to make out the chronogram of this gate, my heart was quiet by His (*God’s*) power. My mind said by way of command “say, who entered it was safe.”

Metre: *Khafîf*—

When the gate of the holy sepulchre of the king raised its face towards completion, I asked the mind the year of its finishing. For this auspicious place the mind opened the lip of blessing, and said, “may the door of power remain open for ever.”



Both *tārīkhs* give the year 1022 (began the 21st February 1613).

27. Three lines (10' 9" by 1' 3").—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَبَارِكْ  
 وَسَلِّمْ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِنَّ  
 أَوَّلَ بَيْتٍ رُضِعَ لِلنَّاسِ لَلَّذِي بِبَكَّةَ مُبَارَكًا وَهُدًى لِلْعَالَمِينَ فِيهِ آيَاتٌ بَيِّنَاتٌ مَقَامُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَمَنْ دَخَلَهُ كَانَ  
 وَمِنَّا وَلِلَّهِ عَلَى النَّاسِ حُجُّ الْبَيْتِ مَنْ اسْتَطَاعَ إِلَيْهِ سَبِيلًا وَمَنْ كَفَرَ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ غَنِيٌّ عَنِ الْعَالَمِينَ  
 چو این عالی سرای کعبه تمثال جهان ارا بفیض صانع قادر تمامی اقتضا کرده  
 دل عامی همی جست از خرد سال بنای او خرد کفتا جو ابراهیم بیت الله بنا کرده

#### TRANSLATION.

'In the name, *etc.* There is no God, *etc.* O God, have mercy on Muhammad and on the descendants of Muhammad. I testify that there is no God, but God who is alone and has no partner. I testify also that Muhammad is His slave and His Apostle. God Almighty has said, "Verily, the first house, *etc.*" (*Qorán*, Sûr. iii, 90-91).

(Metre: *Hazaj*)—

When this high, Ka'ba-like, world-adorning edifice, through the benevolence of the powerful Creator, was completely erected, the heart of 'Âsî was consulting the mind for the year of its erection. The mind said, "just as Abraham has built the house of God."

According to the *abjad* reckoning the *tārīkh* gives 1028 A.H. (began the 19th, December 1618).

The *tārīkh* betrays the name of the builder, *viz.* Ibrâhîm Khân Fath Jang, son of Ghiyâs Beg of Tahrân. This combination relies upon the very similar *tārīkh* in the '*Haft Qulzum*' (Rückert-Pertsch, p. 223): *banâ-yî Ka'ba-ya sâni nihâd Ibrâhîm*, 'the erection of the second Ka'ba has been made by Ibrâhîm,' where Ibrâhîm Khân Fath Jang is expressly named as builder. He became governor of Bihâr A.H. 1024, and afterwards of Bengal A.H. 1028, and stayed there till 1032, when he was killed in the battle with Prince Shâhjahân. The *tārīkh* of the *Haft Qulzum* gives the date 1040, but as Ibrâhîm Khân had already died in 1032, this date cannot be correct. Perhaps the *izâfat* after *banâ* should not be reckoned, so that the year would be 1030.



[illegible]







## XXIII.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KARNADEVA.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 793.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was first brought to public notice, about eighty-five years ago, by Captain Wilford, who, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX, page 108, gave the following account of it :—

“ A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found, at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish, in the old fort of Benares. It is engraven upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the Imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly, and in the same shape, with that found at Mongir. The writing is also the same, or at least without any material deviation. The Imperial seal is about 3 inches broad : on it, in *bas-relievo*, is Pârvatî with four arms, sitting, with her legs crossed : two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandi, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pârvatî, and the bull, is written *Śrî-Karṇṇa-deva*.<sup>1</sup> The grant is dated the second year of his new Era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192 . . . . . The ancestors of Śrî-Karṇṇa-deva, mentioned in the grant, were, first, his father Gâṅgeya-deva, with the title of *Vijaya-kaṇṭaka* : he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kokalla-deva, whose father was Lakshmaṇa-râja-deva.”

The plates, thus described by Captain Wilford, were lost for a long time ; but they were rediscovered about 1862, when, through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, Sir A. Cunningham received an impression of the inscription, together with a transcript which had been prepared by one of the students of the College.<sup>2</sup> Both were made over to Dr. F. E. Hall, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal,<sup>3</sup> and has thus enabled me to publish the text of this inscription the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise.

The inscription is on two plates which appear to measure about 1'4" broad by 11½" high each, and each of which is inscribed on one side only. Each plate contains a round hole, about ⅝" in diameter, for a ring to which was affixed the seal, described by Wilford. The plates probably are thick and substantial, for, to judge from the impression, the letters must have been deeply engraved. The first plate contains twenty-eight lines of very close writing, the second only twenty lines. The writing is well preserved almost throughout, so that, with the exception of about half a dozen *aksharas*, the actual reading of the text is hardly at all doubtful. The size of the letters is between ⅝" and ¾". The characters are Nāgarî of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Samskrit, excepting a verse in line 13, which is in

<sup>1</sup> I give the names which occur in this extract as we should spell them now.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 82. In justice to myself I must say here that the transcript, mentioned above, has not been of any use to me.

<sup>3</sup> I have to thank my friend Professor Lauman for having personally communicated to Dr. Hall my request, which has been granted most readily.



Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit. Excepting the introductory *om om namaḥ Śivāya* and the words *kim-vāpareṇa* in line 13, lines 1-32, which mainly contain the genealogy of the grantor, are in verse; the rest of the inscription, being the formal part of the grant, is in prose, but includes six of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, in lines 44-48.—As regards orthography, *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal everywhere, except in the word *śrī* which ordinarily is spelt correctly; *ksh* is employed instead of *khy* in *sauksha*, line 7, and *kshātām*, line 27, and *ky* instead of *ksh* in *kaukyeyako*, line 26; *j* and *y* are confounded, e.g., in *parjjanaishit* (for *paryyanaishit*), line 10, *dur jjasaḥ* (for *duryyaśaḥ*), line 27, and *anuya* (for *anuja*), in lines 16 and 22; and the dental nasal is employed instead of the lingual in *āṇṛinya*, line 8, and *kārunya*, line 20, and instead of *anustāra* in *vansa*, in lines 6 and 45. In addition to these, the inscription contains many other errors, due to the carelessness of the writer or engraver. Thus, the signs of *anustāra* and *visarga* and whole *aksharas* (or even groups of *aksharas*) are often omitted, short vowels are used instead of long ones, and medial *e* and *o* are employed instead of *ai* and *au*. Such and other mistakes, too numerous to enumerate here, occur especially frequently in the bottom lines of the first plate; and they have sometimes rendered it impossible for me to restore the correct wording of the original text. Nevertheless, there is no doubt whatever as to what historical facts are intended to be recorded in the poetical part of the inscription; and I am particularly glad to be able to state that the date of this document is so clearly written and engraved as to remove any doubts which may have been entertained in this regard.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, the devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva), the lord over Trikaṇḍa, the illustrious Karnaḍadeva, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva (lines 33-34). The epithets which are here officially applied to Karnaḍadeva are the same which are used with reference to Narasiṃhadeva in the Lāl-Pahād rock inscription <sup>4</sup> of the Chedi year 909, to his younger brother Jayasiṃhadeva in the Rewah copper-plate grant <sup>5</sup> of the *Mahārāṇaka* Kīrtivarman of the Chedi year 926, and to Jayasiṃhadeva's son Vijayasimhadeva in the Kumbhī copper-plate grant <sup>6</sup> of the Chedi year 932, and which apparently were applied also to Karnaḍadeva's immediate successor Yaśaḥkarnaḍadeva in the Jabalpur copper-plate grant <sup>7</sup> [of the Chedi year 874]. As regards the meaning of these epithets, I have already had occasion to state <sup>8</sup> that I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the term Trikaṇḍa to denote, or to be an older name of, the province of Telīṅga; but that I am unable to explain the exact significance of the phrase 'who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva,' which we thus find employed with reference to five different kings. In accordance with ordinary usage, that phrase ought to mean that Vāmadeva was one of the ancestors of the princes who are said to have meditated on his feet; but none of the inscriptions of the Chedi

<sup>4</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 212. The inscriptions of Narasiṃhadeva, Jayasiṃhadeva and Vijayasimhadeva add *nijabhujopārjit-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatrayādhipati*, after *Trikaṇḍādhipati*.

<sup>5</sup> See *ib.*, vol. XVII, page 226.

<sup>6</sup> See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 119.

<sup>7</sup> See above, page 5; *ib.*, page 7, line 16, the translation should have been: 'And this . . . who [meditates on] the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva . . . . .'

<sup>8</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 225.



rulers of Tripurî or Ratnapur mention a prince Vâmadeva in the genealogical lists which they contain.

To proceed first with the prose part of the inscription, the king Karnadeva from his camp of victory,<sup>9</sup> located at a place the name of which looks like Svasâga in the rubbing, (in lines 34-41) informs his queen, his son<sup>10</sup> (or sons), his chief officials (among whom may be specially pointed out the *mahâpramâtâra*<sup>11</sup>) and others, that, having bathed in the river Venî, worshipped the god Trilochana (Śiva), and performed the proper rites at the annual funeral ceremony in honour of his father Gâṅgeyadeva, on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phâlguna, he has granted the village of Susî<sup>12</sup> (or Susî) to the learned Viśvarûpa,—a son of Nârâyana, grandson of Vâmana, and great-grandson of Maha,—a student of the Vâjasaneya *śâkhâ*, who belonged to the Kauśika *gotra*, and whose three *pravaras* were Audala, Devarâta and Vaiśvâmitra, and who or whose ancestors had come from the village of Vesâla. Karnadeva further (in lines 41-43) directs the inhabitants of Susî to make over to the donee all taxes and whatever else may be due to him by this donation; and he also, in six of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (in lines 44-48), appeals to future rulers to keep the grant intact, and warns them not to resume it. The date of the deed with which the inscription ends is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phâlguna of the year 793.

As regards the localities mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the only thing certain is, that the river Venî, near which Karnadeva was encamped when making the grant, and on the banks of which Svasâga (?) should be looked for, is the Wen-Gangâ of the Central Provinces, which rises about 40 miles south of Jabalpur and flows in a southern direction, about 30 miles east of Nâgpur.<sup>13</sup> The villages of Susî and Vesâla<sup>14</sup> I am unable to identify.

The date,—Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phâlguna of the year 793—must of course be referred to the Chedi or Kalachuri era, and I feel confident that its European equivalent is Monday, the 18th January<sup>15</sup> A.D. 1042, as I have given it in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 216, and *ante*, vol. I, p. 33. Since I wrote my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era four years ago, I have ascertained from the best materials the exact reading of eleven out of the twelve Chedi dates which contain sufficient *data* for verification; and there can be no doubt that all these dates, without exception, work out satisfactorily, as dates in current years with the 26th August (= Âśvina-śudi 1<sup>16</sup>) A.D. 249, or as dates in expired years with the 5th September (also = Âśvina-śudi 1) A.D. 248 as the initial day of the era, and with the *pûrṇimânta*

<sup>9</sup> The Sanskrit for 'camp of victory' is *viṣaya-kāṭaka*, for which Captain Wilford put *viṣaya-kaṇṭaka*, and which he took to be a title of the king Gâṅgeyadeva. Wilford's *viṣaya-kaṇṭaka* has found its way even into the St. Petersburg Dictionary.

<sup>10</sup> Compare the Kumbhî copper-plate, where, instead of *mahâdevîm mahârâjaputram*, we have *mahârâjñîśrî(?)mahâ-kumâraśrî-Ajayasimhadeva*.

<sup>11</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 73, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 254.

<sup>12</sup> The original also gives the name of the district in which this village was situated, but I am not able to make out its proper reading.

<sup>13</sup> See Plate i in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XVII.

<sup>14</sup> I hardly think that Vesâla could be the ancient Vaisâlî, the position of which is shown by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. I, page 443, and Plate xi.

<sup>15</sup> On this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna ended 17h. 9m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>16</sup> Writing at Nâgpur (which once must have belonged to the Chedi kings), on the 30th October 1799, Colebrooke, whose words may certainly be relied upon, says: 'The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Âśvina; but, opening in the midst of Durgâ's festival, New Year's Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' See *Life of H. T. Colebrooke*, page 163.



scheme of the lunar months. The complete agreement of all the twelve dates proves that the date given in the last line of this inscription,—*samvat* 793 *Phālguna-vadi* 9 *Some*,—is correct; but it also shows that the statement in line 40, according to which Karnaḍeva performed the funeral rites in honour of his father on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phālguna, is incorrect. For the second *tithi* of the same lunar fortnight in which the inscription is dated commenced on Sunday, the 10th January A.D. 1042, 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 5 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January, and cannot therefore in any way be connected with a Saturday.<sup>17</sup> I suspect that the day on which the funeral ceremonies were really performed was Saturday, the 12th December A.D. 1041, when the second *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha ended about 11 hours after mean sunrise, and that the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in line 40 the month in which he was writing the grant. However this may be, there can be no doubt that Monday, the 18th January A.D. 1042, is really the date of this inscription, and that this is as trustworthy a date for the reign of the king Karnaḍeva as we could wish to have.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, I have still to give an account of the thirty-one verses with which the inscription opens. As is the case with most copper-plate inscriptions, these introductory verses contain little more than the genealogy of the grantor, but they furnish some names which have not become known yet from other inscriptions of the same dynasty.

After the words '*om om*, adoration to Śiva,' the inscription opens with a verse in honour of the god Śiva, who is identified here with the supreme Brahma.<sup>18</sup> It then records, in verses 2-4, the origin of the powerful prince Kārtavīrya, the vanquisher of the demon Rāvaṇa;<sup>19</sup> and further relates, in verses 5 and 6, that, sprung from Kārtavīrya's family, there were the famous Haihaya princes, the clan of whom was rendered illustrious by the valorous and pious prince Kokkalla.<sup>20</sup>

According to verse 7, the hand of this prince Kokkalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the illustrious Harsha who is described as the sovereign of Chitrakūṭa, and to the king Śaṅkaragaṇa. It does not seem difficult to identify these four contemporaries of Kokkalla. From verse 17 of the Bilhari inscription we know that Kokkalla, having conquered the whole earth, 'set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,'—in the south the well-known Kṛishṇarāja, and in the north Bhojadeva; and, in commenting on that passage,<sup>21</sup> I have already adopted Sir A. Cunningham's suggestion that the former of these sovereigns can only have been the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II., who married a daughter of Kokkalla, the king of Chedi, and who reigned from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 911, and the latter Bhojadeva of Kanauj, for whom we have the dates A.D. 862, 876, and 882. Now Kṛishṇa II. also bore the name Kṛishṇa-vallabha,<sup>22</sup> and it is therefore clear that the Bhoja and

<sup>17</sup> On Saturday, the 9th January 1142, the full moon *tithi* ended 3h. 7m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>18</sup> The same verse occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the *Mahārājaka* Śulakhaṇavarma-deva; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228. Compare also the first verse of the Tewar inscription of Jayasimhadeva, above, page 19.

<sup>19</sup> See verse 9 of the Bilhari inscription, *ante*, vol. I, page 263.

<sup>20</sup> This name is spelt both *Kokkalla* and *Kokalla*.

<sup>21</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 253.

<sup>22</sup> See Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 36. Since the above was written, Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar has published an inscription in which Kṛishṇarāja's father Amoghavarsha is named Śrī-vallabha; and it is just possible that he may be the Vallabharāja of this copper-plate inscription.



Vallabharāja of the present inscription are the Bhojadeva and Krishnarāja of the Bilhari inscription. The proper identification of the illustrious Harsha is suggested both by the circumstance that he is called the sovereign of Chitrakûṭa, and by the fact, to be mentioned below, that Kokkalla's wife was a Chandella princess; for, as Chitrakûṭa is a well-known locality of Bandelkhand<sup>23</sup> which was ruled over by the Chandellas, Harsha must be the Chandella Harshadeva, the successor of Râhila and predecessor of Yaśovarman. It is true, we have no absolutely certain date for the reign of Harshadeva, but, since he apparently had dealings with Kshitipâladeva of Kanauj<sup>24</sup> for whom we have the date A.D. 917, and as his grandson Dhaṅgadeva<sup>25</sup> was on the throne in A.D. 954, he undoubtedly must have ruled about A.D. 900, and must certainly have been a contemporary of Krishna-vallabha. Lastly, the Śamkaragaṇa of our inscription I believe to be Kokkalla's own son (also called Raṇavigraha), whose daughter Lakshmî was married<sup>26</sup> by Krishna-vallabha's son Jagattuṅga. One of the Ratnapur inscriptions tells us<sup>27</sup> that the Chedi ruler Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was ruler of Tripurî, while the others became lords of *maṇḍalas*; and it does not seem at all improbable that Kokkalla already during his life-time may have assigned part of his dominions to Śamkaragaṇa, one of his younger sons, to be governed by him independently.--With all these coincidences, I can only endorse the conclusion, arrived at by Sir A. Cunningham,<sup>28</sup> that the reign of Kokkalla, who, as we shall see below, was Kokkalla I., 'may be fixed with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A.D.'

Our inscription further tells us that Kokkalla married a lady, named Naṭṭâ or Naṭṭadevî, who was born in the Chandella family (verse 8), and who bore to him a son, named Prasiddhadhavalâ (verse 10); and that this prince had two sons, who reigned one after another, Bâlaharsha (verse 13), and his younger brother Yuvarâjadeva (verse 15).

According to the Bilhari inscription,<sup>29</sup> Kokkalla was succeeded by his son Mugdhatuṅga, and his son again was Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva, who married Nohalâ, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.

Comparing these two accounts with each other, it is clear that Prasiddhadhavalâ and Mugdhatuṅga are names of one and the same prince, and that the Yuvarâjadeva of the copper-plate is the Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva of the Bilhari inscription, which omits to mention his elder brother Bâlaharsha. In the copper-plate grant all these princes are eulogized in general terms which mean very little. In the Bilhari inscription the only thing definite recorded of them is, that Mugdhatuṅga (Prasiddhadhavalâ) conquered the lines of country by the shore of the eastern sea and took Pâli from the lord of Kosala. Of Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva it is intimated in the same inscription that he was engaged in many successful wars with different nations; but, on the other hand, an inscription of the Chandella Yaśovarman, who probably was a contemporary of Yuvarâjadeva, informs us<sup>30</sup> that that Chandella king defeated the Chedi king, and 'brought distress on the shameful Chedis.'

<sup>23</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 10.

<sup>24</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 171.

<sup>25</sup> See *ib.*, page 124.

<sup>26</sup> See Fleet, *Dynasties*, page 36.

<sup>27</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 33.

<sup>28</sup> *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 103.

<sup>29</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, pages 264—266.

<sup>30</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 132.



The next three princes mentioned in the copper-plate, again without any remark of the slightest value, are Yuvarājadeva's son Lakshmanarājadeva (verse 17), and his two sons Śamkaragaṇadeva (verse 19) and his younger brother Yuvarājadeva II. (verse 21), who are all described as ruling sovereigns. The Kārītalāi inscription<sup>31</sup> has preserved the name of Lakshmanarāja's wife, Rāhaḍā; and the Bilhari inscription records<sup>32</sup> that Lakshmanarāja defeated the lord of Kosala, and undertook, difficult to be obstructed in his progress, an expedition to 'the very pleasant western region,' in the course of which he bathed in the sea and worshipped the god Someśvara in Gujarāt. Almost the same story is told of Yuvarājadeva II. in the Karanbel inscription of Jayasimhadeva.<sup>33</sup> As regards the times of these kings, it may be mentioned that Lakshmanarāja's daughter Bonthādevī was the mother of Tailapa<sup>34</sup> who restored the Western Chālukya dynasty and ascended the throne in A.D. 973-74, and that, according to the Udaypur *prāśasti*,<sup>35</sup> Yuvarāja was defeated and his capital Tripurī conquered by Vākpati-Muñja of Mālava, for whom we have the dates A.D. 974, 979, and 993.<sup>36</sup>

According to the copper-plate grant, Yuvarājadeva II. was succeeded by his son Kokkalladeva II. (verse 23), he by his son Gāṅgeyadeva (verse 25), and he again by his son Karṇa (verse 28) who issued the grant; and this agrees with the information furnished by other Chedi inscriptions. Of Kokkalladeva II. we know nothing beyond his name. Gāṅgeyadeva, according to the Jabalpur copper-plate of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva,<sup>37</sup> also bore the name Vikramāditya; and the same inscription records that, 'fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig-tree of Prayāga, he found salvation there together with his hundred wives.'<sup>38</sup> Other Chedi inscriptions also eulogize both his valour and piety, and even in a Chandella inscription<sup>39</sup> he is styled the conqueror of the universe. Gāṅgeya is mentioned as the ruler of Dāhāla (or Chedi) by Alberūnī,<sup>40</sup> in A.D. 1030. We also possess a short inscription of his reign which, according to Sir A. Cunningham,<sup>41</sup> is dated in the (Chedi) year 789 = A.D. 1037-38; and we know him to have been a contemporary of the Chandella Vijayapāla,<sup>39</sup> who had ceased to rule<sup>42</sup> before A.D. 1051. In all probability Gāṅgeyadeva's reign ended about A.D. 1040, not more than a year or two before the date of Karṇa's copper-plate.

Of Karṇadeva, 'the lord of the Kalachuris,' the Jabalpur copper-plate,<sup>43</sup> besides eulogizing his valour, records that he founded the town of Karṇavatī, and that at Kāśī or Benares he built a splendid temple, called Karṇa's *Meru*. The Bhera-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadevī<sup>44</sup> represents him as having subdued or held in check the Pāṇdyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kalingas, Kīras and Hūnas; and similarly the Karanbel inscription of Jayasimhadeva<sup>45</sup> makes him be waited upon by the Chōḍa, Kuṅga, Hūna, Gauḍa, Gūrjara and Kīra princes. As we possess an inscription of his son which is dated

<sup>31</sup> See above, p. 175.

<sup>32</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 268.

<sup>33</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215.

<sup>34</sup> See Fleet's *Dynasties*, page 41.

<sup>35</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 237, verse 15.

<sup>36</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, page 403.

<sup>37</sup> See above, page 6.

<sup>38</sup> I believe, Captain Wilford got the 'loathsome dungeon,' in which he lets Gāṅgeyadeva die, out of the words [*Svasā*]-*ga-samāvāsita* (cf l. 33 of the copper-plate).

<sup>39</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 219, and page 222, l. 14.

<sup>40</sup> See Sachau's Translation of Alberūnī's *India*, vol. I, page 202.

<sup>41</sup> See *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 113.

<sup>42</sup> The copper-plate of Vijayapāla's successor Devavarma-deva is dated in Vikrama 1107; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, page 364, No. 178.

<sup>43</sup> See above, page 6.

<sup>44</sup> See above, page 15.

<sup>45</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215.



eighty-one years later than his own copper-plate,<sup>46</sup> it is clear that Karṇa's reign was a long one; and it is certain that he was engaged in many wars and that his power, for a time, was severely felt by his neighbours. According to the Nāgpur *prāśasti*<sup>47</sup> Udayāditya of Mālava, whom we know to have ruled in A.D. 1080, freed the land from the dominion of Karṇa, who, joined by the Karṇāṭas, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean; and the great achievement which the Chandella inscriptions<sup>48</sup> report of Kīrtivarman, and which has even been recorded in a well-known Sanskrit play, is, that that prince defeated Karṇa, the favourite of Fortune, and by doing so restored the independence of the Chandella kingdom. The grammarian Hemachandra<sup>49</sup> eulogizes Bhīmadeva I. of Anhilvād (A.D. 1021-63) for having conquered Karṇa in battle; and, similarly, the poet Bilhaṇa,<sup>50</sup> who elsewhere describes Karṇa as the god of death to the lord of the Kālānjara mountain, meaning to the Chandella king, records his defeat by the Western Chālukya Someśvara I. (about A.D. 1042-68).

Here I might well close my account of Karṇadeva's copper-plate grant; but, having given the genealogy of the rulers of Chedi so far, I may perhaps be permitted to give also the names of the remaining known members of the same dynasty, together with the few facts recorded of them in their inscriptions.

Karṇa married the Hūṇa princess Āvalladevī<sup>51</sup> and was succeeded by the son whom she bore to him, Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, whose Jabalpur copper-plate grant must have been issued in A. D. 1122, shortly before the close of his reign. Yaśaḥkarṇadeva's name also occurs<sup>52</sup> in a copper-plate inscription of Govindachandradeva of Kanauj of the Vikramā year 1177 = A.D. 1120, by which the latter sanctions the transfer of some land which had been originally granted by the former, and which apparently proves that during the reign of Yaśaḥkarṇa part of the Chedi dominions had passed into the possession of the kings of Kanauj. A successful expedition against Tripurī by Lakshmadeva of Mālava, the son and successor of Udayāditya, which probably took place during Yaśaḥkarṇa's reign, is mentioned in the Nāgpur *prāśasti*.<sup>53</sup> The only exploit which Yaśaḥkarṇa's own inscription has to record of him, is, that he 'extirpated with ease' the ruler of Andhra near the river Godāvarī;<sup>54</sup> and the same feat is probably alluded to in the Bhera-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadevī, where that inscription speaks of the devastation by Yaśaḥkarṇa of Champāranya.<sup>55</sup>

Yaśaḥkarṇadeva was succeeded by his son Gayākarṇadeva, of whose reign we possess an inscription<sup>56</sup> dated in the Chedi year 902 = A.D. 1151, when his son Narasiṃha had already been appointed *Yucarāja*. Gayākarṇa (or Gayakarṇa) married<sup>57</sup> Alhaṇadevī,

<sup>46</sup> See above, page 2.

<sup>47</sup> See above, page 192.

<sup>48</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, pages 220 and 326. The Deogadh rock inscription of Kīrtivarman is dated in Vikrama 1154-A.D. 1098; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, page 36, No. 61.

<sup>49</sup> See Bühler, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönchs Hemachandra*, page 69.

<sup>50</sup> See *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, I, 102-103, and XVIII, 93.

<sup>51</sup> See above, page 2.

<sup>52</sup> See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 124.

<sup>53</sup> See above, page 193, verse 39.

<sup>54</sup> See above, page 7, verse 23.

<sup>55</sup> See above, page 15, verse 14. If the above is correct, Champāranya ought to denote a tract of country near the Godāvarī river.

<sup>56</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 210.

<sup>57</sup> See above, page 9, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215, and vol. XVI, page 34.



a daughter of the king Vijayasimha,—a son of Vairisimha, who was a son of Hamsapāla of the Guhila family of Mewād,—and his wife Śyāmaladevī, a daughter of Udayāditya of Mālava. And Alhanadevī bore to him two sons, Narasimhadeva and Jayasimhadeva, who succeeded their father one after the other. Of Narasimhadeva's reign we possess three inscriptions,<sup>58</sup> dated in the Chedi years 907 and 909 = A.D. 1155 and 1158, and in the Vikrama year 1216 = A.D. 1159; and of Jayasimhadeva's reign three inscriptions<sup>59</sup> have been edited, two of which are dated in the Chedi years 926 and 928 = A.D. 1175 and 1177. Jayasimhadeva married<sup>60</sup> Gosaladevī, and was succeeded by their son Vijayasimhadeva, of whose reign we have two copper-plate inscriptions,<sup>61</sup> of the Chedi year 932 = A.D. 1180, and the Vikrama year 1253 = A.D. 1196, the first of which gives us the name of Vijayasimha's son, the prince Ajayasimhadeva. Of all these princes the inscriptions mention not a single fact which would be worth noticing here.

According to the preceding account the list of succession of the Kalachuri rulers of Chedi or Dāhāla, beginning with Kokkalladeva I., would be as follows:—

1. Kokkalladeva I.; contemporary of Bhojadeva of Kanauj (A.D. 862, 876, 882), of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II. (Kṛishṇa-vallabha, about A.D. 875-911) who married a daughter of his; of the Chandella Harshadeva; and of (his own son) Śamkaragaṇa. He married the Chandella princess Natṭā.
2. His son Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā.
3. His son Bālaharsha.
4. His younger brother Keyūtaravarsha-Yuvarājadeva I.; married Nohalā, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.
5. His son Lakshmanarājadeva; married Rāhadā. His daughter Bonthādevī was the mother of the Western Chālukya Tailapa (A.D. 973-74).
6. His son Śamkaragaṇadeva.
7. His younger brother Yuvarājadeva II.; contemporary of Vākpati-Muñja of Mālava (A.D. 974, 979, 993).
8. His son Kokkalladeva II.
9. His son Gāṅgeyadeva-Vikramāditya. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1037-38(?). Contemporary of Alberūnī (A.D. 1030), and of the Chandella Vijayapāla.
10. His son Karṇadeva. His copper-plate grant is dated in A.D. 1042. Contemporary of Bhīmadeva I. of Anhilvād (A.D. 1021-63), of the Western Chālukya Someśvara I. (A.D. 1042-68), of Udayāditya of Mālava (A.D. 1080), and of the Chandella Kīrtivarman (A.D. 1098). He married the Hūṇa princess Āvalladevī.
11. His son Yaśaḥkarṇadeva. A copper-plate grant of his is dated in A.D. 1122.
12. His son Gayākarṇadeva. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1151. He married Alhanadevī, a daughter of Vijayasimha of Mewād and grand-daughter of Udayāditya of Mālava.
13. His son Narasimhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1155, 1158 and 1159.

<sup>58</sup> See above, page 10, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, pages 212 and 214.

<sup>59</sup> See above, page 18, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 226, and vol. XVIII, page 216.

<sup>60</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 219.

<sup>61</sup> See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 120, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228, and vol. XIX, page 171, No. 104.



14. His younger brother Jayasimhadēva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1175 and 1177. His wife's name was Gosaladevī.

15. His son Vijayasimhadēva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1180 and 1196; one of them mentions his son, the prince Ajayasimhadēva.

These fifteen princes, who may be taken to have ruled from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 1200, represent twelve successive generations, which gives to each generation an average of about twenty-seven years.

TEXT.<sup>63</sup>

## First Plate.

L. 1. ओ<sup>63</sup> [॥<sup>x</sup>] ओ नमः सि(शि)वाय ॥

निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं परमकारण(णं) ।

भावयाञ्च परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ग(द्ग)च्छणे नमः ॥<sup>64</sup>—[1].

यद्देवस्थितमव्य[यं]<sup>65</sup> प-

2. रमपि जो(ज्यो)तिसि(शि)दंसु(शु)प्रभं ।<sup>66</sup>

सूर्याख्यस्य च [भा]स्वरप्रभृतयो<sup>67</sup> यस्य स्फुरन्त्यूर्णयः [॥<sup>x</sup>]

सर्वज्ञान[म<sup>x</sup>]यो व(व)भूव भगवांस्तस्मान्मनुर्मानसो

यस्मात्सृष्टिरभूदि[यं] [गु]-

3. णवतो स्त्रीपुत्रिमित्ता ततः ।(॥)<sup>68</sup> —[2].

देवः श्रीकार्त्तवीर्यः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूषण(णं) भूतधात्या

हेलोत्तिष्ठसाद्रिवि(वि)भ्यत्तुहिनगिरिसुतास्त्रे(स्त्रे)षसन्तोषितेस(श)म [॥<sup>x</sup>]

दीर्घण्डा-

4. काण्डसेतुप्रतिगमितमहापूररेवाप्रवाह-

व्याधीतव्यक्षपूजागुरुजनितरुषं रावणं यो ववम्ब<sup>69</sup> ।(॥)<sup>70</sup> —[3].

यस्य भूभ[ङ्ग<sup>x</sup>]भीता ददति नृपतयः क्षि[ष्ट]-

5. मावे प्रतिपं<sup>71</sup>

आ के(कै)लास(सा)त्सहेलं हरवृषभसमुत्प्रातसं(शुं)गाग्रभित्तेः ।

आ च<sup>72</sup> प्राचः समुद्रात्पुरसरिदतुलस्थलमुक्तावलीका-

दान्धोर्ध्वेक्षिणाञ्च [स्फु]-

6. रदतुलमणेः सेतुसीमन्तभाजः ।(॥) —[4].

तद्वत्सप्रभवा<sup>73</sup> नरेन्द्रपतयः ख्याता[ः<sup>x</sup>] क्षितौ हैहया-

स्तेषामनृ(न्व)यभूषण(णं) रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानलः ।

धर्मध्यानध-

<sup>63</sup> From an impression, received in 1862 by Sir A. Cunningham from Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, and now given to me by Dr. F. E. Hall.

<sup>64</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>65</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh). The verse also occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the Mahārājaka Śaikhanaṣarmadeva; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228.

<sup>66</sup> This is what is offered by the rubbing, but, as I do not quite understand the first two lines of the verse, I am

not sure that the reading is correct. Perhaps the right reading may be यद्देवा स्थित°.

<sup>67</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>68</sup> The akshara in brackets looks in the impression like डौ.

<sup>69</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>70</sup> Read ववम्ब.—Compare *ante*, vol. I, page 263, verse 9.

<sup>71</sup> Metre of verses 3 and 4: Śragdharā.

<sup>72</sup> Read दधति नृपतयः क्षिष्टमारे प्रतिष्ठाम् (?).

<sup>73</sup> Read तद्वत्स°.



- L. 7. नानू(नु)संधितमुखः सखत्स[ता]<sup>74</sup> सौख(ख्य)क-  
 त्रेयास(न्)र्व्वगुणाङ्कितप्रभुतया श्रीमानूभूकोकलः<sup>75</sup> ।(॥)<sup>76</sup> —[5].  
 सम्यक्सा(क्शा)स्त्रविचारणा प्रतिदि[न] धर्माय योगाय च  
 इष्टा-
8. पूर्वपरोपकारकृतये यत्सार्थसक्तो(क्ता) मतिः ॥(॥)  
 भानृन्या(ण्या)धिगमाय दाननिरतिः सहस(श)पुष्टेस्तथा  
 ज्ञानाभ्यासवसान्मुक्षपदवीमते<sup>77</sup> च यः प्राप्तवान् ।(॥) —[6].  
 भोजे व-
9. [लभ]राजे<sup>78</sup> श्रीहर्ष(र्षे) चित्रकूटभु(भू)पाले ।  
 स(श)ङ्करगणे च रा[ज<sup>x</sup>]नि यत्सासीदभयदः पाणिः ।(॥)<sup>79</sup> —[7].  
 सचिमिवेन्द्र[ः<sup>x</sup>]<sup>80</sup> कमलासुपेन्द्रो नगेन्द्रकन्यामिव चन्द्रमौलिः ।  
 चन्देक्षवसप्रभवा<sup>81</sup>
10. सुसिला नद्याख्यदेवी स तु पर्जनैषित्<sup>82</sup> ॥<sup>83</sup> —[8].  
 उहामदर्पद्विषतो जयन्तं क(कं)दर्पमापि(पी)नघनस्तनीनाम् ।  
 अजीजनत्स स्थितये जनस्य तस्यां महास(श)क्तिध[रं] कु-
11. मारम् ।(॥) —[9]  
 नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो भुध(व)नत्रयेपि प्रसिद्धपूर्वो(र्व्वो) धवलः स राजा ।  
 वोदु<sup>84</sup> धुरं यो गुरुहारहा योऽन्यान्पेन्द्रान्क[हा]र चकार ॥ —[10].  
 एकैक(कं) ददता भुजङ्गमनि-
12. सं(शं) स्व(स्व) जीवित(तं) रक्षता  
 भक्ष्यार्थ(र्थ) गरुडाय नागपतिना न्यक्कार उन्मीलितः ।  
 चारित्राय ददो(दौ) जलं सुरपतिर्गच्छन्[ह<sup>x</sup>]त्यामृतौ  
 वन्द्यासा(या) भुवनत्रयेष्वयमभू[दौ]-
13. चित्त(त्य)वृत्तेः पदं ॥<sup>85</sup> —[11].  
 किम्वापरेण<sup>86</sup> ।  
 होहिन्ति एत व(वं)से पुरिसा एहइयगारवमहग्वा [१<sup>x</sup>]  
 इय हाविजण जेण पाखीण पदिग(ग्ग)ही गहिओ ॥<sup>87</sup> —[12].  
 तत्सु(त्सू)नुः ख्यात-

<sup>74</sup> Read श्रवत्सतां.

<sup>75</sup> Read श्रीमानभूकोकलः.—The word कोकलः offends against the metre; but the first line of verse 23 shows that the spelling with double l is correct.

<sup>76</sup> Metre of verses 5 and 6. Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The hiatus between lines 1 and 2 of verse 6 offends against the metre.

<sup>77</sup> Read °वशान्मुक्षपदवी°.

<sup>78</sup> Originally हराजे was engraved at the commencement of line 9; but afterwards a letter seems to have been inserted between the aksharas ह and रा.

<sup>79</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>80</sup> Read शचीमिवेन्द्रः.

<sup>81</sup> Read °वशप्रभवा सुशीला°.

<sup>82</sup> Read °देवी स तु पर्य्येषीत्.

<sup>83</sup> Metre of verses 8-10: Upajāti.

<sup>84</sup> I give this line exactly as it is in the impression. वीदु probably should be वीदु, and the fourth Pāda may be योऽन्यान्पेन्द्रान्करदौचकार; but the proper reading of the whole line I am unable to restore.

<sup>85</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>86</sup> Read किं वापरेण.

<sup>87</sup> Metre: Āryā. 'In this family there will be men highly precious on account of their great dignity; thus considering, he took possession of the regions.' Professor Pischel informs me that पाखी is given as a synonym of दिग् in Hemachandra's *Deśināmāṇī*, VI, 37.



*[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which appears to be bleed-through from another manuscript.]*



Scale: 2-3rd<sub>2</sub> of original.



- L. 14. कर्मा दिगिभकरनिभाजानुवा(बा)हुर्महात्मा  
भूमेभ(भ)र्ता व(ब)भूव चतरिपुनृपतिर्वा(ब्बा)लहर्षः सु[ज<sup>x</sup>]म्मा ।  
यं सहजानुरागानुकृतकृतय(यु)गाचारमासु(त्रि)त्य जात-  
स्थ-
15. क्षान्द्योपमर्हं स्थिरवमतिरपास्तारिवर्गात्रि(स्त्रि)वर्गाः ।(॥)<sup>88</sup> —[13].  
धन्योत्र दास(श)रथिरेव रिपुर्हसा(शा)स्यो यस्याभवत्किमपरं समरोत्सवाय ।  
भूभङ्ग[भ<sup>x</sup>]ग्नसकलद्विषतो
16. धिगस्मानात्मानमाह्वरसादिति यः सुसोच<sup>89</sup> ॥<sup>90</sup> —[14].  
सत्यव्रतैकनिरतस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य तस्यानुय(ज): प्रथितवा(बा)हुव(व)लो व(ब)भूव ।  
दुर्योधनारिव(ब)लवि(वी)रवधैकध-
17. न्वी पार्थोपरः कलियुगे युवराजदेवः ।(॥) —[15].  
भु(भू)भारक्षमदृक्स(क्शु)तिप्र[ण<sup>x</sup>]यिनीमालम्ब(म्ब)मानस्तन(नु)  
कुर्व्वाणः समरेपि नाग(क)पथगानागच्छतो विद्भि[ष<sup>x</sup>]: ॥(॥)  
विस्था-
18. तां भुवि भूरिमार्गगमनामुच्चैर्हृद्वाहिनीं  
यः साक्षात्परमेस्व(श्च)र[:<sup>x</sup>] समभवत्सम्यक्सि(क्शि)वाराधनात् ॥<sup>91</sup> —[16].  
तस्मादभूक्ष्णराजदेवः पुण्यौ(ण्यै)र्जनाना(नां)
19. जनितव्यवस्थः ।  
आ(अ)वाप्य यं धर्ममिव क्षितीसं(शं) चिराय लेभे जनता सुखानि ॥<sup>92</sup> —[17].  
यः सत्यस्य निधिः क्षि(त्रि)यां च सरणिः साम्ना च धाम्ना [च<sup>x</sup>] यो  
यो दाता च दयालु-
20. रेव च पदं कीर्त्तिसु(स्व) नीतिसु(स्व) यः ।  
तस्यासीत्परमेष दूषणकण[:<sup>x</sup>] कारुण्य(ण्य)पुण्यात्मनः  
पात्रापात्रविवेचनं न यदभूत्सर्वस्वदानेष्वपि ॥<sup>93</sup> —[18].  
श्रीस(श)ङ्करगणदेव-
21. स्ततोभवत्सकलभुवनतलतिलकः ।  
सा(शा)सति वसुधां यस्मिन्पलायित(तं) क्वापि कलिनापि ॥<sup>94</sup> —[19].  
असौ निस्तृप्तता<sup>95</sup>यत्र वक्रत्वं पलितागमे [।<sup>x</sup>]  
रथचक्रेषु चारि-<sup>96</sup>
22. त्वं वायो[यौ] स्वच्छन्दचारिता [॥<sup>x</sup>]<sup>97</sup> —[20].  
तस्यानुयो(जो)भु(भू)युवराजदेवः पतिः क्षितेः क्ष[त्र]कुलप्रसु(सु)तिः ।  
यस्यासिधाराजलघीतसु(सू)र्त्तिसु(स्त्रि)रं क्षिरासि(सी)च(च)पलापि लक्ष्मि<sup>98</sup>[॥<sup>x</sup>]<sup>99</sup> —[21].  
अर्थि-

<sup>88</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.<sup>89</sup> Read सुप्रोच.<sup>90</sup> Metre of verses 14 and 15 : Vasantatilakā.<sup>91</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>92</sup> Metre : Upajāti.<sup>93</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>94</sup> Metre : Āryā.<sup>95</sup> Read निस्त्रिंशता.<sup>96</sup> *Aritva*, derived from either *arim* 'a wheel,' or *ari* 'an enemy.'<sup>97</sup> Metre : Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>98</sup> Read लक्ष्मीः.<sup>99</sup> Metre : Upajāti.



- L. 23. सा[र्या]वधिसुधागः सेसं सूरजयावधिः<sup>100</sup> ।  
 यस(श)सा(सां) धर्मरासे(शे)स्व(च) नावधिर्यस्य भूपतेः ।(॥)<sup>1</sup>—[22].  
 सीसास्वतोयायत<sup>2</sup> यातकीर्तुः काकलदेवी वसुधैकनाथः ।  
 ज(य)अण्ड-
24. लाघो रिपुमण्डलानि पुरो दधातीति यथार्थस(श)ब्द(ब्द): ।(॥)<sup>3</sup> —[23].  
 नम्र<sup>4</sup> कामुकवत् कृत नियमित तूषीरवत्पृष्ठतः ।  
 काष्ठासु क्षणमात्र[ह]स्त्रविहितः [भ्रा]न्तरादादण्डवत् [।<sup>\*</sup>]
25. कृत्वा सा[त्र]परिच्छेदेन रहित सम्यक्[रि] स्थापित  
 सत्रणामखिल कुल नरपति[यिथेभ] येनासिवत् ।(॥)<sup>5</sup>—[24].  
 काकलनृपादवास्तसकल[का]णी[व]पद<sup>6</sup>  
 ची-
26. रक्षालितहारगो(गौ)रगुणभूर्गागवदेवाभत् ।  
 यस्याजायत केवलं रणमुखे कौक्ये(क्षे)यकोपेसरः ।<sup>7</sup>  
 स्तत्रेव प्रतिविवि[थ] पुनरभूदालाव[रं] स[न्मुखं?] [॥<sup>\*</sup>]<sup>8</sup>—[25].
27. अगुनेज्जोजलीलेति<sup>10</sup> क्षातं यदिह दुर्जसः ।  
 लक्ष्म्या तदधुना धी[तं] दिव्यमादाय तद्वपुः ॥<sup>11</sup> —[26].  
 ख्यात[.˚] सत्यतया स धर्मतनयः<sup>12</sup> त्यागेन वि(वै)रोच-
28. निः  
 सीयेनेद्रसुर<sup>13</sup> न चैतदभवत्स[त्यं] गता[चि]तसि ।  
 एकस्मिंस्त्रितयं कलो<sup>14</sup> समनिक गांगेयदेवे नृपे  
 [दृ]स्ता रिखित[मि]व तेर-<sup>15</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Read शौर्ये सूरजयावधि.

<sup>1</sup> Metro: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>2</sup> Read श्रीसांस्तोयायत जातकीर्तः कौक्यदेवी वसुधैकनाथः.

<sup>3</sup> Metro: Upajāti.

<sup>4</sup> I am not, perhaps, able to restore the exact reading of this verse, but would suggest the following :—

नम्रं कामुकवत्कृतं नियमितं तूषीरवत्पृष्ठतः  
 काष्ठासु क्षणमात्रदृष्टविहितधानं च दीर्घवत् ।  
 कृत्वा साधु परिच्छेदेन रहितं सम्यक्करे स्थापितं  
 सत्रणामखिलं कुलं नरपतयेहेन येनासिवत् ।

<sup>5</sup> Metro: Śārdūlavikrīṭa.

<sup>6</sup> For the commencement of this line I would suggest कौक्यनृपादवास्तसकलचीवीपद<sup>6</sup>; the end of the line I am unable to restore.

<sup>7</sup> Read ०गांगेयदेवीभवत्.

<sup>8</sup> Read ०स्तत्रेव प्रतिविवितं पुनरभूद<sup>8</sup>; for the end of the verse I cannot suggest a suitable reading.

<sup>9</sup> Metro: Śārdūlavikrīṭa.

<sup>10</sup> Read अगुनेधितोयलीलेनि ख्यातं यदिह दुर्जसः ।

<sup>11</sup> Metro: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>12</sup> Read ०तनयस्यागेन.

<sup>13</sup> I would suggest here शौर्येनेद्रसुती न चैतदभवत्सत्यं मतं श्रीदमिः, but am not sure about the last word of the line.

<sup>14</sup> Read कलो समधिकं.

<sup>15</sup> I would suggest reading this line दृष्टा निश्चितमेव तेरवितथ पूर्वं ययीक्षा नृपाः. I take the meaning of the verse to be that, while formerly people did not believe in the truthfulness of Yudhisṭhira, etc., they now no longer entertain any such doubts, since they have seen that, even in this Kali age, Gāṅgeyadeva possesses all the virtues ascribed to those ancient kings, in a higher degree even than they did.



## Second Plate.

I., 29.

वितथं पूव्वे येथोक्ता भृपाः ॥<sup>16</sup>—[27].

तस्यात्मजः कर्ण इवावतीर्णः कर्णः पृथिव्या(व्यां) प्रथे(थि)तष्ट(प्र)भावः ।  
यस्याभिसे(षे)कस्त(अ)वणा[द्वि]ष-

30.

द्विर्नष्टं प्रष्टुष्टं द्विजमित्तवर्गैः ॥<sup>17</sup>—[28].

यत्कीर्त्तिलतया दूरं प्रसरन्त्या दिने दिने ॥(1)  
व्र(व्र)द्वाण्डमण्डपाभोगः स्वल्पतामुपनीयते ॥<sup>18</sup>—[29].  
स्वयं समु-

31.

त्वृजन्नर्थानर्थिसार्थेष्वचिन्तितान् ।

कोपे(प्ये)ष भूषण(णं) भूमेर्जङ्गमः कल्म(ल्प)पादपः ॥ —[30].  
स(श)क्तित्वमै(यै)कने(नि)लयस्य गुणाकरस्य धर्मात्मनः

32.

स्तुतिपदं किमिच्छास्ति कि(किं)चित् ।

आसा(शा)स्यते परमिदं कृतिभिः सदे(दै)व राजन्वती वसुमती भवते(तै)व भूयात् ॥<sup>19</sup>—[31].  
तवे(दे)वं गुणगणालंकृत-

33.

स(श)रीरः [स्वसा]ग<sup>20</sup>समावासितश्चीमद्विजयकय<sup>21</sup>त्परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व-  
(स्व)रश्चीवाम[दे]वपादानुधान(त)परमभट्टा-

34.

रक्तमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(स्व)रपरममाहेस्व(स्व)रतृ(त्रि)कलिङ्ग्या(गा)धिपतिश्चीमत्कर्ण-  
देव[:\*]कुस(श)ली महादेवीं महाराजपु[त्रं]<sup>22</sup> महामं-

35.

त्रि[णो] महामात्या<sup>23</sup>महासन्धिविग्रहिका महाधर्माधिकरणिका महाक्षपटलिका महाकर-  
णिका स(म)हाप्रतीहारो महासामन्तो

36.

महाप्रमातारो महास्व(स्व)साधनिको महा[भा\*]ण्डागारिको महाध्यक्ष<sup>24</sup>एतानन्यांसु(श्च)  
कीर्त्तिताकीर्त्तितासु<sup>25</sup> यथाहं मानयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति विदित-

37.

म[स्तु] भवता(तां) यथा [हपाथा]<sup>26</sup>कासि[भूम्य]<sup>26</sup>न्त[र्गं]त[सु]सिग्रामः सात्र(स्त्र)मधूकः  
सगर्तस्थलजलोपरः सर्वाकरस्व[नि\*]प्रभृतिसमुत्प-

38.

त्तिसमेतसु(श्च)तुराघ(घा)टसीमापर्यन्तः ।<sup>27</sup>वेसालग्रामविनिर्गताय कोसिकगोत्राय<sup>28</sup>।<sup>27</sup>ओद-  
लदेवरात्रविस्वामित्रवि<sup>29</sup>

39.

प्रवराय वाजसनेयसा(शा)स्त्राय ।<sup>27</sup>महप्रनम्ने वा[म]ननम्ने नारायणपुत्राय पण्डितश्चीविस्व-  
(स्व)रूपाय ।<sup>27</sup>इहैव पितुः श्री-

<sup>16</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>17</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>18</sup> Metre of verses 29 and 30: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>19</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>20</sup> Of the word preceding समावासित only the third *akshara* (ग) is quite clear; the first *akshara* might perhaps be read स्त, and the second या.<sup>21</sup> Read °द्विजयकटकात्परम°.<sup>22</sup> The *akshara* in brackets may have been altered to वान्.<sup>23</sup> What was meant to be engraved here and in the following, was perhaps महामाता । महासन्धिविग्रहिक, etc. Com-pare, e.g., the Mungir copper-plate grant of Devapāladeva, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 256, line 31.<sup>24</sup> I suspect that one or more *aksharas* are omitted in this word.<sup>25</sup> Read °कीर्त्तिताश्च.<sup>26</sup> The *aksharas* in these two brackets are very indistinct and doubtful, and I cannot suggest the exact name of the district in which the village of Susi was situated.<sup>27</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.<sup>28</sup> Read कोसिक°.<sup>29</sup> Read ओदलदेवरात्रविस्वामित्र°.



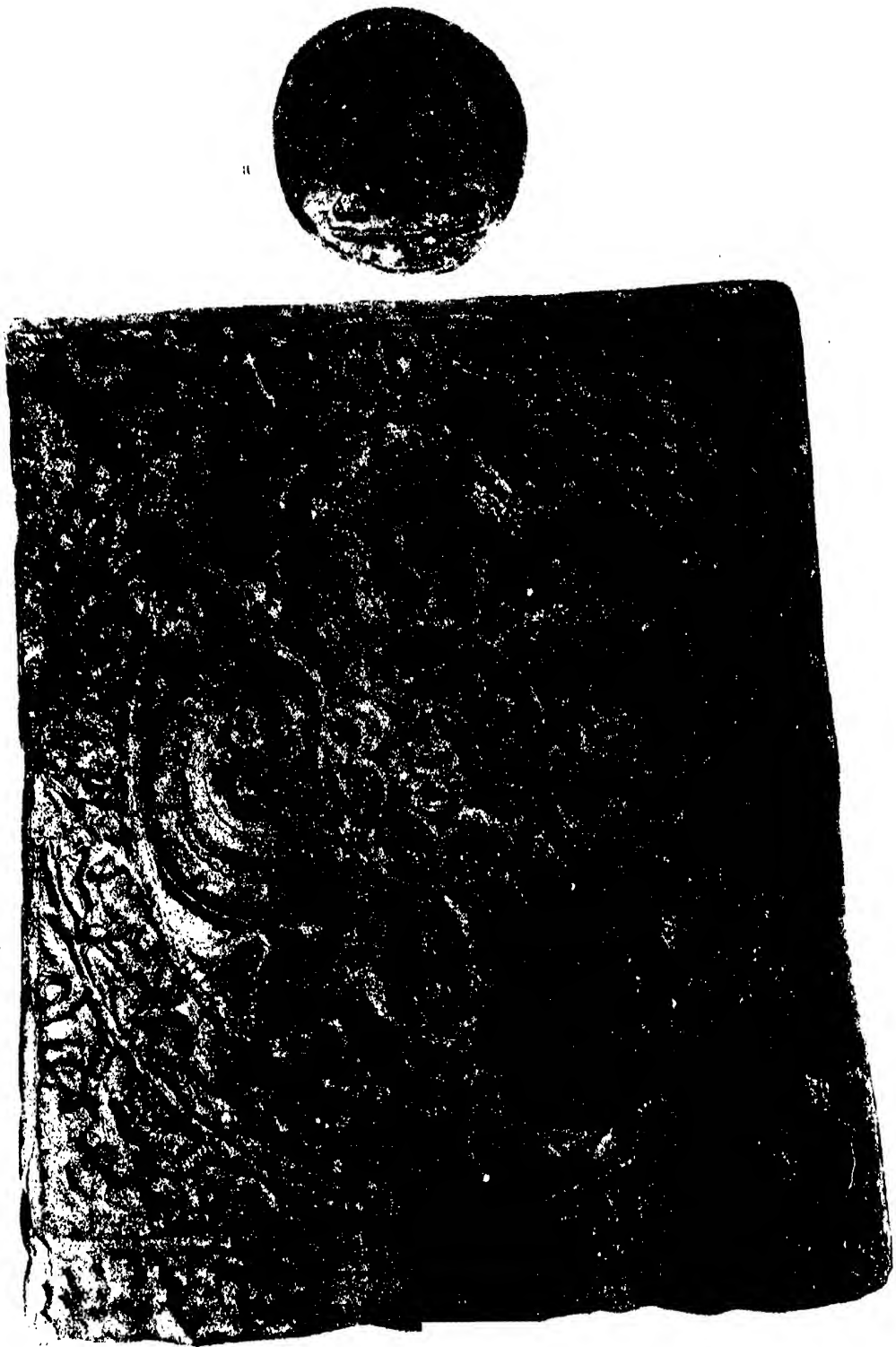
- L. 40. मङ्गाङ्गेयदेवस्य संवत्सरे<sup>30</sup>स्नाहे फाल्गुनव(ब)हुलपक्षद्वितीयायां स(श)नैसु(च)रवासरे वेष्ठां  
स्नात्वा भगवंतं देवं देव<sup>31</sup>त्रिलोचन-  
41. मस(श)नस(सं)भारप्रकल्पितपंचोपच(चा)र[प्र<sup>x</sup>]पंचेन परया भक्त्या समभ्यर्च्यगामसम(अ)-  
हु(ह)या स्ना(आ)हं विधायोभयभोगेन<sup>32</sup>सासत्वेन<sup>33</sup>यप्रदत्तः । अतः श्रीमत्क-  
42. ण्णदेवपादा[<sup>x</sup>] सुसोयामनिवासिनः समस्तजनपदान्समादिस(शं)ति विदितमस्तु भवता-  
(तां) यथा ग्रामोयं<sup>34</sup>स्नाभिः सा(शा)सनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा  
43. भागभोगकरहिरण्यदण्डादायकासीत्यन्ति<sup>35</sup>प्रभृतिसमस्त राजप्रत्यादाय(या)अस्योपनय्या<sup>36</sup>इति  
तदपचिकीर्षया मध्ये वातेनापि न  
44. गन्तव्यमिति ॥ अभ्यर्थना ॥<sup>37</sup>  
सर्वानेताभा(न्भा)विनो राजपुत्राभू(न्भू)यो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।  
सामान्योय(यं) धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणा(णां) काले का-  
45. ले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।(॥)<sup>38</sup>—[32].  
व(ब)हुभिव(वै)मुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।  
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ।(॥)<sup>39</sup>—[33].  
अस्मिन्वन्धे<sup>40</sup>हि[ग्नो?]  
46. पि यस्मा(स्मा)न्यो नृपतिभवेत् ।  
तस्यापि हस्तलग्नोहं सा(शा)सनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ —[34].  
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेर्दानानि धर्मार्थयस(श)स्कराणि ।  
47. नृमाख्यवान्तप्रतिमानि<sup>41</sup>तानि को न(ना)म साधुः पुनराददीत ॥<sup>42</sup>—[35].  
अस्व(श्च)मेव(ध)सहस्रेण राजसु(सु)यसहतेन<sup>43</sup>च [1<sup>x</sup>]  
गवां का(को)टिप्रदानेन भूमिह-  
48. र्त्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ।(॥)<sup>44</sup>—[36].  
मुवर्णमेक(कं) गामे[कां] भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुल(लं) ।  
हरस्र[रक]माप्नोति यावदाहुतसम्प्लवं<sup>45</sup>॥—[37].  
संवत् ७८३ फाल्गुनवदि ८ सोमे [॥<sup>x</sup>]

<sup>30</sup> Read संवत्सरयाज्ञे.<sup>31</sup> Read देवदेव.<sup>32</sup> This is what was originally engraved; but some of the *aksharas*, especially म and य, seem to have been altered, and I believe the intended reading to be °योदकसर्गेण.<sup>33</sup> Read सासनत्वेन संप्रदत्तः.<sup>34</sup> Read °यमस्माभिः.<sup>35</sup> I would suggest reading °दायाकरीत्यन्ति°.<sup>36</sup> Read °नेतव्या.<sup>37</sup> Compare the Kumbhī copper-plate, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXI, page 120,—अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवति यथा. ;<sup>38</sup> Metre: Śālinī.<sup>39</sup> Metre of verses 33 and 34: Śloka (Anushtubh).<sup>40</sup> Read अस्मिन्वन्धे द्वितीया (?).<sup>41</sup> Read निर्माख्य.<sup>42</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>43</sup> Read °यसहतेन.<sup>44</sup> Metre of verses 36 and 37: Śloka (Anushtubh).<sup>45</sup> Read °हतसम्प्लवं.









AN AYAGAPATA (b) AND CENTRAL FIGURE OF ANOTHER (a).



## XXIV.—SPECIMENS OF JAINA SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the several articles on Dr. Führer's discoveries in the Kankâlî Tîlâ at Mathurâ (*ante*, vol. I, pp. 371ff., 393ff.; vol. II, pp. 193ff.) it has been stated repeatedly that large numbers of statues, relievos, and other sculptures have been found. As the inscriptions incontestably prove the great age of the temples which are buried under the mound, and as hitherto very little has become known regarding the earlier Indian art except what the Buddhist Stûpas furnish, it seemed to me desirable that some specimens of the sculptures found should be published at once without waiting for the comprehensive work which Dr. Führer eventually intends to give us. On my application Dr. Führer in 1890 kindly forwarded to me ten photographs, taken from the most remarkable and best preserved pieces, a selection from which is given in the four accompanying plates.

The first plate gives under figure *B* a specimen of the most common form of an *Āyāgapāṭa*, and under figure *A* the central portion of another sculpture of the same class. The addition of *A* was made advisable by the mutilation of the central figure of *B*. The slab, from which *A* has been taken, is apparently in a state of perfect preservation, and it, moreover, bears an easily legible inscription (No. xxx of the second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions, published, *ante*, vol. II, pp. 195ff.), in which it is clearly stated that the object dedicated is an *Āyāgapāṭa*. But the photograph is pitted all over with small white spots,<sup>1</sup> which in parts make it difficult to recognise the details.

The slab, represented under *B*, is oblong and measures 3 feet by 2' 8". At the lower end a space (some inches in breadth) has been cut off, the middle of which was intended for a dedicatory inscription, faint traces of which are still visible. On both sides there are sacred symbols, among which a *Svastika* and one or two *Trisûlas* are recognisable. The remaining nearly square portion of the slab is divided by four concentric circles into (1) a central disc, (2) three bands of unequal breadth, and (3) four triangles at the corners, each with a circular basis. The central disc is occupied by a cross-legged seated Jina, with the hands in his lap. The posture is the usual one, in which all seated Jinas are represented even in the present day. Above his head there is a canopy, from which on either side very thick garlands hang down. Their shape is very peculiar and differs somewhat from that used on Buddhist sculptures (see, *e.g.*, Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plates xxiv, 2; xxvi, 1—2). It is found on all the Jaina sculptures from Mathurâ (see, *e.g.*, Dr. Bhagvānlâl's ancient slab,<sup>2</sup> where these sausage-like garlands are visible at the top of the Stûpa), and it may possibly be a characteristic mark of the early Jaina customs. On the side of the Jina appear three or four marks which at first sight look like representations of leaves. On examining the photograph with a magnifying glass, it seems to me that they are intended for snakeheads with expanded hoods. If my interpretation is correct, the Jina is Pârśva, whose mark is Śesha. In an article in the *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. IV, p. 327, I have

<sup>1</sup> This is due to the nature of the slab, which is of speckled sandstone.—*A. F.*

<sup>2</sup> *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orientalistes*, tome III, 2, p. 142.



pointed out that on another slab Śesha's hoods appear behind the head of a Jina. Here the addition of the canopy prevented their being placed in the proper position.

The first circular band is rather narrow and bears representations of four highly ornamental *Trisūlas*, which, no doubt, with the ancient Jainas, just as with the Bauddhas, were considered as emblems of "the three Jewels" which with the Jainas are right faith, right cognition, and right conduct.

They differ somewhat from those found on the Buddhist buildings (see, *e.g.*, Cunningham's *Bharhut Stūpa*, plates vi and vii), as the lotuu, which the Bauddhas usually<sup>3</sup> place below them, is missing and the central point is longer and feathery at the top, being formed by the ends of two semicircles, held together by a band. The latter peculiarity re-appears in a *Trisūla* on a pillar in the Indrasabhā at Elura, (Burgess, *Arch. Reports West. Ind.*, vol. V, plate xxxviii, 3). The *Trisūla* was, no doubt, in ancient India a symbol, used by all sects for various purposes and with various interpretations. It was also commonly used for personal ornaments and appears in earrings (Cunningham's *Bharhut*, plate xlix), in necklaces (*op. cit.*, plate I), and in women's girdles (Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, plate xi, A). In such ornaments it has frequently the very same shape as on our slab.

The second much broader band of the slab is occupied by four curvilinear ornaments, ending each on the left side in two horns and enclosing in the centre a sacred symbol. Just below the spot where the two horns separate are four bands or garlands, to which rosettes or small lotuses are tied, and from the interstices between the horns issue the stalks of half-opened larger lotuses, which rest with their open faces on the second circle. A comparison of the four large ornaments with the *Trisūlas* in the first circular band leaves no doubt that they represent halves of these sacred symbols. The smaller emblems enclosed by the larger ones are,—(1) at the top, a *Svastika*, which is commonly used as a lucky or sacred mark by all Indian sects, (2) below, two fish, which are likewise considered very generally as marks of good omen, and are found as such over the doors of the great Jaina caves at Junāgaḍh, called Bāwā Pyārā's Maṭh (Burgess, *Arch. Surv. Rep. West. Ind.*, vol. II, plate xviii, 3), and on Brahmanical temples, *e.g.*, on those of the ruined city of Ghumlī<sup>4</sup> (Burgess, *op. cit.*, plate xliii), (3) on the left, another variety of the *Trisūla*, common on Buddhist monuments, and (4) on the right, a mark which looks like a monogram, formed of the syllables *na* and *vo*, and is not uncommon on Buddhist sculptures, and is also used for ornaments (Fergusson, *op. cit.*, plate iii, fig. 4).

The third circular band, which is again very narrow, shows,—(1) below a seated Jina; (2) above a *Stūpa*, resting with its base on the fourth or outermost circle, and hence looking as if it were turned topsy-turvy; (3) on the right and on the left two sacred trees, rising out of a square enclosure. The interstices between these four emblems are filled up by pairs of half recumbent male and female figures, probably worshipping deities (*Vidyādhara*s). Each compartment contains two pairs, one facing one way, and the other turning in the opposite direction.

<sup>3</sup> An exception is found in Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, plate xxxii, Fig. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Compare also Dr. Bhagvānlāl, *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Or.* tome III, part 2, p. 137. The *Viṣṇu Smṛiti* XLIII, 33 (Jolly's edition) enumerates the fish among the Maṅgalas, to which Brahmans must pay reverence. In his notes to the passage Nandapaṇḍita most absurdly adds that the rule refers to 'boiled or fried' (*pakva*) fish. On Buddhist sculptures the two fish appear as parts of personal ornaments; (see Fergusson *Trees and Serpent Worship*, plate iii, fig. 4).



With respect to the Stûpa, which we shall meet again more than once on the other plates, I repeat that it is a form of the funeral monuments, once used and worshipped by all Indian sects that followed the *Jñāna* and *Bhakti Mārgas*, and I refer for some of the reasons for this theory to my article *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. IV, pp. 328f. I may add, however, that Brahmanical Chaityas are occasionally mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Thus we read *Mah. I*, 109, 13—14.

भोक्षेण धर्मतो राजन्सर्वतः परिरक्षिते[तः] ।

बभूव रमणीयश्च चैत्ययूपशताङ्कतः ॥

स देशः . . . . .

“That country, O king, protected on all sides by Bhîshma in accordance with the sacred law, became lovely, being adorned with hundreds of *Chaityas* and sacrificial posts.”

The juxtaposition of the Chaityas and Yûpas shows that Brahmanical sacred buildings, probably Stûpas, are meant.

The worship of sacred trees by the Jainas has been discussed by Dr. Bhagvânâl (op. cit., p. 142), and he has given the names of the Bodhi-trees of three Tîrthamkaras.<sup>5</sup> The worship of trees in India is older than Jainism and Buddhism. Quite irrespective of its traces, found in the Vedic ritual, all the Brahmanical Sûtras bear witness to its existence, as they mention Chaitya trees, which Brahmans and all Âryans must treat with reverence, and it is common to all the sects following the *Bhakti Mārga*, which assign a sacred tree to each deity. Like a great many other practices, it has been taken over by the Jainas and Bauddhas from the Brahmans, when their prophets became deities, a new meaning being given to the ancient rite.

The four triangles in the corners are each occupied by a female figure holding up her arms and supporting the part of the outer fourth circle just above it. On both sides of the heads of these figures there are small projections, which look like rudimentary horns, but appear to be the ears with ornaments hanging down from them. The lower extremities of the four figures have been turned into spirally rolled snake-tails with split or fin-like ends, which fill the right and left corners of the triangles. Figures, supporting sculptures or statues, are so common in ancient Indian art, that it is unnecessary to cite particular examples.

Among the other *Āyāgapāṭas*, of which Dr. Führer has forwarded photographs, there are two more with Jinas in the central medallion or disc, viz., that a portion of which has been given in fig. A of plate i, and another bearing the inscription No. xxxi of my second Series.<sup>6</sup> A third, which bears the archaic inscription No. viii of the same Series, has in the centre a wheel with sixteen spokes, apparently a *Dharmachakra*, regarding the worship of which more will be said in connection with plate iv, and a fourth, which was dedicated by the wife of a dancer (see Inscr. No. v of the second Series) offers the representation of a Stûpa, in front of which two naked women dance on the lower

<sup>5</sup> The fact that each Tîrthamkara has his *Chaityavriksha* is also stated by Hemachandra, *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, verse 62 (Böhtlingk and Rieu). The commentary to the passage is, however, mutilated or corrupt. A complete list of the sacred trees is given in the *Batnasāra*, vol. II, p. 708f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ante*, pp. 195f.



rail, exactly in the same indecent posture as those on Dr. Bhagvānlāl's Mathurā slab. The latter seems therefore to belong likewise to the class of the *Āyāgapāṭas*.<sup>7</sup>

From all these specimens it appears that an *Āyāgapāṭa* is an ornamental slab, bearing the representation of a Jina or of some other object of worship, and the term may be appropriately rendered by "tablet of homage or of worship," since such slabs were put up in temples, as the numerous inscriptions on them say, "for the worship of the Arhats." The *Āyāgapāṭas* seem to be a distinctive feature of the ancient Jaina art, as neither the Buddhists<sup>8</sup> nor the orthodox sects mention them. The Bauddhas have, however, the term *udhapāṭa*, i.e., *ūrdhwapāṭa*, (see, e.g., Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 90f). Even among the Jainas they probably went out of fashion at an early period, as the inscriptions on them invariably show archaic characters, and are in no case known to me dated. In the more modern Jaina temples we find instead of them slabs, called *pañchaparameshthipāṭa* (Satruñjaya inscriptions, Nos. 58, 66, *ante*, pp. 34f.), *chaturvimsatitīrthamkarapāṭa* (*ibidem*, Nos. 57, 67), and so forth.

The sculptures of the second plate are the most interesting of the whole collection. Figure *A* bears an inscription, legible even on the photo-lithograph, which I read originally as *bhagavā Nemiso*, the "divine lord Nemi," as I believed that the sculpture represented some scene from the life of Neminātha. But a careful investigation of various lives of Neminātha, in which Professors Jacobi and Leumann have kindly assisted me, failed to bring to light any legend that could be turned to use. Finally, Professor Jacobi suggested to me that it might be possible to read *bhagavā Nemeso* "divine Nemesa," to refer these words to the figure with a goat's head just above them, and to identify the goat-headed Nemesa with Indra's divine commander of the foot troops Hariṇegameśī, who is represented in mediæval pictures as a man with the head of an antelope.<sup>9</sup> The reading *Nemeso* is no doubt as good as *Nemiso*. The vowel-stroke of the second consonant lies in the proper position of an *e*, though the *i* frequently looks exactly alike on these inscriptions. More difficult was the identification of the two names; but, on looking through the *Nemināthacharita* I found a passage, where *Naigameshin* appears instead of the longer word.

It stands in the beginning of the seventh Sarga, where it is narrated how Kṛishṇa tried to obtain for Satyabhāmā a son equal to Pradyumna in luck and good qualities. The text<sup>10</sup> runs as follows :—

प्रद्युम्नस्य महाकृत्या ताम्यन्ती ज्ञाचयापि च ।  
भामा कोपयति गत्वा शिष्ये जर्जरमश्वके ॥ ८ ॥  
तत्रायातश्च कंसारिव्याजहार ससंभ्रमम् ।

<sup>7</sup> Possibly the word *dyaga*, which occurs in l. 4 of the inscription, may be meant for *dyāga*. Regarding the performances of dancing girls at Jaina festivals, see below the remarks on plate iii.

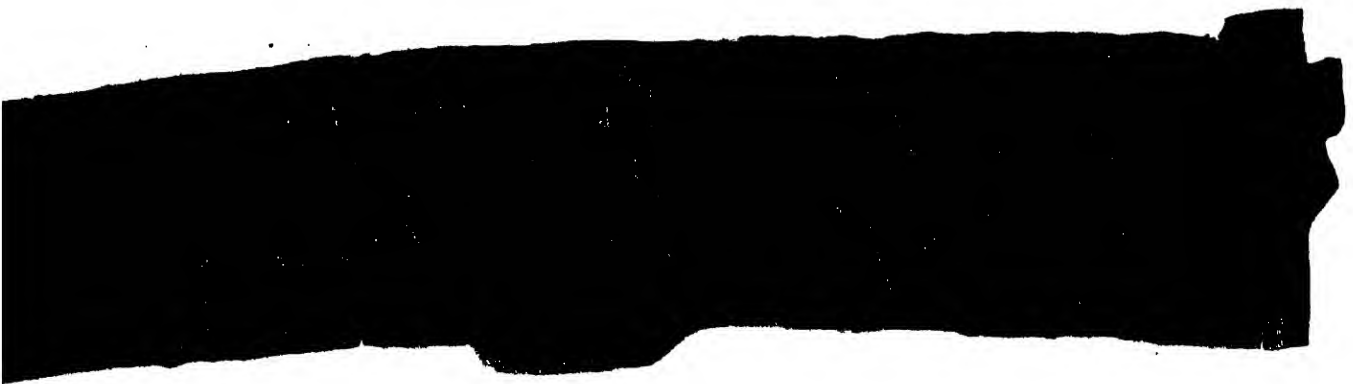
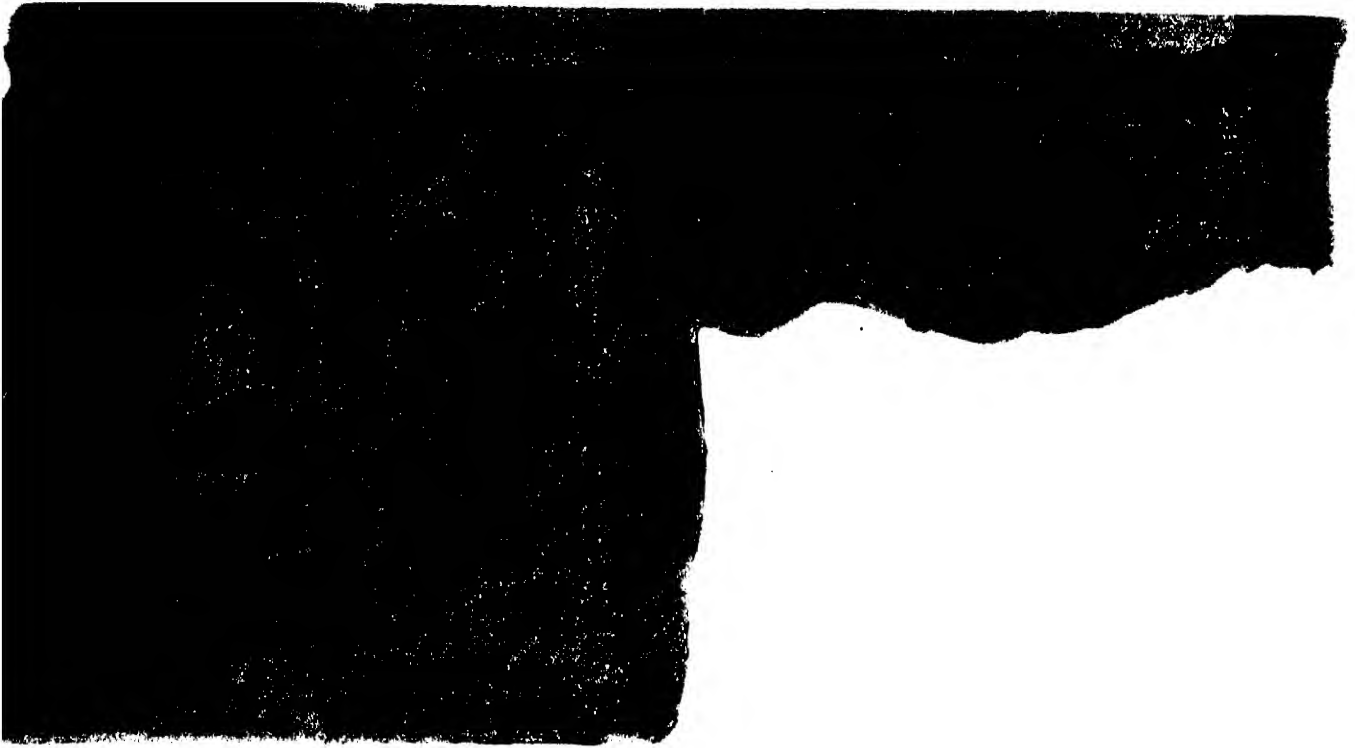
<sup>8</sup> A Buddhist *Āyāgapāṭa* was excavated by me in January 1862 at the ancient site of Adhichhatṛā (Rāmnagar in Rohilkhand) from the ruins of a Buddhist Vihāra. The slab shows a full-blown lotus in the middle surrounded by four highly ornamented Trisūlas. An inscription in archaic characters records its dedication and object.—A.P.

<sup>9</sup> See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, page 227, note. Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished me with a sketch of Hariṇegameśī, which is inserted in his ancient illustrated copy of the *Kalpavṛta*.

<sup>10</sup> The MS., from which the subjoined verses have been taken, is No. 250 of the Vienna University Library collection, which was purchased in 1882 from Mr. Bhagvānlāl Kevaldās' store of MSS., rejected as useless by the Bombay officials in charge of the Search for Sanskrit MSS. (see my paper: *Ueber eine kürzlich für die Wiener Universität erworbene Sammlung von Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften, Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. XCIX, p. 563ff).



MATHURA SCULPTURES.



b) Obverse of doorstep.



c) Reverse of doorstep.







केनापमानितासि त्वं येनैव[व] शु[सु]भ्र तास्यसि ॥ ८ ॥  
 भाम्यूचे नास्य[प]मानो मे किंतु प्रद्युम्नसंनिभः ।  
 न चेन्मे भविता सूनुर्मरिष्यामि तदा धु[धु]वम् ॥ १० ॥  
 कृष्णत[ष्णस्त]दायहं ज्ञात्वा त्रिदि[द]शं नैगमेषिणम् ।  
 उद्दिश्याष्टमन[भ]क्तेन पौषधं प्रत्यपद्यत ॥ ११ ॥  
 आविर्भूय नैगमेषी न[त]मूचे किं करोमि ते ।  
 कृष्णोप्युवाच भामार्यै देहि प्रद्युम्नवस्तुतम् ॥ १२ ॥  
 नैगमेष्यवदय[द्य]स्यां पुत्रेच्छा ते भजस्व ताम् ।  
 त्वममुं हारमामोच्य ततो भावीप्सितः सुतः ॥ १३ ॥  
 अर्पयित्वा वृ[ष्ट]तं हारं नैगमेषी तिरोदधे ।  
 वासुकं वासुदेवोपि सत्यायै सुचि[दि]तो ददौ ॥ १४ ॥

(8) “Annoyed at the great luck of Pradyumna and his fame, Bhâmâ went into her *boudoir* and lay down on a broken cot.

(9) The foe of Kamsa visited her there and spoke agitatedly : ‘Who has shown disrespect to thee, whereby, O fair-browed one, thou art thus afflicted ?’

(10) Bhâmî answered : ‘No disrespect has been shown to me; but, if I do not obtain a son equal to Pradyumna, I shall certainly die.’

(11) Knowing her tenacity of purpose, Kṛishṇa undertook a fast in honour of the god Naigameshin, partaking only of every eighth meal.

(12) Naigameshin appeared and spoke to him : ‘What can I do for thee ?’ Kṛishṇa answered : ‘Give to Bhâmâ a son who resembles Pradyumna.’

(13) Naigameshin replied : ‘Make her, whom thou desirest to have a son, put on this necklace, and then have intercourse with her; thereby she will obtain the desired son.’

(14) Handing over the necklace, which he wore, Naigameshin disappeared. But Vāsudeva joyfully gave the precious ornament to Satyâ.”

The legend shows that the Jainas worshipped a divine being, called Naigameshin, and considered him to preside over the procreation of children. And Professor Leumann informs me that there are passages in older Jaina works from which the same conclusion may be drawn. Now, Hariṇegamesî, the deer-headed general of Indra, is, according to the *Kalpasûtra*, likewise closely connected with the same delicate matter, since at his master’s command he transferred the embryo of Mahāvîra from the body of the Brâhmaṇî Devanandâ to the womb of the Kshatriyâṇî Trisālâ. The last four syllables of his name exactly correspond with the Sanskrit Naigameshin, and the whole compound Hariṇegamesî means in all probability, as the note to the *Kalpasûtra* suggests, “the Negamesî of Hari,” i.e., “Negamesî, the servant of Indra.”

The close resemblance of the name Negamesî-Naigameshî and of Nemeso, and the fact that both deities are represented with the heads of similar animals, again tempt one to assume that both the names and the personages are identical. The difficulty, caused by the slight difference in the terminations of the names, may be removed by assuming that the word had originally, like many others, two forms, one ending in *a* and one



ending in *in*. And the correctness of this view is proved by the occurrence of the Sanskrit words *Naigamesha* and *Nejamesha*,<sup>11</sup> which in the *Grihya Sūtras* and the medical *Saṃhitās* are the names of a deity with a ram's head,<sup>12</sup> particularly dangerous to children. Our word *Nemeso* corresponds exactly with *Naigamesha* according to the analogy of the Pali *emeva* for *evameva*, *ajjhena* for *adhyayana*, *leṇa* for *layana*, and so forth (see E. Müller's *Simplified Grammar*, pp. 41, 43), the intermediate form being *Neyameso*.

There can be no doubt that the *Naigamesha* or *Nejamesha* of the Brahmans, who seizes children and sorely afflicts them with disease<sup>13</sup> and the son-granting and embryo-exchanging *Naigamesha*-*Naigameshin* of the Jainas are in reality identical. They represent two different aspects of the same deity, which was conceived both as beneficent and as hurtful or destructive. Their identity comes out still more fully, if one takes into account another Brahmanical deity, *Naigameya*, whose name, as the larger Petersburg Dictionary points out *sub voce*, is certainly only a variant of *Naigamesha*. This *Naigameya* is declared to be another form, or a son and companion, of the war-god *Skanda*, which latter likewise is represented as dangerous to children. A passage of the *Mahābhārata*, quoted in the Dictionary, *sub voce naigamesha*, asserts that he is *chhāgavaktra* or 'goat-faced,' just like the *Nemeso* of our sculpture. The goat's head excellently suits a deity, who has to do with the procreation of children, as the strong sexual instincts of the goat did not escape the notice of the ancient Hindus.<sup>14</sup> Hence, it may be inferred that the goat's head was the original attribute of *Naigamesha*-*Naigameshin*, the Brahmans substituting later a ram's head on account of the seeming connection of the name with *mesha*, 'a ram,'<sup>15</sup> and the Jainas a deer's head on account of the compound *Harinegamesi*, seemingly connected with *hariṇa*, 'a gazelle.' I may add that *Naigameshin*'s position as *Indra*'s general offers another point of contact with *Naigameya*, who is either considered as identical or as closely connected with *Skanda*, the field marshal of the gods.

If we now return to our sculpture, *Nemesa*-*Naigameshin*'s divine rank is indicated—(1) by his ornaments, bracelets on the upper arm and a very broad necklace (see above the story of *Kṛishṇa*), (2) by the elaborately carved throne on which he sits, (3) by the female attendant to his proper left, who apparently fans him with a *Chauri*, and (4) by the fragment of a canopy or *chhattra*, which, I think, is visible above his head. *Nemesa*'s face is turned to the right, and he lifts his hand apparently addressing somebody who was represented on the lost right half of the slab. At his left knee stands a small naked male, characterised by the cloth in his left hand as an ascetic,<sup>16</sup> and with uplifted right hand. Below this figure is a fragment of an inscription, showing on Dr. Führer's rubbings very plainly the syllables *bhaga*. The first word was therefore *bhaga*-

<sup>11</sup> See the two Petersburg *Dictionaries* under these words. The identity of *Harinegamesi* with *Naigamesha* has already been hinted by Böhtlingk, *sub voce Harinaigameshin*. The latter word is a faulty form, given by Mr. Colebrooke in his *Essay on the Jainas*, probably in accordance with a bad MS. of one of the commentaries of the *Kalpasūtra*.

<sup>12</sup> For a representation of *Naigamesha*, as represented in the Elura sculptures, see *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 326, 1st plate.—J. B.

<sup>13</sup> See, in addition to the passages quoted in the *Dictionaries* from the *Susruta Saṃhitā*, and the *Aśhīṅgaḥṛidaya*, *Uttarasthāna*, ii, 63, and iii, 12-14.

<sup>14</sup> *Āpastamba, Dh. Śū.* II, 14, 13, quotes a Vedic passage to this effect: "Therefore, a he-goat and a learned Brāhmana evince the strongest sexual desires."

<sup>15</sup> I am not able to offer any etymology for *naigamesha* and *naigameya*.

<sup>16</sup> Compare the figures of monks on Dr. Bhāgvānlāl's slab from Mathurā.



vā "divine," and a proper name no doubt followed. This epithet makes it probable that the ascetic is meant for a Tīrthamkara, because, as far as my observation goes, *bhagavā* is not applied in the inscriptions to ordinary monks. Next, on the left comes the female fan-bearer already mentioned. To the left of her stands another female, who raises her right arm in astonishment and looks apparently at the ascetic. She wears earrings, a necklace, armlets, anklets and the usual dress of married ladies, while a scarf, or *sārī*, hangs over her shoulders. At some little distance further to the left, apparently in a separate section of the slab, which is indicated by remnants of architectural ornaments, is found the upper half of a mutilated female figure, who wears the usual ornaments. She likewise raises her right arm and supports with her left on a dish or cushion the body of a motionless infant with the hands folded on its breast.

A Jaina sculpture representing Naigamesha, a small Tīrthamkara and a female with a small infant can only be taken to refer to the most famous legend, in which the deity plays a part, *viz.*, the exchange of the embryos of Devanandā and Trisalā. And it seems to me that the various figures on our slab may be explained on this supposition. The story, as related in the *Kalpasūtra*,<sup>17</sup> is briefly this,—“When Indra became aware that Mahāvīra had taken the form of an embryo in the Brāhmaṇi Devanandā's body, he paid his reverence to the Arhat that was to be born. It then occurred to him that an Arhat ought not to be born in a low Brahmanical family, but only in a noble royal race, and that it was and always had been the duty of the reigning Indra to transfer the embryo, in case through the influence of his Karman an Arhat had descended into the body of a female of the Brahman caste. In order to fulfil this duty, Indra directed Hariṇegameśi, the divine commander of infantry, to transfer Mahāvīra from the body of Devanandā to Trisalā, a lady of the Jñātṛi family of Kshatriyas who was also with child. Hariṇegameśi then repaired first to the Brahmanical quarter of Kuṇḍagrāma, took Mahāvīra from Devanandā, cleansing him from all impurity, and carried him carefully in his folded hands to the Kshatriya quarter of the same town. There he took Trisalā's embryo from her, likewise duly cleansing it, and put Mahāvīra in its place. Next, he returned to Devanandā and placed Trisalā's child in her body. During these operations the two ladies and their attendants lay in a deep magic sleep. Finally, the deity returned to Indra's abode and reported to him that his orders had been carried out.”

As our slab represents Naigameshī-Nemeso, seated in state on his throne, the scene must be laid in Indra's heaven, and it can only refer either to the moment when Indra gave his orders, or to the period when Nemeso had returned from his journey and made his report. The position of the deity, who is apparently speaking to somebody,—probably Indra,—who was represented on the lost right half of the slab, speaks in favour of the second alternative. The small ascetic at Nemesa's left knee, called in the inscription “divine” . . . , is no doubt meant for Mahāvīra, who is introduced by the artist with the attributes of a monk, in order to show the subject to which the conversation refers, and he is represented so small, because in reality he is not yet born and has not yet reached the position of an Arhat. The female, with the small motionless infant in the separate section, is probably Trisalā, represented in an apartment of her palace, having just received her new precious burden.

<sup>17</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, p. 223 ff.



In confirmation of this interpretation, I may point to four mutilated statues now in the Museum at Mathurâ, lithographed by Sir A. Cunningham in the *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. XX, plate iv, 2-5. Two of them represent seated females. "Each of them has," as Sir A. Cunningham says, *op. cit.*, p. 36, "a small child lying in a dish on her lap. The left hand supports the dish, but the right is raised up to the shoulder. Both females appear to be naked." The other two figures are males with the heads of animals. "Both," to use Sir A. Cunningham's words, "are represented in the same action. The larger figure carries a pair of children, male and female, in his left hand, each being grasped by one arm at full stretch. The right hand of the figure is raised to the shoulder in the same position as the right hands of the females. On each shoulder a small child is seated facing the head of the figure. The smaller figure is exactly the same as the larger one, excepting that it carries only one child by its outstretched arm." Sir A. Cunningham then goes on to say that he has been unable to find a clue to these curious 'ox-headed' figures, and that he abandoned his first idea that they might be Yakshas and Yakshinîs of gigantic size preparing to eat the children, because the small figures, seated on the shoulders of the two males, seemed to point to a more friendly connection between the two parties.

With respect to Sir A. Cunningham's description I must state that I differ from him in one important particular. In my opinion the two males are not 'ox-headed,' but 'goat-headed;' for, between the much mutilated bodies of the children and the likewise somewhat disfigured heads, pendent goats' ears are recognisable, especially in the smaller figure. This granted, it is evident that both males are representations of Naigamesha. With this identification the other details admit of explanation. The motionless infants, represented in connection with the males, are the two embryos, which Naigamesha had to exchange. If the artist represented the larger Naigamesha with two children on his shoulders and two in his hands, and the smaller one with two on his shoulders and one in his hand, he probably meant to indicate two different steps in the transaction, *viz.*, that the deity first took the children out of their mother's bodies and 'cleansed them of all impurity,' as the *Kalpasûtra* says, and later conveyed them to their new destination on his shoulders. The two female figures are, of course, No. 2 Trisâlâ and No. 3 Devanandâ, who are represented, the former with a male child on her lap and the other with a female one, in order to show what each received. And it must be noted that the higher rank of Trisâlâ seems to be indicated by the more costly necklace which she wears. The story, which the sculptures tell according to this explanation, may have differed in one detail from that of the *Kalpasûtra*, where Negamesî is said to have taken Mahâvîra in his joined palms, not on his shoulder. But it is also possible that the change is an invention of the sculptor, who wished to represent the deity as carrying the two infants, for both of which there would not have been any room in his hands.

If one compares these figures with our slab, the very close resemblance of the position of the infant, and of the attitude of the female holding it, is at once apparent. And this point, taken together with the unmistakable figure of Naigamesha-Nemeso, irresistibly leads to the conclusion that the legend referred to must be the same in both sculptures.

The other two relievos on plate II, *B* and *C*, are found on a fragment of the doorstep



from one of the two temples, buried under the Kaṅkālî mound. Though they bear no inscription, they cannot be later than the first century B.C.; for one of the two temples existed on the evidence of the very ancient No. I of my second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions already in the middle of the second century B.C., while the likewise archaic inscription No. IV of the same Series which records the erection of the second temple, cannot be later than about the middle of the first century. The obverse, A, represents the worship of a Stûpa by two Suparṇas, half birds and half men, and by five centaurs or Kimnaras. One of the former offers a garland and the other, as well as three of the centaurs, two on the right and one on the left, bring jars or boxes filled with flower-bunches (?). The last two centaurs on the left seem to carry brooms or fans, made of branches. On both sides of the Stûpa stand trees, and the two Suparṇas seem to be seated on, or hovering above, the bending branches of those nearest to the Stûpa. All the five figures wear turbans, such as many of the males of rank represented on Buddhist sculptures wear.

A somewhat similar scene, where Suparṇas worship a Stûpa, occurs on a relievo at Sanchi (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate xxviii, fig. 1).<sup>18</sup> But it must be noted that the Sanchi figures are much more like Greek harpies, while those on our slab are done in a more conventional manner like the winged figures on the Assyrian and Persian sculptures. Among Brahmanical representations, those of Garuḍa, the king of the Suparṇas, on the Gupta seals<sup>19</sup> are worthy of comparison. Centaurs have been discovered on the Buddhist monuments in Gayâ and elsewhere, and, in all probability, they go back to Greek models. What is particularly remarkable in those on our slab is the branch which hides the place where the human body is united with the rump of the horse. As far as I have been able to ascertain from my colleagues, versed in classical archæology, there are no Greek sculptures showing this particular.

The reverse of our doorstep contains a fragment of a procession, apparently about to visit some sacred place. On the extreme right we have two horsemen, each preceded by a 'syce,' or groom. Next follows a covered cart, drawn by two enormous bullocks, as big as those of the Pālanpur breed, and filled with males and females. The cart closely resembles a modern shighram, and the driver, who lifts his goad, is seated, as is still the custom, on the pole. The tails of the animals are tied to strings connected with the yoke, just as is the case with those of the horses on the Sanchi relievos.<sup>21</sup> Behind the cart comes again a horseman and finally an elephant with two riders. The elephant is very badly done. The trappings of the several animals are exactly like those represented on the Sanchi sculptures. But similar carts are not traceable on the latter, where very Greek-looking chariots drawn by horses appear instead.

The two sculptures on plate III are found on the two sides of a fragment of a *Toraṇa*, and the scenes represented on them correspond to each other very closely. On both we have triangular pieces in the upper corners and three rows with figures, separated by semi-circular rails, or *Vedikās*, with flowers, each row of figures ending with an

<sup>18</sup> Compare also *ibidem*, plates xxiv, 2; xxv, 1; xxvi, 1; xxvii, 1, where Suparṇas are represented as worshipping the Bodhi tree.

<sup>19</sup> See Fleet, *Corpus. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, plate xxxvii, and Dr. Hœrnle's new Gupta Seal in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LVIII, Pt. I, p. 85ff.

<sup>21</sup> Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Plate xxxiv, Fig. 1, etc.



open-mouthed *Makara*, which—in five cases—a man teases by taking hold of its tongue and upper jaw. The *Makara*, filling the corner of a row of figures, is common also on all Buddhist monuments.<sup>22</sup> In the cornerpiece on the obverse (*A*) the chief group is placed on the left side and consists of a male with a peaked ornament on his head (a crest-jewel?), holding a garland and four females in the attitude of worship; just below them appears a portion of an empty covered carriage. Further to the right stand five other smaller males (?), four in the attitude of worship, and carrying a large tray with offerings, the nature of which is not distinguishable. The extreme left is filled by five vessels of various shapes and sizes, from one of which rise the leaves of a plant. In the corresponding portion of the reverse (*B*) there is again in the back-ground a group consisting of one male with the peaked head-ornament and three or four females, one of whom holds a garland, further in front also a servant with offerings and a small male figure in the attitude of worship. Below the group appears likewise a portion of a carriage. The place, which on the other side is occupied by jars, is here filled up by a Stûpa and by two platforms of stone (*pr̥thivî*), which in the centre seem to have borne representations of sacred marks (*Pâdukâs*?), and at the upper ends are decorated, each with two lotuses. Two of the semi-circular rows of figures on the obverse, the first and the third, contain each two covered carts (*shighram*) very similar to that on plate *II*, *C*, which are apparently each occupied by several passengers and attended by servants. In front of the cart in the first row walk three dancing girls, who may be easily recognised by the manner in which they expose their persons. It is possible, but not certain, that two of them support with their left hands trays or dishes with offerings. In the third row we have in the place of the dancing girls portions of a clothed male figure seated on a throne and attended by a female fan-bearer. The second row of the obverse shows running male figures with flying upper garments, holding bunches of flowers (lotuses?) in their hands.

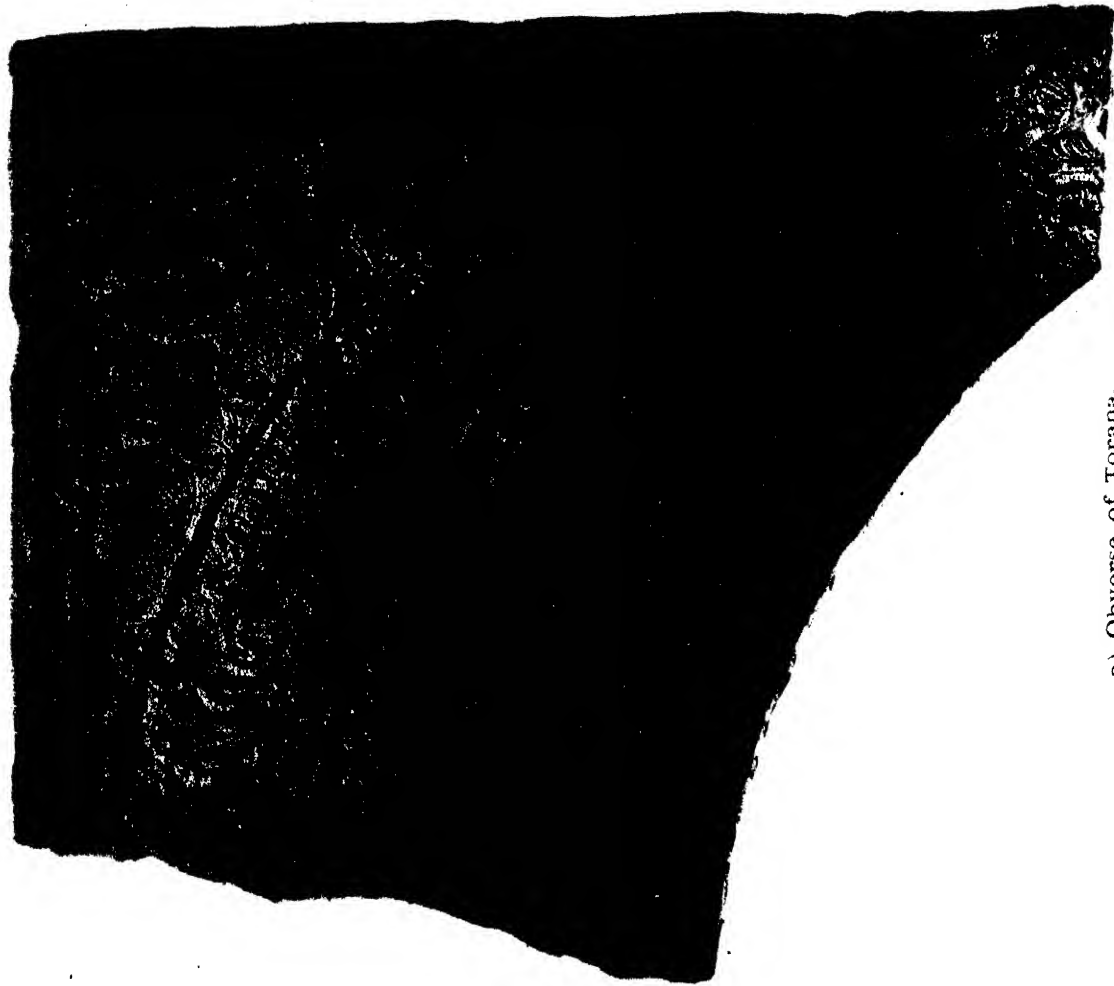
On the reverse only the second, or central, row contains the representation of an uncovered bullock or horse-cart, preceded by dancing girls. Behind this cart comes a male figure riding on a marine monster, and in front there is a mutilated male figure on a throne. The riders on sea-lions and *Makaras* reappear in the two other rows. In the first there is also a mutilated male figure on a throne, attended by a female fan-bearer, at whose dress a *Hamsa* nibbles. The back-ground behind the *Hamsa* is occupied by a monument, possibly a temple, enclosed by a wall. In the third row two male figures with upturned faces and uplifted hands are visible in front of the riders, as well as a piece of the garment of a third.

The general character of the scenes represented is, of course, not doubtful. They refer to the worship of one or several Jaina sanctuaries and to processions or pilgrimages undertaken for this purpose. Many of the details must be likewise familiar to every student of Indian archæology, and they agree in part at least with the descriptions of such scenes occurring in Jaina works. The jars of various shapes, even those with plants, appear frequently on the Buddhist Stûpas, and the Jaina descriptions of the pilgrimage of the deity *Suriyâbha* to the *Ambasâlavana Chaitya* mention them

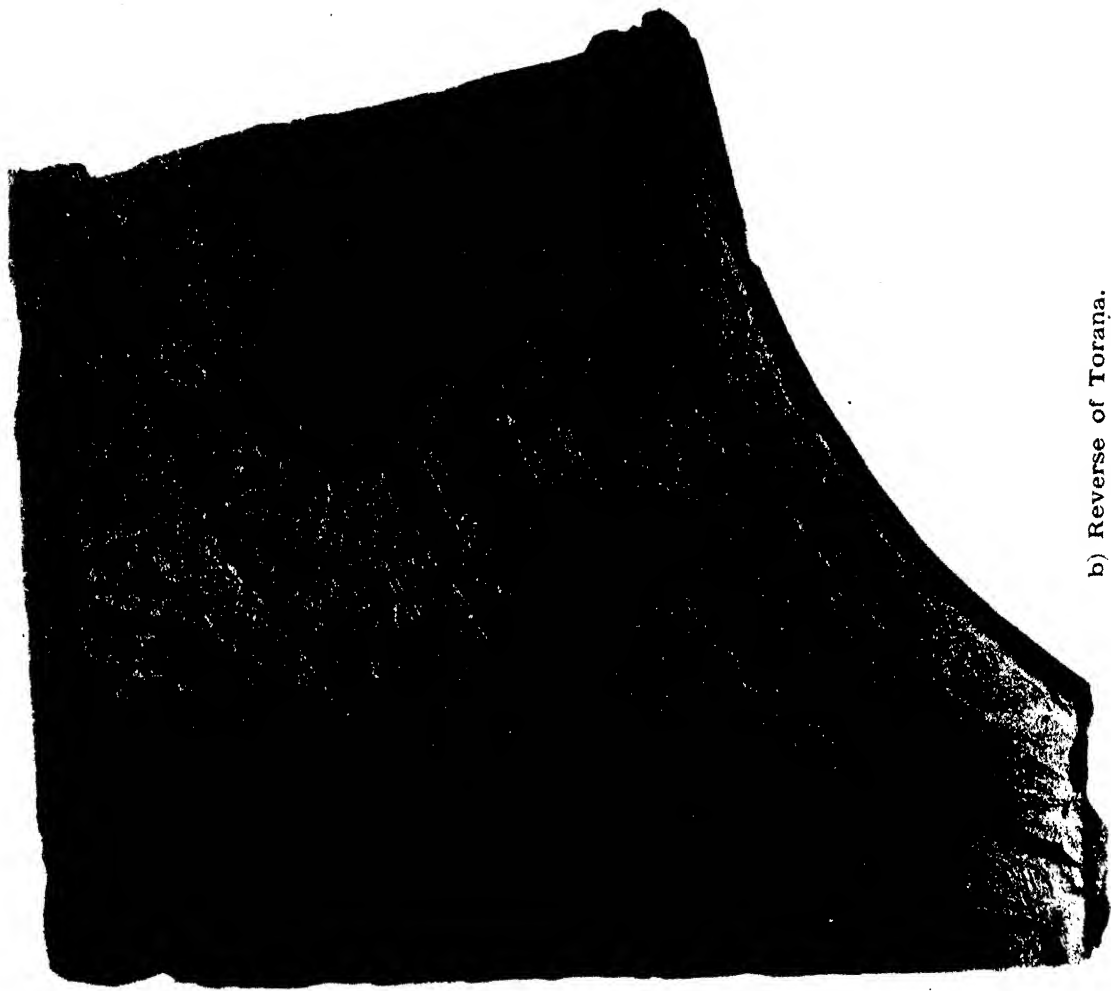
<sup>22</sup> On the Amarâvatî Stûpa, Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South India*, vol. I, plate xxviii, 6, there is a similar scene in which a female takes hold of a *Makara's* tongue.



MATHURA SCULPTURES.



a) Obverse of Torana.



b) Reverse of Torana.











MATHURA JAINA SCULPTURES.





distinctly as requisites of worship.<sup>23</sup> Again, the stone platforms, with lotuses and other sacred marks, occur on the Bharhut sculptures.<sup>24</sup> Nor are the riders on monsters and the running figures with flying garments unknown on the Buddhist Stûpas,<sup>25</sup> where the latter are easily recognisable as Vidyâdharas, moving through the air. Similarly, the dancing girls, who, even in modern times, are engaged to perform in honour of the Tîrthamkaras, are frequently represented on the Buddhist monuments as exhibiting their art at festivals. But other points, like the introduction of the half visible clothed males, seated on thrones, and the representations of carts along with the riders on marine monsters and Vidyâdharas, are puzzling, and it is difficult to decide whether the artist intended to lay his scene in heaven or on earth, and whether all the figures on each of the two sides of the Torana must be taken as a whole or if each row represents a scene complete in itself. The most probable view is perhaps that the artist did not intend to give two compositions only, based on particular texts or illustrating particular legends, but merely wished to show how gods and men are eager to pay homage to the Tîrthamkaras, to their Stûpas and temples.

Plate IV reproduces the mutilated slab, which bears No. xxi of my second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions :<sup>26</sup>—

“The year 79, fourth month of the rainy season, day 20,—on that (*date, specified as above*, Aya-Vṛidhahasti, a preacher in the Koṭṭiya gaṇa and the Vairâ śākhā gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nandiāvarta (*Ara*) . . . . the image, the gift of the female lay disciple Dinâ (*Dattā*), wife of . . . . was set up at the Vodva Stûpa, built by the gods.”

The central piece on the slab is a *Dharmachakra* supported by a *Trisûla*, which itself rests on a lotus.

It belongs to the class of the *Chakras*, made conventionally and with a great number of spokes, which are not uncommon on the Amarâvatî Stûpa (see Burgess, *op. cit.*, plates xxvi, 6, xxxiii, 2), and may be a later development of the carefully done wheels.

It differs from those on the Buddhist and other Jaina sculptures by the two ear-like projections at the top, as well as by the addition of two *Śaṅkhas*,<sup>26</sup> which lean against the basis. On the right of the *Dharmachakra* there is the mutilated figure of a naked ascetic, who, as usual, has a piece of cloth hanging over his right arm. This is probably the Arhat mentioned in the inscription. To the left of the *Chakra* stand four clothed females, wearing the usual ornaments of married women and holding garlands in their hands with which they evidently intend to worship the sacred symbol. The faces of these females look like portraits. Three of them seem to be matrons of mature years; the fourth is smaller and apparently much younger. The last two are half hidden by the figure of a large crouching lion, facing the left.

The most noticeable point is the *Dharmachakra*, which, as the Mathurâ sculptures prove, was used and worshipped as much by the Jainas as by the Bauddhas. The fact is not very astonishing, as the wheel is the emblem of rule and government with all

<sup>23</sup> See Professor E. Leumann's translations from the *Râgapasenijja Sutta*, *Acte du Vième Cong. Int. Orientalistes*, tome III, 2, p. 500 and *passim*.

<sup>24</sup> See Cunningham, *Bharhut*, plates xxxi, 2-4, xxx, 3, etc.

<sup>25</sup> *Arch. Reports South India*, vol. I, plates xxxiii, 2, xxxiv, 1, xxxvi, 2, and *Cave Temples*, plate<sup>1</sup>, Fig. 1-2.

<sup>26</sup> *Ante*, vol. II, pp. 195f.

<sup>27</sup> The *Śaṅkhas* have probably been added *maṅgalârtham*.



Hindus, and the Sanskrit *Koshas* give *rāshṭra* as one of the meanings of *chakra*. The epithet *apratihatachakra*, 'he whose wheel, i.e., rule, is unopposed,' is commonly given to kings in the inscriptions, and there are hundreds of passages in epic and classical poetry in which the *chakra* of kings is mentioned. Nor are the compound *dharmachakra*, 'the rule of the sacred law,' and the familiar phrase *dharmachakram pravartayati*, 'he sets in motion the wheel of the law,' i.e., 'he causes the rule of the law to spread,' wanting in Brahmanical literature. The larger St. Petersburg Dictionary quotes several passages from the *Mahābhārata* where they occur. It is said of Bhīshma, *Mah. I.*, 109, 14 :—

भीष्मेण विहितं राष्ट्रे धर्मचक्रमवर्तत ।

"The rule of the law continued, which Bhīshma had established in the kingdom;" and *Mah. XII.*, 356, 2 :—

यच्च पूर्वाभिसर्गे वै धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तितम् ।

नैमिषे गोमतीतीरे तच्च नागाद्वयं पुरम् ॥

"A town, called Nāga, lies on the bank of the Gomati in the Naimisha forest, where in a former creation the rule of the law was caused to spread."

Considering that the metaphorical meaning of *chakra* is very common with the Brahmanical poets and easily intelligible as an outgrowth of the idea that the unopposed progress of a king's chariot shows the wide extent of his power, it may be safely assumed that the application of the expression to the triumphant progress of the sacred law is likewise of Brahmanical origin, as the passages from the *Mahābhārata* indicate. And it naturally follows that the Jainas and Buddhists, who both worship the *Dharma-chakra* as the emblem of the rule of their respective creeds, borrowed it from the Brahmans, and that the commonly prevalent idea is erroneous, according to which the *Dharmachakra* is a distinctive mark of the Buddhists and their particular invention.

These new sculptures from the Kaṅkālī Tila teach the same lesson as Dr. Bhagvānlāl's Mathurā slab published in the *Transactions of the Leyden Congress*, and prove that the ancient art of the Jainas did not differ materially from that of the Buddhists. Both sects used the same ornaments, the same artistic motives and the same sacred symbols, differences occurring chiefly in minor points only. The cause of this agreement is in all probability, not that the adherents of one sect imitated those of the other, but that both drew on the national art of India and employed the same artists. Full proof of this assumption, which modifies the statements in some standard works on Indian archæology regarding the development of ancient Indian art, can only be obtained by the excavation of really old Brahmanical temples. And it is to this task that the Archæological Survey in India ought to direct its attention, as a thorough exploration even of a few Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, which date from the second or first century before our era, will do more for our knowledge of the history of the Indian religions than the excavation of a hundred Stūpas or Vihāras.

But even at present various pieces of collateral evidence are available which support the view that all the several Indian sectarians took their sacred symbols and the ornaments of their temples from one common storehouse. Chief among these is the now generally acknowledged fact that the Brahmanists, the Jainas and the Buddhists, all and at the same time, contributed to the development of the cave temple architecture



which formerly was considered to be a speciality of the Buddhists. It is now conceded that the oldest known caves at Barâbar and Nâgârjunî belonged to the Vaishṇava Âjîvikas, and those near Katak to the Jaina worshippers of the Arhats. The undoubtedly Buddhist Leṇas date from somewhat later times. It is, therefore, not in the least doubtful that all the old Indian sects used rock-excavations for sheltering their ascetics who wished to live in retirement, and sometimes also their idols, and it is highly probable that this usage goes back to times antecedent to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. In the face of such facts one can only say that it would be surprising if the worship of Stûpas, of sacred trees, of the Wheel of the Law, and so forth, more or less distinct traces of which are found with all sects, as well as their representation in sculptures, were due to one sect alone instead of being heirlooms handed down from remote times before the beginning of the historical period of India.

## XXV.—THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined ten inscriptions, which were discovered by Mr. A. Rea in the Bhattiprolu Stûpa, are published here in full according to impressions, and in the case of No. X, also according to a photograph furnished to the editor by Mr. Rea.<sup>1</sup>

Nos. I—IX are incised on three relic caskets, partly on the circular tops and partly on the rims of the lower stones. Their preservation is good except in parts of No. III and in No. IV, which latter is effaced. No. X is scratched on a small hexagonal piece of crystal and difficult to read on account of the shallowness of the strokes. The great interest and value of the first nine documents lie in their characters, which mostly resemble those of Aśoka's inscriptions, but show also peculiarities met with nowhere else. The details are as follows:—

(1) Twenty-three letters, *viz.*, the initial vowels *ā, â, u, o* and the consonants, *k, kh, chh, ñ, t, th, n, p, ph, b, y, r, v, s* and *h* agree exactly with those of the Southern Maurya alphabet.

(2) The letter *g* has both the usual angular Maurya form and that with the rounded top, which occurs occasionally in Aśoka's Edicts, *e.g.*, in *maḡesu* Pillar Edicts, VII. 2, 2, and is used invariably in the later inscriptions. The first palatal, *ch*, has a tail caused by a prolongation of the vertical. The third lingual, *ç*, shows slanting strokes instead of straight ones, which peculiarity is also repeatedly observable in the word *pāsamḡa* (Kâlsî version of the Rock Edict XII., 1, ll. 33—34) and in *ambâvadikâ*, Allahabad, Queen's Edict, l. 3. The dental media, *ḍ*, exactly resembles the Maurya letter, but is turned round like the Andhra *da* and that of the modern Devanâgarî. The same remarks apply to the fourth labial, *bh*.

(3) Five letters are entirely abnormal, *viz.* :—

(a) *gh*, which is expressed by the sign for *g* with a curve to the right denoting the aspiration (compare the Maurya *chha*, *çha* and *pha*, which have been formed in a

<sup>1</sup> See the plates. Preliminary notices, treating chiefly of the palæographic peculiarities of the first nine, have been printed in the *Academy*, 1892, p. 521, and in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. VI. p. 148.



similar manner out of the signs for *cha*, *ḍa* and *pa*). It occurs in the names *Vaghavá*, i.e., *Vyághrapád* (II. 2), *Satugho*, i.e., *Śatrughna* (II. 8), *Chaghaña*, i.e., *Jaghanya* (VII), *Chagho*, i.e., *Chāṅga* (? VIII. 2), *Akhagho*, i.e., *Akshaghna* or *Rikshaghna* (VIII. 5).

(b) *j* has the angular form, which is rare in Aśoka's inscriptions, (but see, e.g., *rājā*, Girnār Rock Edict, IX. 1) and the usual one in later documents, minus the central horizontal bar. It occurs repeatedly (e.g., I, A, B) in the word *majusa* or *majūsa*, i.e., *mañjūśā*.

(c) *m* is turned topsy-turvy. It is found in the last-mentioned word and frequently in well-known names like *Samana* (III. 5), i.e., *Śramaṇa*, *Māho* (VIII. 5), i.e., *Māgha*, etc.

(d) *l* shows instead of the short horizontal bar on the left a long slanting line attached at an acute angle to the right of the vertical stroke. It occurs only in names, e.g., *Pigalako* (III. 9), i.e., *Piṅgalaka*, *Oḍalo* (III. 11), i.e., *Oḍāla* or *Audāra*, *Gilāṇo* (VII. 13), i.e., *Glāna*, *Gosālakānam* (III. 16), i.e., *Gośālakānām*, and so forth.

(e) The lingual sibilant looks almost exactly like the *kra* of the later inscriptions, and seems to be developed from the *sha* of the Kālsī version of the Rock Edicts by turning the latter sign completely round and converting its upper curve into a crossbar. It occurs regularly for *sa* in the termination of the genitive of vowel-stems, e.g., *Kurasha* (I, A, B), in the genitive plural *tesham* (VI), i.e., *teshām*, in the word *shamuga* (I, A), i.e., *samudga* and in many proper names.

(4) There is further the lingual *ḷ*, which does not occur in Aśoka's Edicts. It looks like a *pa* with a short horizontal bar, attached to the right of the vertical stroke; it is more archaic than the corresponding Andhra letter and very similar to the *ḷa* of a Sanchī inscription. It occurs in the word *phāḷiga*<sup>o</sup> (I, A), i.e., *sphāṭika* and in various proper names.

(5) The notation of the medial and final vowels shows two very remarkable peculiarities:—

(a) The short *a* is invariably marked by the horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant, which denotes long *ā* in the Maurya alphabet, except when an Anusvāra follows. The latter limitation is probably due to the circumstance that the Anusvāra was considered equivalent to *aṁ*, in which form it is invariably given in the native lists of *mātrikās*, or the alphabets.

(b) The long *ā* is usually marked by a horizontal stroke and a vertical hanging down from its end. In *negamā*, VIII, 1, a cursive form, consisting of a long notched horizontal stroke, appears instead.

(6) In other respects the notation of the medial vowels mainly agrees with that used in Aśoka's inscriptions. The diphthong *o* is however more commonly expressed by a bar projecting to the right and to the left of the consonant than by two separate strokes. The former *o*, though rare in the Edicts, does occur occasionally, see, e.g., *nigohāni*, Pillar Edict, VII, 2, 2. Finally, in the syllables *ni* and *ñi* the vowel is attached to the middle of the vertical stroke of *n*, according to the analogy of *na* and *ñā*.

(7) The initial vowels *i*, *ī*, *u*, *e* and the consonants *jh* and *ḍh* do not occur, and there are at least no certain traces of the palatal sibilant *ś*, though there is a sign somewhat like it in a difficult name towards the end of III, 10.



The inscription, No. X, which is incised on the piece of crystal, shares only two of the peculiarities, just described. Its *cha* (l. 2) has a tail and its *da* in °*deśānam* (l. 3) and in *dānam* (l. 6) opens towards the left. In other respects its letters, as well as its vowel notation, fully agree with those of Aśoka's Edicts. It may be noted that it twice offers in *Samaṇudeśānam* (l. 2) with the palatal sibilant exactly in the places where it would stand in Sanskrit. This agreement of its characters with those of the Maurya inscriptions leads to the supposition that it belongs to the same time as the latter.

But the first nine inscriptions are also probably only a few decades later than Aśoka's Edicts. They unfortunately contain no historical statements which might be used to absolutely prove the correctness of this estimate. They mention, it is true, the names of a king *Kubirako* or *Khubirako*, i.e., *Kuberaka*, of various families, of *goṭhīs* or committees and Buddhist saints. But none of them is traceable in any other historical source. Under these circumstances, all that remains is to fall back on arguments deduced from a comparison of other datable inscriptions, which, of course, may be deceptive. If one does this and places on the one side the alphabet of the Aśoka Edicts and on the other those of the Nânâghât, Hathigumphâ and Bharahut-Torana inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B.C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhattiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, *may* mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., but may be somewhat earlier.

If this estimate is correct, their characters prove (what, indeed, is also made probable by facts connected with Aśoka's Edicts) that during the 3rd century B.C. several well-marked varieties of the Southern Maurya alphabet existed; for they contain a system which cannot have sprung up in a short time, but must have had a longer history. The importance of this result lies therein, that it removes one of the arguments of those scholars who believe the introduction of writing to have happened during the rule of the Maurya dynasty. It has been stated repeatedly that one of the facts proving the Aśoka Edicts to belong to the first attempts of the Hindus in the art of writing, is the absence of local varieties among the letters of versions, incised at places which lie at distances from each other of more than a thousand miles. This argument is based, as I have pointed out more than once, on imperfect observation, and it may be met also by the obvious objection, that Aśoka's Edicts were all issued from the same office, and that the importance naturally attributed to the writing of the royal clerks at Pāṭaliputra might be expected to influence the copyists in the provinces and to induce them to imitate as much as possible the shape of the letters used at head-quarters. Nevertheless, if the Bhattiprolu inscriptions now show a system of writing, which in some respects is radically different and which may be reasonably supposed to have arisen in Aśoka's times or even earlier, they furnish a very great help to those who, like myself, believe the art of writing to have been practised in India for many centuries before the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Pāṭaliputra.

This is, as far as I can judge at present, the chief value of the new alphabet. I do not think that it teaches us much regarding the history of the Southern Maurya characters and regarding the manner in which they were derived from their Semitic prototypes. There is only one form among them which, I think, may be considered for



good reasons as more ancient than the corresponding Maurya character. This is the *m*, whose shape comes so close to the full form of the Northern *m* that I should not wonder if the two little strokes below the circle had really stood originally below the circle or semicircle and the letter had been turned topsy-turvy only later. Further, it is possible that the *gh* of the Bhattiprolu alphabet, which, as stated already, has been formed by the extension of a principle underlying the formation of *chha*, *dha* and *pha*, proves the Semitic prototype of the Southern Maurya characters to have been destitute of a sign for the guttural *media aspirata*. Though the common Southern *gha* looks like an independent character, it may have been formed out of a *ga* with a round top by the addition of a curve to the upper right corner and by then turning the whole letter round. If this view is correct, the Bhattiprolu *gh* probably dates from very ancient times and is quite as old as the sign of Aśoka's Edicts. On the other hand, two other letters, the *j* with two bars and the lingual sibilant *śh* are in all probability younger than the corresponding Maurya characters. With respect to *śh* this is self-evident. As regards the *j*, the central bar probably has to be regarded as an essential part of the letter on account of the shape of *jha*, which has been fashioned out of a *ja*, consisting of a vertical and a short horizontal stroke by the addition of a small upward stroke on the right. Nor is it possible to assume that the more elaborate system of vowel-notation in the Bhattiprolu inscriptions is more ancient than the simpler one, found in all other Indian alphabets; for the Semitic original of the Southern alphabet in all probability had no vowel-marks. Hence, a system of notation, requiring eight instead of seven signs for the purpose must be regarded *a priori* as the later one. With respect to the remaining anomalies, I am not able to say anything definite. But I would point out that, with the exception of the position of the letter *da*, not one of the peculiarities of the Bhattiprolu alphabet has left any trace in the later Indian alphabets.

The language of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions is of the type of the Pali, from which it differs only by the occurrence of the lingual sibilant in Nos. I—IX, and of the palatal one in No. X. Though the two signs differ, I believe that the sound for which they served was the same. There is, as far as I am aware, neither any modern nor ancient Prakrit dialect, which has or had more than two sibilants, the dental one and that which comes near to, but is a little thicker than, the Sanskrit palatal *śa*.

With regard to the contents of the inscriptions, I may confine myself to the remark that two of the caskets are said (see Nos. I and V) to be intended for relics of Buddha. This point, I think, speaks too in favour of the antiquity of the inscriptions.

#### TRANSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

##### I.<sup>2</sup>

(A.) Kurapituno cha Kuramā[t]u cha Kurasha Siva[sha]<sup>3</sup> majusam-panati phāligashamugam<sup>4</sup> cha Budhasarirānam nikhetu [II].

(B.) Banavaputasha Kurasha shapitukasha majusa [II].

<sup>2</sup> Nos. I and II are incised on the rim of the lower stone of the first casket.

<sup>3</sup> Looks like *Sivaka* as the lower curve of the *sha* has not been formed properly.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly *phāligam samugam*.



## TRANSLATION.

“By the father of Kura, the mother of Kura, Kura (*himself*) and Siva (*Siva*), (*has been ordered*) the preparation of a casket and (*has been given*) a box of crystal in order to deposit some relics of Budha (*Buddha*)”

“By Kura, the son of Banava, associated with his father (*has been given*), the casket.

## II.

Utarō Pigahaputo kânīṭho<sup>6</sup> [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

“Utarā (*Uttara*), the youngest son of Pigaha (*Vigraha*)”.

## III.

- L. 1 Goṭhi  
 2 Hirañavaghavā  
 3 V[u]gāḷako K[ā]ḷaho  
 4 Visako Thorasisi  
 5 Samāṇo Odalo  
 6 Apaka . Shamudo  
 7 Anuga[h]o Kuro  
 8 Satugho Potako [P]oto Āḷinakā  
 9 V[a]ruṇo Piga[la]ko Koshako  
 10 Suto Pāpo Kabherakh[o] [Gāle]ko  
 11 Samāṇa[d]āṣho Bharado  
 12 Odalo Thoratiso Tiso  
 13 Gilāṇo Jambho  
 14 Puḍara (?) [B]ūbo  
 15 Gālavata . . (?) Janako  
 16 Gosālakānam Kūro  
 17 Uposhathaputo Utaro  
 18 Kārahaputo [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

“The Committee (*consists of*):—

Hirañavaghavā (*Hiranyavyāghrapād*) Vugāḷaka (*Udgāraka*), Kāḷaha, Visaka (*Viśvaka*), Thorasisi (*Sthaulaśirṣi*), Samāṇa (*Śramāṇa*), Odala, Apaka, Shamuda (*Samudra*), Anugaha (*Anugraha*), Kura, Satugha (*Śatrughna*), Potaka, Pota, Āḷinaka (*Ālīnaka*?), Varuṇa, Pigaḷaka (*Piṅgalaka*), Koshaka (*Kauśika*?), Suta, Pāpa, (Kabherakha?) (*Kuberaka*?), Gāleka (?), Samāṇa[d]āṣha (*Śramanadāsa*), Bharada (Bharata) (L. 12), Oḍala (*Audāra*?) Thoratisa (*Sthaulatishya*), Tisa (*Tishya*), Gilāṇa (*Glāna*), Jambha, . . . Būba . . . Janaka, of the Gosālakas (*Gosāḷaka*), Kūra, the son of Uposhatha, (*Uposatha*), Utara (*Uttara*), the son of Kāraha.

<sup>5</sup> The genitive *sarirānaṁ* has to be taken as *genitivus partitivus*.

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be meant for *kaniṭṭho*.

<sup>7</sup> For the change of *va* to *pa*, compare words like Pali *pajāpati*, Sanskrit *prajāpati* and the inscriptional *bhagaputo* for *bhagavato*, *pijite* for *vijite*, and the like. Probably Uttara was the stone-cutter who made the casket.

<sup>8</sup> Nos. III-V are incised on the top stone of the second casket, and No. III in a central disc, lines 1-11 running lengthwise, lines 12-13 breadthwise on the left, and lines 14-18 breadthwise on the right.



IV.<sup>9</sup>

Sama[nadā]sha[to hita] . a . . Budhasha sarirāni mahiyānukammā . . . .

*Remark.*

Nothing can be said regarding the contents of this inscription, except that it mentions relics of Buddha.

V.<sup>10</sup>

- L. 1 Goṭhisamaṇo Kubo [I]  
2 Hiraṇakāragāmaṇīputo Būbo [II]

## TRANSLATION.

“Kuba (*Kumbha*), the ascetic of the Committee (?).”

“Būba, the son of the village-headman Hiraṇakāra (*Hiranyakdra*).”

VI.<sup>11</sup>

Shaga[ṭh]inigamaputānam rājapāmukhā<sup>12</sup>[I] Sha . i[sha] puto Khubirako rājā  
Shihagoṭhiyā pāmukho [I] tesham amnam maj [ū-]s[am] phāligashamugo cha  
pāsānashamugo cha [II].

## TRANSLATION.

“By the sons of the Shāgaṭhi *nigama* (*guild or town*), chief among whom is the king—king Khubiraka (*Kuberaka*), the son of Sha.-i, is the chief of the Shīha (*Simha*) Committee—by these (*has been given*) another casket, a box of crystal and a box of stone.”

VII.<sup>13</sup>

Samaṇo Chagha[nā]puto Utaro Âramutara . . [II]

## TRANSLATION.

“Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*), the son of Chaghañā (? *Jaghanya* ?). Utara (*Uttara*)

. . . .

VIII.<sup>14</sup>

- L. 1 Negamā  
2 Vachho Chagho  
3 Jeto Jambho Tiso  
4 Reto Achino Shabhiko  
5 Akhagho Kelo Keso Māho  
6 Seṭo Chhadiko Okhabūlo  
7 Sonutaro Samaṇo  
8 Samanadāsho Sāmako  
9 Kāmuko Chitako [II]

<sup>9</sup> Incised on the rim to the left and below the inscription on the central disc.

<sup>10</sup> Incised on the outer rim, to the right of the inscription on the central disc. Possibly *Kūbo* is to be read.

<sup>11</sup> Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket.

<sup>12</sup> Read *°pāmukhānam*.

<sup>13</sup> Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket, outside the No. VI, the letters being turned the other way.

<sup>14</sup> Incised on the upper stone of the third casket.



BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.



ON THE LOWER STONE OF THE FIRST CASKET.

Scale - 3-10ths.

ON THE CRYSTAL.

5 8 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

Full size.

A. Rsa, feet.



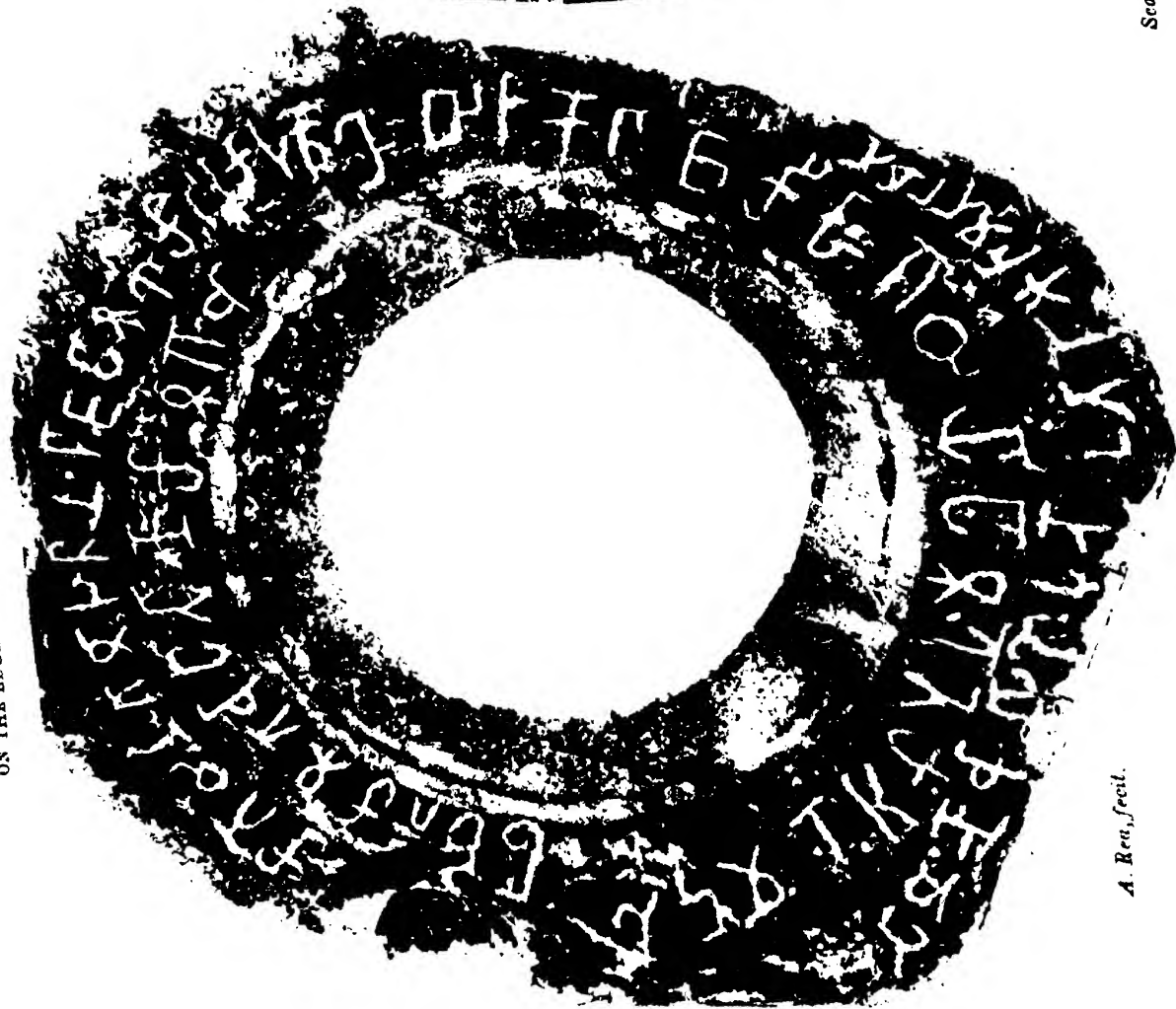
# BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE LID OF THE SECOND CASKET.



Scale: 3-10ths.

ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX OF THE SECOND CASKET.



A. Reu, fecit.



# BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE LID OF THE THIRD CASKET.



ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX  
OF THE LOWER OR THIRD CASKET.



ALPHABET OF THE BHATṬIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

[illegible]

ON THE CRYSTAL. {



## TRANSLATION.

“The members of the guild (*are*):—

Vachha (*Vatsa*), Chagha (*Chāga* ?), Jeta (*Jayanta*), Jambha, Tisa (*Tishya*), Reta (*Raivata*) Achina (*Achīrṇa* ?), Shabhika (*Sabhika*), Akhagha (*Akshaghna*), Kela, Kesa (*Keśa*), Māha (*Māgha*), Seṭa (*Śvaitra* ?), Chhadika (*Chhandika* ?), Okhabūla, Soṇutara (*Suvarṇottara*), Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*), Samaṇadāsha (*Śramaṇadāśa*), Sāmaka (*Śyāmaka*), Kāmuka, Chītaka (*Chitraka*).

IX.<sup>15</sup>

Arahadinānam goṭhiyā majūsa cha sha[m]ugo cha [l] tena kama yena Kubirako rājā am[k]i [ll]

## TRANSLATION.

“By the Committee of the venerable Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*, was given) a casket and a box. The work (*is*) by him, by whom King Kubiraka (*Kuberaka*) caused the carving to be done.”

X.<sup>16</sup>

- L. 1 Mātugāmasa [Nam]dapurāhi<sup>17</sup>  
 2 Suvaṇamāhā  
 3 Śamaṇudeśānam cha<sup>18</sup>  
 4 Gilānakerasa<sup>19</sup> ayasaka  
 5 [Sa]ṭhiya<sup>20</sup>  
 6 gohiyā a-ga dānam<sup>21</sup> [ll]

## TRANSLATION.

“An *A-ga*,—gift by the women from Nandapura (?) and by the Śramaṇeras from Suvaṇamāhā, in the *Ayasakasāṭhi gohi* of *Gilānakera* (?).”

The arrangement of the lines of this inscription seems to be fixed, first by the *cha* after *Śamaṇudeśānam* and secondly by *dānam*. The latter word in all probability concludes the inscription and the former shows, that line 3 is preceded by something else. Nevertheless the exact meaning remains obscure, as the word immediately preceding *dānam* is mutilated and those from *gilānakerasa* down to *gohiyā*, though plain enough, are for me at least, inexplicable with any certainty.

<sup>15</sup> Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the third casket.

<sup>16</sup> Incised on the sides of a hexagonal piece of crystal, found inside one of the boxes.

<sup>17</sup> The first syllable is abnormal and the reading uncertain. The last syllable is visible only on the tracings, not on the photograph.

<sup>18</sup> The *cha* has a tail, like in the other nine inscriptions.

<sup>19</sup> There is also a short stroke to the left of the top of *ra*, and it is possible to read °*keresa*, which however would be perfectly inexplicable.

<sup>20</sup> The left limb of *sa* is abnormal.

<sup>21</sup> There is on the photograph a letter between *a* and *ga*, which I am not able to make out. Possibly the word may have been *dyāga*. The *da* of *dānam* opens to the right, just as in the other nine inscriptions.



## XXVI.—GOVINDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE POET GANGADHARA.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

About five years ago Dr. Fleet sent me a rubbing, received by him from Sir A. Cunningham in October 1883, of an inscription, described as being on a slab of stone in Narsingh Māli's house at Govindpur, in the Nawādā sub-division of the Gayā district of the Province of Bengal. And some time afterwards I received another rubbing of the same inscription from Dr. Burgess, to whom it had been made over by Mr. Beglar.<sup>1</sup> Both rubbings are very faint, and I know that, with a good impression, the wording of the text of this inscription which I now publish may be improved upon; but I feel confident that everything of importance has been made out correctly, and that a renewed examination of the original inscription will not add materially to what I now have to report regarding the contents of it.

The inscription contains thirty-five lines of writing which cover a space of about 1' 8½" broad by 1' 3½" high. At the upper proper left corner a small piece of the inscribed surface is broken away, causing the complete loss of altogether a dozen *aksharas* at the end of lines 1-6. Of the rest of the inscription nothing is actually lost, but, to judge from the rubbings, the proper right half of the writing, from about line 11 to 24, has suffered either from exposure to the weather or from careless treatment; and a few *aksharas* are more or less illegible on the left side. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{16}$ " and  $\frac{7}{16}$ ". The characters are the peculiar kind of Nāgarī which was used in parts of Eastern India during the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., and the most characteristic feature of which is, that *r*, preceding another consonant, is written by a short line, sideways attached to the right side of the *akshara* of which *r* forms part, not by the ordinary superscript sign. Essentially the same alphabet is used, *e.g.*, in the Dinājpur plate of Mahāpāla and in the Āmgāchhī plate of Vīgrahapāla III., and the closest possible resemblance to the writing of the present inscription is shown by the writing of the Cambridge palm-leaf MS. Add., 1693,<sup>2</sup> which was written in A.D. 1165, and by that of the Hodgson<sup>3</sup> palm-leaf MS. 1 of the Royal Asiatic Society, written in the fourth year of the reign of Govindapāla.<sup>4</sup> In the inscription here edited the sign for *r*, described above, is so small and so shallow that often it can hardly be recognized in the rubbings; and this, as well as the fact that the sign of *anusvāra* and the superscript strokes which turn *e* and *o* into *ai* and *au* are equally faint, and the close resemblance of the signs for *p* and *y*, *t* and *bh*, *m* and *s*,

<sup>1</sup> I saw at once that the inscription, of which these two rubbings had thus been sent to me, was of some value, but have long hesitated to attempt a full decipherment of the text, because the imperfect state of my rubbings suggested the advisability of waiting for a proper impression. To secure one, I applied in April 1892 to Mr. Grierson, and he again, having then left the Gayā District, kindly communicated my request to Mr. D. J. Macpherson, of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr. Macpherson most readily at once sent two of his men to Narsingh Māli's house at Govindpur, but they were told there that two or three years ago a Sahib had come and examined the stone which contains the inscription, and that next day the same Sahib had returned on a camel, and taken the stone away. If this story is really true, I need hardly say that even now I should be grateful to the present owner of the stone for an impression.

<sup>2</sup> See Bendall's *Catalogue*, plate ii, 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Cowell and Eggeeling's *Catalogue* in the *Journal Royal As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. VIII, plate i, 2.

<sup>4</sup> For Govindapāla we have the date Vikrama 1232 = A.D. 1175; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 358.



*v* and *dh*, and of the subscript *u* and *r*, have caused me no slight difficulty. The inscription never employs the signs of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya*, and the sign of the *avagraha* is used only once, in *Gaṅgādhara* 'bhāt in line 24.

The language of the inscription is Samskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory *om om namaḥ Sarasvatyai* and the date *Śāka 1059* at the end, the whole is in verse. The writer and engraver have done their work with great care, so that, in respect of orthography, my remarks may be brief. As was to be expected, the letter *b* is throughout written by the sign for *v*. The dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal in *Kasyapād*, line 6, and *prasrayaiḥ*, line 7; and the palatal instead of the dental in *śūribhir*, line 29. Instead of *anusvāra* we find the guttural nasal in the word *vanśa*, in lines 2 and 5 (but not in line 4), and the dental nasal in *avatansa*, line 4. Before *r*, *t* has been doubled in *mittra*, lines 7 and 24, *amittra*, line 21, *maittrī*, line 27, and *ātapattra*, line 31; and *bh* is similarly doubled in *avbhriyam* (for *abbhriyam*), line 30. As regards the rules of euphony, *t* is left unchanged before *ś* in *śrīmatśaṅkara*, line 17; and *m* before *y* and *v* in *samyattau*, line 18, *samvāsāya*, line 9, and *sarvasvam-vitatāra*, line 11; and the dental sibilant is wrongly employed instead of the lingual in *nisprabhārdham* (assuming this to be the right reading) in line 13, and *duskare* (for *dushkaro*) in line 30. Of words which according to von Böhtlingk's Dictionary have been hitherto found only in lexicographical works our inscription offers *girā* 'speech, song,' in line 5, *mahallaka* 'eunuch,' in line 10, and *ātman* in the sense of 'the sun,' in line 13. Besides we find *śivirī* for the neuter *śivira*, in line 9, and the word *rama* ('husband and wife') apparently employed in the sense of 'parents,' in line 19. To a few other points, having reference to the grammar and to the construction of some of the verses, attention will be drawn below.

The inscription is dated, in lines 34-35, both in words and in figures, in the Śāka year 1059, corresponding to A.D. 1137-38. It was engraved by the artisan Śūlapāṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharaṇa (verse 39). And its immediate object is, to record that a man named Gaṅgādhara, who has himself composed this poem, for the spiritual benefit of his parents, built a tank near which the inscription must have been put up (verses 34-38). But what is of more importance is, that the author has furnished a *praśasti*,<sup>5</sup> or eulogistic account, of himself and his family which enables us to fix the time of no less than six men who were known to us as poets from other sources, and some of whose verses have been preserved; and that he has given us the names of the rulers of Magadha, hitherto unknown, under whom he and some of his relatives lived and whose patronage they enjoyed. It may also be a matter of some interest to learn that the author's family belonged to the clan of the Maga or Śākadvīpiya Brāhmins.

Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of Viśvambhara (Vishṇu), the inscription, in verse 2, glorifies both Aruṇa (*i.e.* the dawn personified as the charioteer of the sun) 'whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvīpa where the Brāhmins are named Magas,' and the Magas themselves who here, as elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> are said to have sprung from the sun's own body and to have been brought to India by

<sup>5</sup> According to verse 37 of the text Gaṅgādhara composed two *praśastis* which both must have been engraved and put up close to each other.

<sup>6</sup> See Professor Weber's most interesting essay on the *Magavyakti* of Krishṇadāsa.



Śāmba (the son of Kṛishṇa and Jāmbavati). According to our author the first of these Maga Brāhmins was Bhāradvāja (verse 3), whose family had a hundred branches (verse 4). In one of these was born, as a son of a certain Dāmodara, Chakrapāṇi, who, compared as he is to Vālmīki, must have been considered a poet of some eminence (verse 5). He had two sons, Manoratha and Daśaratha (verse 7), who were induced to come to the court of the ruler of Magadha (verse 15), the prince Varṇamāna of the Māna family (verse 10), where one of them was appointed to the office of *pratihāra*, while the other was made superintendent of the eunuchs (verse 11). Daśaratha again had two sons, Harihara and Purushottama (verse 22). Of Manoratha, to the praise of whose liberality,<sup>7</sup> piety, shrewdness, learning, etc., our author has devoted no less than six verses (12-17) and who is spoken of as a modern Kālidāsa (verse 15), we learn that he married a daughter of Devaśarman, a counsellor of the prince of the [Ghaudī<sup>8</sup>] country (verse 18); and that she bore to him also two sons, Gaṅgādhara, the author of the inscription, and Mahīdhara (verses 21-22). All these six men, Manoratha and Daśaratha and their four sons, are especially eulogized for their learning and proficiency in vedic studies (verse 23). The rest of the inscription treats of Gaṅgādhara himself. Here it will be sufficient to say that he represents himself to have been a counsellor and friend of the Māna prince, the king Rudramāna (verse 24); that he married Pāsāladevī, a daughter of Jayapāṇi, an official of the king of Gauḍa, and his wife Subhagā (verse 29), and finally, that, according to his own account, he was the author of a poem entitled *Advaitaśata* and had shown his skill as a poet also in the composition of other poems (verse 33).

The princes of the Māna family, mentioned in the above, have not, so far as I am aware, become known yet from other inscriptions, and it may therefore suffice here to state that Varṇamāna and Rudramāna must have ruled over Magadha (or part of it) towards the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

As regards Gaṅgādhara and his relatives, the inscription tells us distinctly that, like Gaṅgādhara himself, Chakrapāṇi and Manoratha were poets, and it may reasonably be assumed that some of the other members of the family, learned men as they were, also were in the habit of writing poetry. Now it happens that the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta*,<sup>9</sup> an anthology compiled by Śrīdharadāsa in A.D. 1205, contains verses of six poets bearing the same names as six of the Maga Brāhmins mentioned in this inscription, and, considering that these Brāhmins lived in Eastern India and that the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* also was compiled there,<sup>10</sup> I have little doubt indeed as to the identity of the six poets mentioned by Śrīdharadāsa with Gaṅgādhara, the author of this inscription, and five of his relatives, *viz.* his great-grandfather Dāmodara, his grandfather Chakrapāṇi, his father's brother Daśaratha, his own brother Mahīdhara, and his cousin Purushottama.

Of Gaṅgādhara himself the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* has two verses which were first published by Professor Aufrecht in *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 511,

<sup>7</sup> See verse 12, according to which Manoratha on the occasion of a lunar eclipse went to the sacred place *Purushottama*, which was situated near the sea.

<sup>8</sup> The reading of this name is doubtful; see below.

<sup>9</sup> See Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra's *Notices*, vol. III, p. 134.

<sup>10</sup> Professor Aufrecht states the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* to be an anthology, culled chiefly from Bengal poets. The compiler's father, Baṭudāsa, lived under Lakshmanasena.



and have afterwards been reprinted by Professor Peterson in his edition of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāshitāvali*, Introduction, p. 32. Of Dāmodara the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* contains two verses,<sup>11</sup> of Chakrapāṇi four, of Daśaratha also four, and of Mahādharma one verse. As regards Gaṅgādharma's cousin, the author of the anthology assigns six verses to Śrīmat-Purushottamadeva, one verse to Purushottamapādāḥ, and one to Purushottama and it seems probable that only the last is the Purushottama of our inscription. All these verses have been kindly copied out for me by Professor Aufrecht and will be published elsewhere. The inscription being dated in Śaka 1059, the six poets may be assumed to have composed their verses—

Dāmodara between about A.D. 1050 and 1075 ;

Chakrapāṇi between about A.D. 1075 and 1100 ;

Daśaratha between about A.D. 1100 and 1125 ;

Gaṅgādharma, Mahādharma and Purushottama between about A.D. 1125 and 1150.

#### TEXT.<sup>12</sup>

L. 1. श्री<sup>13</sup>[॥<sup>x</sup>] श्री नमः सरस्वत्यै ॥

एकत्रोन्नतगात्रगौरवभरात् प्राप्ते तथा नम्रता-

मन्यत्र श्रियमुद्वह्यतिलघुं तुङ्गे भुजङ्गेश्वरे ।

वक्षःसम्मुखसम्भृतस्तनतटीसङ्गीपसर्प्यत्सुखं

निद्रा[णी] ७<sup>14</sup>

2. द[यां] दधातु दयितामाश्लिष्य विश्वम्भरः ॥<sup>15</sup>—[1].

देवो जीयाञ्चिलोकीमणिरयमरुणो यन्निवासेन पुण्यः

शाकद्वीपस्त दुग्धाम्बु(स्व)निधिवलयितो यत्र विप्रे मगाख्या ।

वङ्गस्तत्र<sup>16</sup> द्विजानां भ्रमिलिखिततनोर्भा(र्भा)स्वतः स्वाङ्ग — —<sup>17</sup>

3. शास्त्री<sup>18</sup>यानानिनाय स्वयमिह महितास्ते जगत्यां जयन्ति ॥<sup>19</sup>—[2].

तेषां स प्रथमः समस्तनिगमज्ञानात्मविद्यापदं

वु(बु)द्ध्या व्यापृत एव नित्ययजनव्यापारपारीण्या ।

भारद्वाजमुनिर्व(र्ब)भूव भुवनोद्गाराभिपातौ<sup>20</sup>तपः

— —

4. यस्य मुखे मगद्विजमहावंशावतन्सोपमः<sup>21</sup> ॥<sup>22</sup>—[3].

गोत्रञ्च तस्य शतशाखमभूदभूतपूर्वस्तपोभिरथ सुप्रसरैर्यशोभिः ।

यत्रापरे प[र]मतच्चविदो नवद्यविद्यावदातमतयः पतयो द्विजानां ॥<sup>23</sup>—[4].

कालिना ७ ७ —

<sup>11</sup> The first words of these verses and of those mentioned below are : *Kailāsa re paśupati* ; *Silam śdayati* ; *Tasyā nāma mayā* ; *Yat kāṇḍam gaganadrūmasya* ; *Ārūḍhāntarayauvanasya* ; *Agre vitatya charaṇau* ; *Āchchhidya Lakṣmīm* ; *Iyam sā Kāṇḍī* ; *Naikam janma tavaiva* ; *Vandyosau vidhir eva* ; *Līlottānaśayopi* ; and *Kāntāreshu kardvalambī*.

<sup>12</sup> From Sir A. Cunningham's pencil-rubbings.

<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>14</sup> The *akshara*, here broken away, was probably व.

<sup>15</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>16</sup> Read वङ्गस्तत्र.

<sup>17</sup> The *aksharas*, here broken away, were probably सुक्तः.

<sup>18</sup> Read शास्त्री for सास्त्री.

<sup>19</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.

<sup>20</sup> This is what was originally engraved ; but the vowel of the *akshara* भि is clearly struck out, and I believe the intended reading to be °रावपाती.

<sup>21</sup> Read °तन्सोपमः.

<sup>22</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>23</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā.



L. 5.

विलुप्तविलसद्विद्याधने धन्विनां

वीराणां धुरि चक्रपाणिरभवहामोदरस्यात्मजः ।

यो वाल्मीकिरिवावतारितगिराधारः स विश्वस्थि[ति]-

<sup>25</sup>व्यङ्गस्या ७ ७ — चतुर्मुख इव ख्यातो गुणियामणीः ॥<sup>25</sup>—[5].अतिस्थिरा घृथु . . . -<sup>26</sup>

6. त्कीर्त्तिर्गिरि[मास्य]दं ।

दिक्कक्रं यदि नारुढा तद्भ्रमत्यन्वया कथं ॥<sup>27</sup>—[6].

जातौ वासवकेशवाविव सुतौ तस्मात्प्रसन्नामरौ

मारीचादिव कस्य(श्च)पादुपचितां धर्त्तुं कुले सत्क्रियां ।

ज्यायांस्तत्र मनोरथो दशरथस्तस्यानुजन्मा [ययो]-

7. विद्या[चा]रशुचित्वशीलविलसत्कीर्त्या पवित्रं जगत् ॥<sup>28</sup>—[7].

मुख्यत्वेन सतां यशोभिरखिलोन्नीतैः स्वकर्णश्रुतैः

सन्निधौपगमेन तैरतिभूतैर्भोगैर्यद्वोप[गैः] ।

भ्रात्रोरत्र ययोर्नरेन्द्रनिहितैः सप्रेमभिः प्रस्र(श्च)यै-

8.

श्यामानि द्विषदाननानि विदधे शुभ्रोप्यदभ्यो गुणः ॥ —[8].

तौ भ्रातरावतितरां सहजोदितेन प्रेम्णा परस्परमनोहरणाभिरामौ ।

सौहार्दहृद्यचरितेषु ययोरधीरः कालोपि न खलितमाप कलिः कदाचित् ॥<sup>29</sup>—[9].

9. आनीतौ निजराज्यमुज्ज्वलयितुं यद्वात् प्रतीतात्मना

सम्वासाय<sup>30</sup>नरेखरेण शिविरी<sup>31</sup>श्रीवर्णमानेन तौ ।

तस्यान्नामवलम्ब्य(स्व)तत्कुलमिदं ताभ्यामपि प्रापितं

काञ्चित् कीटिमनुत्तरां गुणभुवः कीर्त्तैर्विभूतैरपि ॥<sup>32</sup>—[10].

आ

10. सि[भ्योर्ग]णनीयगौरवगुणेनैकेन [से]व्येनयो-

स्तस्मिन्मानपतेर्महीयसि गृहे प्रापि प्रतीहारता ।

अन्येनापि पुनर्मह[त्त]कधुरा<sup>33</sup>व्यस्तेति<sup>34</sup>विस्तारिणा-

वेतौ सच्चनयैर्व्य(ब्)भूवतुरिह प्रज्ञैकविज्ञानिकी ॥ —[11].

गत्वा श्री-

11. पुरुषोत्तमं [भग]वयोद्भूतः प्रतिष्ठापदं

पारावारतटे पटीयसि लसच्चन्द्रग्रहानेहसि ।

सर्वस्वमिततार<sup>35</sup>तर्पितपितृस्तोमः करोत्तासितै-

स्तोयैर्यः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमाप क्षणं ॥ —[12].

सात[त्या]-

<sup>24</sup> Read व्यङ्गस्या. The next three *aksharas* are quite blurred in the rubbings, and it is impossible to say confidently what they were.

<sup>25</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>26</sup> The *aksharas*, here broken away, were probably तरा य-

<sup>27</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>28</sup> Metre of verses 7 and 8: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>30</sup> Read संवासाय.

<sup>31</sup> One would have expected the neuter द्विविरी.

<sup>32</sup> Metre of verses 10—12: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>33</sup> The *akshara* in brackets is doubtful, and looks rather like स्त.

<sup>34</sup> This is clearly engraved, but I believe the intended reading to be 'धुरावासेति'.

<sup>35</sup> Read सर्वस्वं विततार.



- L. 12. नित्यकृत्या[हु]तिभिरपचितौ चन्द्रमौलेस्त्रिकालं  
न्यस्ताभिर्यस्य यैवागममहितमहामन्त्रपूतान्तरस्य ।  
एनः खेनोज्जगार त्रिजगति विदितादाश्रया[म्]त्वदोषा-  
दिषु धूमच्छलेनोज्ज्वलरुचिरचिरान्निर्गुतं हो-
13. मवङ्गिः ॥<sup>36</sup>—[13].  
खेताश्च तं श्रयति [पितृभो]त्यात्मनो [निष्प्र(प्प)भार्धे]<sup>37</sup>  
धत्तेनन्तप्रमि[तिरमि]तां शक्तिमुन्मुक्ततर्कम् ।  
यस्यैश्वर्यं प्रथयति विभोः कर्तुरित्यङ्गुतश्री-  
भ्रान्तिं लोकस्थितिषु भजते भूयसीन्धर्मकीर्तिः ॥<sup>38</sup>—[14].  
यस्य श्रीमग-
14. धेश्वरो [नयवशा]न्नोतिप्रयोगा[स्व]ल-  
प्राग्भा[रा]नुभवैरचुम्बि(स्व)तमतिर्व्यासाभिधानं व्यधात् ।  
राजास्थानसरःसरोरुहमिति स्वैरं पुरः स्मृतां  
गीतो नूतनकालिदास इति यः कालेषु वैयालिकैः ॥<sup>39</sup>—[15].  
यः सम्मन्त्रिषु चा-
15. तुरीपरि[च]यैर्वाचस्पतिः प्रस्तुत-  
प्रज्ञासर्गविरिञ्चिरुच्चरि[तै]रौचित्यचिन्तामणिः ।  
सङ्गावप्रभवो गभीरिमगृहं र[त्न]त्रयीतात्त्विको<sup>40</sup>  
भाषासु प्रतिभाप्रभुः कविकलासन्दर्भगर्भेश्वरः<sup>41</sup> ॥—[16].  
स्मेरापारपरोपका-<sup>42</sup>
16. रपरमः प्रेमोपचारोत्तर-  
व्याहारैर्जनतानुराग[र]चनाचातुर्यचर्यागुरुः ।  
धीरेयः सुधियां सुधानिधिकलामौलिः सदाराधन-  
ध्याने जन्म निजं निनाय सुजनः स्वान्तेन शान्तेन यः ॥ —[17].  
पत्नी तस्य मनोरथस्य क-
17. तिनस्वारित्रासु[द्रा]पदं  
[घौ]डीदेशनरेशशुद्धसचिवश्रीदेवशर्मात्मजा<sup>43</sup> ।  
मू[र्त्ता] स[त्य]मरुन्धतीव जग[तां] वन्द्या सतीनां धुरि<sup>44</sup>  
श्रीमत्शङ्कर<sup>45</sup>[आ?]वि[रं]कुर[यि]तुं सत्युख्यबीजा[न्य]भूत् ॥ —[18].  
[ना]पत्यं चिरमापतुर्यदुचितं तेनैव तौ द-

<sup>36</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.<sup>37</sup> This whole line and part of the following line are extremely indistinct in the rubbing.<sup>38</sup> Metre: Mandākrāntā.<sup>39</sup> Metre of verses 15—19: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>40</sup> The *akshara* in brackets, in the original, is न rather than द.<sup>41</sup> Read °न्दर्भगर्भे°.<sup>42</sup> The reading is clear here, but I would alter it to स्मेरीपा°<sup>43</sup> The first *akshara* of this line, according to the rubbing, can only be either घौ or चौ. Originally सचिव was engraved, but it has been altered to सचिव.<sup>44</sup> I am not satisfied with the text of this line and of the next, which are quite blurred in the rubbings; but, with the exception of the bracketed letters the above seems to me to be the reading offered by the rubbings. In the place of the *akshara* चा another letter was originally engraved, but it has been altered subsequently.<sup>45</sup> Read श्रीमच्छ°.



L. 18.

पती

सम्यक्तावपि<sup>46</sup> नूनमन्वभवतां सन्तापमन्तस्ततः ।

मामाराधयतन्मधेयमरतिर्भावी सुतस्तेन वां

गत्वेति स्वयमादिदेश गिरिशः स्वप्ने समीपं ययोः ॥ —[19].

सुप्रोतयोर्धर्म(र्भ)गवतो मम नामधेयमाधेयमस्य पुन-

19.

रित्यनुशासनेन ।

स्वाराधितस्तरहरस्तरमानुरूपो रूपानुमेयसुनयस्तनयोजनिष्ट ॥<sup>47</sup>—[20].

गङ्गाधराख्यः स तंतो जितात्मा यः शैशवाद्धिस्त्रजनीनवृत्तः ।

विवर्द्धमानः परलोकभीत्या सदात्मनीनं नयमातता-

20.

न ॥<sup>48</sup>—[21].

अभवदनुजो मङ्गीधर इति पुत्रौ श्रीमनोरथादुदितौ ।

आशीर्वराभिनन्दौ हरिहरपुरुषोत्तमौ दशरथात्सु ॥<sup>49</sup>—[22].

सत्कल्पप्रवणाः श्रुतिप्रणयि[नः] शिक्षाभिरुक्तासिताः

सञ्ज्योतिर्गतयो निरुक्तविशदाञ्छन्दोवि-

21.

धी साधवः ।

[त्या]ता व्याकरणक्रमेण विदुषाम[त्युच्च]धीशील[ना]-<sup>50</sup>हेदाङ्गप्रतिमाः षडेव भुवने ते वि(वि)भ्रति भ्रातरः ॥<sup>51</sup>—[23].

तदन्तरे माननरेन्द्रचन्द्रमाः स रुद्रमानोजनि येन भूभुजा ।

स्वमेदिनीमण्डलमादिकोलवह(ह)लादमिच्छा-

22.

स्व(स्व)निधेः समुद्धृतं ॥<sup>52</sup>—[24].

पाणि[र्दानचणः प्रभौघ]लह[री] वक्त्राच्च यस्य स्वयं

मर्यादास्थितिमान् एव जगतां जीवातवश्चेत्कृताः ।

तत्किं कल्पलताद्यहीन्द्रकमठौ सा चित्रभानुद्वयी

पद्मेन्द्र<sup>53</sup>निधयोन्मसामिति विधेर्द्विक् प्रक्रि-

23.

यागौरवं ॥<sup>54</sup>—[25].

सूक्ष्मं दिक्करिदन्तकोटिमटितुं क्रा[न्ती ?] गि[री]णां ल[घु]

व्याप्तुं व्योम पृथुस्थिताविह दिशि प्रोतं वग्नि भ्रान्तिषु ।

क्षीराब्धौ[न्दु]सुधादिषु<sup>55</sup>प्रभवति ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डगवर्भा(र्भ)ह[हि]-र्त्निर्यात्यस्ति यथेत्य[मी]श्वरगुणैरित्यद्भुतं<sup>56</sup>यद्यश-

24.

: ॥ —[26].

युद्धे व(व)क्षोत्सवरिपुभटश्रेणि[सिद्ध]: सदा यो

व(व)न्धुः शुद्धो विपदि विसरत्कार्यनिर्याससीमा ।

श्रेयान् सभ्यः सदसि विशदे विश्वविश्वासपात्रं

पातुं मित्रं हृदयमितरत्तस्य गङ्गाधरो ऽभूत् ॥<sup>57</sup>—[27].

आचाराभ-

<sup>46</sup> Read संयक्तावपि.<sup>47</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>48</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>49</sup> Metre: Giti.<sup>50</sup> Originally धि was engraved, instead of धी.<sup>51</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>52</sup> Metre: Varnasastha.<sup>53</sup> Read पद्मेन्द्रौ.<sup>54</sup> Metre of verses 25 and 26: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>55</sup> Read क्षीराब्धौ.<sup>56</sup> Read यथेष्ट<sup>o</sup>(P).<sup>57</sup> Metre: Mandākrāntā.



L. 25.

रणः सुभाषितचणः सन्नीतिरन्नापणः

प्रागल्भीरमणः प्रशान्तकरणः कारुण्यपारायणः ।

यः सौजन्यनिधिः स्थितावनुपधिः सख्यस्य सुख्यो विधि-

र्हीरत्वेनवधिर्विधूतवितथव्याधिर्वियां सेवधिः ॥<sup>58</sup>—[28].

26. गौ-

उराजसुहृदो जयपाणेराधिकारिकपदोपपदस्य ।

आत्मजामुदवहत्सुभगायाः पेशलां स किल पासलदेवीम् ॥<sup>59</sup>—[29].

आक्रान्तो न वृषः कदापि गतये यस्मिन् हीनाङ्गना

रौद्री नाद्रियते स्थितिर्न गणितास्ता

27.

गोत्रभित्सङ्गथाः ।

अन्योन्यास्यविलासवञ्चितदृशोरेकं वपुर्वि(र्वि)भृतो-

स्तप्रायः शिवयोरपीदमनयोर्हाम्यत्यमत्यादृतम् ॥<sup>60</sup>—[30].

सन्तोषार्ज्वधैर्यसंयमदमानुक्रोशशान्तिक्षमा-

मैत्रीसत्यसमाधिमग्नमन-

28.

सो नारायणैकात्मनः ।

दम्भद्रोहविमोहलोभममतामात्सर्यमायामद-

द्वेषेर्थादिनिस्सूदनस्य चरिते यस्यात्र साक्षी जनः ॥ —[31].

तेनात्र दुःशकमसीम सहस्रकृत्वः कृत्यं स्वभर्तुश्चितोन्नतये समाप्य ।

29. आवा(वा)[स्थ]यौवन[मसु]प्रतिरोधि व(व)न्मुलोकस्य चेतसि चमत्कृतिराचितैव ॥<sup>61</sup>—[32][य]स्याद्वैतशते<sup>62</sup>स्वयं विरचिते किञ्चित्कवित्वश्रमः

स ब्र(ब्र)ह्मोपनिषत्कथास्वधिगमः शुद्धो विरुद्धोयवा ।

भाष्यः शू(सू)रिभिरेव<sup>63</sup>चित्कवि-

30.

तायास स्तुतो दुस्करे<sup>64</sup>भारत्याः कुरुतेपराब्जिगुणप्रस्तावनां केन सः ॥<sup>65</sup>—[33].धा[त्वा ?]वर्त्तवशाद्विसृत्वरतरप्रासादसद्भादिक-<sup>66</sup>

व्यक्ताकारकदम्ब(म्ब)मम्ब(म्ब)रमनु स्वेनोद्भवत्यम्बि(म्बि)यं ।

स्थित्वा तत्क्षणतो विपन्नमपुनर्भा(र्भा)वा-

31.

द्ययेदं तथा

मत्वेव त्रिजगन्ति येन जनितः सत्कर्मधर्मादरः ॥ —[34].

पुण्योत्पत्तिनिमित्तमत्र निजयोः पित्रोः पवित्रात्मना

कीर्त्या तेन तयोश्चिरं रचयता शुभ्रातपन्नं जगत् ।

कासारोयमकारि पारदर-

<sup>58</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>59</sup> Metre : Svāgatā.<sup>60</sup> Metre of verses 30 and 31 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita. At the beginning of verse 30 I would suggest reading आक्रान्तेन इषं<sup>61</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā.<sup>62</sup> Originally तस्या<sup>6</sup> was engraved, but the initial त may have been altered to य.<sup>63</sup> Originally शूर<sup>0</sup> was engraved, but the sign for i has been added afterwards.<sup>64</sup> Read दुष्करी.<sup>65</sup> Metre of verses 33-35 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>66</sup> The second akṣharu of this line originally was clearly ता, but it seems to have been altered to त्वा.



L. 32.

सञ्ज्ञायामृतमभसां

यस्मिन्नूर्ध्वमिषाद्यशस्तदमलं मूर्त्तं चरीनुत्थते ॥ —[35].

स्वकीर्त्या सरसस्तस्य प्रतिष्ठासमयोत्सवे ।

शुभांस्व(स्व)रपरीधानं जगत्तेनात्र कारितं ॥<sup>67</sup>—[36].

आकाशः पवनः कशानुरदकं धात्रीति लोकत्र-

33.

यी-

मूर्त्या ब्र(ब्र)ह्म विवर्त्तमानमयते यावद्विचित्राङ्गतिम् ।

नेत्रश्रोत्रमनःप्रसादसदने तावत् सतामादरा-

दुर्निद्रां सुदमान्तरेषु<sup>68</sup> कुरुतां कीर्त्तिप्रशस्ती इमे ॥<sup>69</sup>—[37].

क्व शक्तिव्युत्पत्तिव्यतिकरविरोधेन सुलभाः

कवी-

34.

नां पन्यानस्तदिह ननु केषामनुगमः ।

स्वपूर्त्ते त्वेतस्मिन् मुजनजनितोनुग्रहगुणः

प्रशस्तौ प्राशस्त्यं वितरति स गङ्गाधरगिराम् ॥<sup>70</sup>—[38].

नन्देन्द्रियाभ्रेन्दुसमे शकाब्दे(ब्दे) रुद्रात्मजशोचरणस्य नमः ।

इमां शि-

35.

लाशिल्पिवरः प्रशस्तिं स शूलपाणिः स्वयमुपलब्धवान् ॥<sup>71</sup>—[39].शक १०५८ [॥<sup>x</sup>]

## TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Sarasvatî !

(Verse 1.) May the supporter<sup>72</sup> of the universe bestow [on us] his compassion !— who, embracing his beloved and thrilled with delight by the close contact of his breast with her bosom, is sleeping on the lord of serpents, on one side bent low by the weight of the god's lofty body, while on the other he remains upright under the very light burden of the goddess of fortune !

(2.) Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruṇa,<sup>73</sup> whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvīpa where the Brāhmanas are named Magas ! There a race of twice-born [sprang] from the sun's own body, grazed by the lathe,<sup>74</sup> whom Śāmba himself brought hither. Glorious are they, honoured in the world !

(3.) The first of them was an abode of all vedic lore and of the knowledge of the supreme soul, and wholly occupied in thoughts<sup>75</sup> familiar with every sacrificial rite, that

<sup>67</sup> Metre : Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>68</sup> Read °मन्त्रेष.<sup>69</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>72</sup> i.e., the dawn, personified as the charioteer of the sun.<sup>74</sup> The story told in the *Purāṇas* is, that, to diminish the sun's intensity, Viśvakarman placed the luminary on his lathe, to grind off some of his effulgence (*Vishṇu-purāṇa* III, 2); and the above verse appears to intimate that the Magas were produced from some of the particles of the sun's body, which were taken away by this process of grinding it.<sup>75</sup> In connection with *vyāpṛitu* one would have expected the Loc., not the Instr. case.<sup>70</sup> Metre : Śikharinī.<sup>71</sup> Metre : Upajāti.<sup>73</sup> i.e., Viṣṇu.



sage Bhâradvâja whose penance could both deliver and destroy the world, and in whose face there was . . . like a garland of the great race of the Mâga twice-born.

(7. 4.) His family had a hundred branches, distinguished for unprecedented penances and endowed with far-spreading fame; and in it there were other lords of the twice-born, conversant with the highest truth, whose minds were purified by faultless knowledge.

(5.) In the course of time the heroes who lift their bows to conquer the brilliant treasure of knowledge, robbed by . . . , were headed by Chakrapâṇi, the son of Dâmodara. Like Vâlmiki in having made the streams of song to descend, he, a leader of the virtuous, became famous . . . of his family, as Brahman is of the continuance of the universe.

(6.) If his everlasting, widely spread and weighty renown had not mounted the wheel of the quarters,<sup>76</sup> how would that wheel turn round now?

(7.) As Indra and Vishṇu have sprung from Kaśyapa, the descendant of Marichi so to Chakrapâṇi were born, to sustain the homage heaped upon their family, two sons favoured by the immortals, an elder son named Manoratha and his younger brother Daśaratha, the bright renown of whose learning, purity of conduct and good disposition has purified the world.

(8.) Because these two brothers were the foremost of the good and had their fame sung by all people within their hearing, and by the facts that they made excellent friends and that plentiful enjoyment came to them unsought, and because princes treated them with loving kindness, their abundant bright excellence (*which caused all this*) rendered their enemies' faces dark (*with envy*).

(9.) These brothers gave extreme delight by captivating one another's hearts with their innate love; and even this capricious Kali age never saw anything to blame in their dealings (*with one another*) that were pleasing on account of their affection.

(10.) In order that they might render his reign illustrious, the wise prince Varna-mâna besought them both to come to his royal residence, to dwell with him; and they, abiding by his commands, raised this family of his to the highest pitch of excellence and renown and prosperity.

(11.) In that magnificent home of the Mâna lord, which they then served, one of them, whose respectability was an object of esteem as far as the sea, received the office of *pratîhâra*,<sup>77</sup> while the other was appointed superintendent of the eunuchs; and in these positions these learned and intelligent men became widely known for both their goodness and good management.

(12.) Pleasing with his good fortune and youth, and a person of good renown, Manoratha<sup>78</sup> went to the sacred Purushottama, and on the noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon; (*and*) gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon,<sup>79</sup> eclipsed at full-moon time.

(13.) The sacrificial fire of this man whose mind was purified by the most sacred texts of the Śaiva doctrine, in consequence of the oblations duly thrown into it three

<sup>76</sup> The meaning of the verse is simply, that Chakrapâṇi's fame filled all the quarters of the compass.

<sup>77</sup> Literally 'door-keeper.'

<sup>78</sup> The verses 12-17 refer to Manoratha; see verse 18.

<sup>79</sup> The exact meaning of this is not clear to me. Altogether the construction is objectionable, because the two verbs *satadra* and *dâra* are in no way connected with each other.



times a day at the worship of the moon-crested god, perpetually threw up of its own accord, under the guise of smoke, the sin kindled from the blindness of the organs which is the bane of the three worlds; but quickly hid it again with its bright lustre.

(V. 14.) In the bright fortnight the lustreless half of the sun resorts to him from fear of the manes. He, without doubt, possessed of infinite true knowledge, has unmeasured power. The fame of his piety, wonderfully glorious because it proclaims the might of the omnipresent creator, spreads far and wide in the abodes of men.<sup>80</sup>

(15.) To him the illustrious ruler of Magadha gave the name of Vyâsa, because in consequence of his prudent management his own mind had not to attend to any matters whatever relating to the proper conduct of affairs. He also, even in the presence of princes, was at the appointed seasons freely sung of by the bards as the lotus in the lake of the king's audience hall, and as a modern Kâlidâsa.

(16.) He was a Vâchaspati among good ministers on account of his familiarity with shrewd schemes, a very Brahman in creating due knowledge for whatever was propounded, in consequence of his noble conduct a gem fulfilling all desires in regard to propriety, a source of goodness, and a home of depth. He possessed the true knowledge of the jewel-triad,<sup>81</sup> was quick in languages, and a master by birth of all the arts of poetry.

(17.) With a smiling face intent on doing endless good to others, most proficient in winning the affection of mankind by loving and civil speeches, and a leader of the wise, this excellent man with a mind free from passion always spent his life in worshipping and meditating on the god whose crest is the digit of the moon.

(18.) This fortunate Manoratha married the daughter of Devaśarman, the stainless counsellor of the prince of the [Ghaudî] country, a lady on whom propriety of conduct had set its seal. Considering that she verily was Arundhatî in mortal frame, to be revered by the worlds as the foremost of good wives, the holy Śaṅkara manifested himself to cause the seeds of piety to sprout.

(19.) As for a long time they did not obtain the desired-for offspring, both husband and wife, though not to blame, were naturally distressed in mind. Then Śiva himself came to them in a dream, and told them that their anxiety was groundless; they should worship him, and then they would have a son.

(20.) To them, well pleased by this and by the god's further command that they should give his own name to their son, a son was born who was like his parents<sup>82</sup> who had well worshipped the destroyer<sup>83</sup> of Smara, and whose good conduct was proportionate to his beauty.

(21.) Him then they called Gaṅgâdhara; and he, self-subdued, from childhood pleased every one by his behaviour, and growing up he always, from fear of the world to come, gave ample proof of his wisdom.

<sup>80</sup> Here again, assuming my reading of the text to be correct, the construction is unsatisfactory. In the first line of the verse we should have expected *yam* instead of *tam*, and in the second line we miss the relative *yaḥ*. The meaning of the first line of the verse, the reading of which is more or less conjectural, appears to me to be this that, when the moon is waxing, the sun at night resorts to Manoratha to share in his lustre, because it is afraid of being invaded by the manes whom it supposes to be anxious to get away from the bright moon.

<sup>81</sup> I am not certain what *ratnatrayā* the author is referring to. With Buddhists the term would denote *buddha*, *dharma* and *samgha*, with Jains *samyagdarsana*, *samyagjñāna* and *samyakcāritra*.

<sup>82</sup> The original has *rama*, which should mean 'husband and wife,' not 'parents.'

<sup>83</sup> i.e., Śiva, the destroyer of the god of love.



(V. 22.) After him came another son, named Mahīdhara. These were the two sons of Manoratha. To Daśaratha, on the other hand, were born Harihara and Puruṣhottama, blessing and fulfilment of desire.

(23.) Fond of the Vedas, devoted to the proper ceremonial, illustrious for their knowledge of the *Śikshās*, well acquainted with the *Jyotiṣa*, accurately understanding the *Nirukta*, proficient in the rules of metrics, famous for their progress in grammar, these six brothers, deeply engaged in the lofty course of study of the learned, well represent the *Vedāṅgas* in the world.

(24.) Meanwhile there was born that moon of the Māna princes, the king Rudramāna, who, like the primeval boar, powerfully recovered his realm from the sea of adversaries.

\* (25.) As his hand is famed for its liberality and his face a wave of the flood of light, and since he keeps himself within the bounds of propriety, and provides means of subsistence for the people,<sup>84</sup> of what account are the creeping-plant of paradise, the great serpent and the tortoise, those two bright luminaries yonder, and the lord of elephants and the seas? Fie on such cumbrous insignia of high rank of the Creator!

(26.) Marvellous indeed is his fame, because it shares the properties of the supreme lord. So subtle as to pervade the edges of the teeth of the elephants of the quarters, so light as to reach the heavens in its ascent of the mountains, it extends everywhere here in the broad regions and roams freely about at will; it predominates in the sea of milk as well as in the white splendour of the moon, and it goes out of the mundane egg, and stays in it as it pleases.

(27.) Of this (*king*) Gaṅgādhara was (*as it were*) a second heart to protect friends, (*Gaṅgādhara*), who always was in battle a magician (*in scattering*) the lines of exulting hostile warriors, in misfortune an honest friend, a check when affairs were getting beyond control, an excellent associate in a spotless assembly, and worthy to be trusted in everything.

(28.) (*Gaṅgādhara*), who was embellished by good behaviour, famed for his cleverness of speech, a market of the gems of prudent counsel, a lover of resoluteness, tranquil-minded, full of compassion, a store-house of benevolence, fraudless in obligations, a primo promoter of friendship, boundless in steadfastness, free from the failing of untruth, and a treasure of intelligence.

(29.) He married the charming Pāsala-devī, a daughter of Jayapāṇi who bore the title of *ādhikārika*,<sup>85</sup> a friend of the king of Gauḍa, and of (*his wife*) Subhagā.

(30.) And their matrimonial union was universally esteemed even as that of Śiva and his consort, who are prevented from seeing the charm of each other's faces, because they have only one body; a union where the wife is never left behind when (*the husband*) mounts the bull to go abroad, and where (*the wife*) never notices the (*husband's*) fearful form, nor minds being addressed with the name of a rival.

(31.) The people here have witnessed the conduct of (*Gaṅgādhara*) whose mind is brimful of contentment, honesty, firmness, forbearance, self-restraint, tenderness, calmness, patience, friendship, truth and contemplation, whose only thought is Nārāyaṇa,

<sup>84</sup> Here, again, the two first lines of the original verse do not admit of a proper construction.

<sup>85</sup> i.e., 'a superintendent of affairs.'



and who destroys deceit, malice, folly, covetousness, selfishness, envy, fraud, infatuation, hatred, jealousy and other evil qualities.

(V. 32.) Having accomplished here a thousand times, ever since he was a boy and a youth, and even to the endangerment of his life, most difficult deeds without end for the due advancement of his master, he has indeed filled the minds of his kinsmen with wonder.

(33.) A man who in his *Advaitasāta* has striven to prove that he has some poetic gift, whose knowledge, be it faultless or perhaps otherwise, of the treatises on the supreme soul is well known, and whose attempts in the way of artificial poetry, hard even for the goddess of eloquence and to be ventured on by scholars only, have met with applause, need he say more in praise of his merits?

(34.) The revolution of elementary matter gives rise to the diffused mass of trees,\* palaces, houses, and the rest of visible objects; the rain-cloud forms in the sky of its own accord; all this stays for a moment only and vanishes again, never to return.<sup>86</sup> Considering such too to be the case with the three worlds, (*Gaṅgādhara*) has devoted himself to virtuous and pious deeds.

(35.) To secure for his parents religious merit, that pure-minded man has founded here,—covering the world for ever with their fame as with a radiant umbrella,—this tank of water shining like quick-silver, in which their spotless renown in the guise of the waves dances about in visible form.

(36.) And at the festive inauguration of this lake he has made his own fame here envelop the world like a radiant garment.

(37.) As long as the supreme spirit in the shape of the three worlds, as ether, air, fire, water and earth, passing through a succession of existences, pursues its varied course, so long may these two eulogies of fame, pleasing the eyes and ears and the mind, vigorously cause lively joy in the hearts of the good!

(38.) How can the ways of poets be easily found in the absence of innate ability as well as of culture? And, accordingly, is it likely that the author of this should have discovered them? Yet, as this treats of himself, the favour shown to him by good men will find in this eulogy also something to applaud in *Gaṅgādhara's* words.<sup>87</sup>

(39.) In the Śaka year equal to the Nandas (9), the organs of sense (5), the sky (0) and the moon (1), the excellent stone-mason Śūlapāṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharaṇa, himself engraved this eulogy.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

<sup>86</sup> Instead of the Abl. case *apunarbhāvat* I should have expected the Dat. case.

<sup>87</sup> Literally 'will bestow on this eulogy also the excellence of *Gaṅgādhara's* words.'



## XXVII.—DUDHPANI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF UDAYAMANA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The preceding inscription induces me to publish here, also from a rubbing of Sir A. Cunningham's, the text of another inscription which on the back of the rubbing is described as 'Rock inscription from Dudhpani Ghat near Dumduma,' with the note that 'Dudhpani' is 'in the Hazâribâgh district' (of Chutiâ Nâgpur in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, south of the districts of Gayâ and Monghyr).

This inscription contains thirteen lines of writing which cover a space of about 6' broad by 1' 2½" high. With the exception of about half a dozen *aksharas* which are broken away, but can be easily supplied, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is about ¾". The characters are essentially the same as, but somewhat more modern than, those of the Aphsâḍ inscription of Âdityasena,<sup>1</sup> and may be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. In describing the writing of the Aphsâḍ inscription,<sup>2</sup> Dr. Fleet has stated that in that inscription *r*, in combination with a following consonant, is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it, and that 'in the *ry* of *śaurya*, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before' (the seventh century). In the present inscription the conjunct *ry* occurs three times (in *parâkkramair=yaḥ*, line 1, *aparyantam*, line 3, and *śauryeṇa*, line 4), and is each time written exactly as in the Aphsâḍ inscription. In combination with other (following) consonants *r* occurs thirty-five times and is 21 times written on, and 14 times above the line. The sign of the *upadhmānīya* (which however is really like the sign for *sh*) is employed seven times, but is not used in four cases where it might also have been employed; and the sign of the *jihvāmālīya* seems to be used once, before the word *khaṇḍita* in line 11. At the end of the writing there is a good engraving of a flower; and altogether the letters throughout have been drawn and engraved very well indeed, and it is much to be regretted that the rubbing is not suitable for photographing.

The language of the inscription is Samskr̥it, and the whole is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is written by the sign for *v*; instead of *anusvāra* the guttural nasal is used in *sinha*, lines 1, 6 and 8, *aṇṣuka*, line 5, and *nistrinśa*, line 6, and the dental nasal in *kasminśchit*, line 2, *°bhānsi* and *yaśānsi*, line 5, and even in *°prītin=surendrā°*, line 10; and the consonants *k* and *t* are everywhere doubled before *r* (e.g., in *°parâkkramakkramapadâkkrântattrilokī°*, in line 5). Besides, attention may be drawn to the hiatus in *śrī Âdisinḥa*, in lines 1 and 8, and to the fact that a final *m* before a word beginning with a consonant is generally changed, not to *anusvāra*, but to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs.—Wrong grammatical forms which the inscription contains are *dadata* for *datta*, in line 7, and *chakhanuḥ* for *chakhnuḥ*, in line 12; and the causal is improperly employed instead of the primitive verb in *achīkarat*, in line 11. Wrong constructions we find in verses 15, 16 and 24; and the rules of metrics are violated in verses 1, 14, 21 and 23. Words not found in the dictionaries, or employed in unusual significations, are *prārabdhi*, in line 6, *avalagaka* and *avalagana*, in

<sup>1</sup> See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, plate XXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> See *ib.*, p. 202.



line 7, *vyutthānika* (derived from *vyutthāna* as *vijñānika* is from *vijñāna*), in line 12, and *rechaka* (unless this is an error for *mechaka*) in the same line.

The inscription is not dated, but, as intimated above, it may, on palæographical grounds, be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of the goddess of fortune, it tells us (in verses 2 and 3) that in former days there was a king of Magadha, named Âdisimha, to whose dominions belonged the three villages (*palli*) of which the inscription treats and near one of which it must have been engraved,—Bhramaraśālmali, Chhīṅgalā, and Nabhūtishaṇḍaka.<sup>3</sup> Now, once upon a time three brothers—Udayamāna, Śrīdhautamāna, and Ajitamāna<sup>4</sup>—merchants, went on business from Ayodhyā to Tāmalipti; and having made plenty of money and being on their way home, they for some reason or other tarried at one of the three villages, apparently Bhramaraśālmali (verses 4—5). While<sup>5</sup> they were there, the king Âdisimha came to the forest near the villages on a hunting expedition,<sup>6</sup> and ordered the inhabitants to give him an *avalagana* (or *avalagana*). The villagers, on receipt of the king's orders, went to the eldest brother, Udayamāna, and entreated him to do the king's behest. He thereupon did send an *avalagana* and quickly became a favourite of the king, who not only bestowed a diadem (*śrīpaṭṭa*) on him, but also, at Udayamāna's solicitation, assured the people of Bhramaraśālmali of his royal favour (verses 12—16). When Udayamāna returned to the village, the inhabitants in their delight, and with the king's approval, requested him to become their *rājā*, and he complied with the request and long ruled the village happily and vigorously (verses 17—19). He also, at the request of the inhabitants of the two other villages, sent his brothers Śrīdhautamāna and Ajitamāna to rule, subordinately to himself, over Nabhūtishaṇḍaka and Chhīṅgalā (verses 20—23). Verse 24 (if I understand it rightly) adds that people of former days had this eulogy engraved<sup>8</sup> to record that the family (ruling at Bhramaraśālmali) had been founded and owed its greatness to Udayamāna, and to warn (the chiefs of) the two other villages not to act in opposition to, or to separate themselves from, the (main branch of the) family; and the inscription ends with a prayer for the uninterrupted continuance of the family of the prince Udayamānadeva.

I am not at present able to state whether any or what historical importance should be attached to this inscription;<sup>9</sup> nor can I identify the three villages of which the inscription treats. The place Tāmalipti (Tāmralipti), to which the three brothers are said to have gone from Ayodhyā, is the modern Tamlûk, the head-quarters of the sub-division

<sup>3</sup> So the name is given in verse 3. In verses 21 and 23 originally *Bhūtishaṇḍaka* was engraved, but both times this appears to have been altered to *Nabhūtishaṇḍaka*.

<sup>4</sup> These names are given below.

<sup>5</sup> The verses 6-11 only glorify the wealth, liberality, valour, etc., of the three brothers in the customary manner.

<sup>6</sup> This appears to be the general sense of the original text, but I am unable to give the exact meaning of the word *prārābhī-khelana*, and of the following words *avalagaka* and *avalagana*. According to the dictionaries *prārābhī* is 'the post to which an elephant is fastened,' which would suggest that the king was out elephant-hunting. For *avalagana* (as a neuter noun) von Böhtlingk's *Dictionary* only gives the meaning 'the winning of somebody'; and *avalagaka* I find in Professor Jacobi's edition of Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra*, p. 107, note 61, employed in the explanation of the word *kaufumbika* where also its meaning seems to be uncertain.

<sup>7</sup> See Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, Chapter XLIX. In the note on the *Kalpasūtra*, quoted above, the word *treshṭhin* is explained by *Srīdevatādhyāita-sauvārṇapattā-bhūṣitottamāṅgaḥ*; what the king gave to Udayamāna was apparently such a *śrīpaṭṭa*.

<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, the present inscription is recording events which had happened generations before this inscription was engraved.

<sup>9</sup> The names of *Udayamāna* and his brothers will of course remind the reader of the occurrence of the names *Varṇamāna* and *Rudramāna* in the preceding inscription.



of the same name of the Midnapur district of Bengal, on the Rûpnârâyan river, a town which is well known from Buddhist records, and is even now one of the principal seats of commerce in the district.<sup>10</sup>

TEXT.<sup>11</sup>

L. 1.

[ओ<sup>12</sup>]

ओरात्मदेहप्रतिमासहस्रमालोक्य भोगो[न्द्रफ]णामणिस्थ<sup>13</sup> ।

ई[र्याकु]ला कर[तले]न हरे७प्रहा[र]मुक्ता[सय]न्ती भवतु [त्रि]ये वः ॥<sup>14</sup>—[1].

व(ब)भूव पूर्वमगधाधिराजः श्रीआदिसिद्धोरिगजे[क]सिद्धः<sup>15</sup> ।

पराक्रमैर्य७प्रथितोद्वितीयः

2.

ओमञ्ज[रास]न्ध इव द्वितीयः ॥<sup>16</sup>—[2].

अस्याम्भ[म\*]रशालमल्याच्छिङ्गलाय[तन्त]थैव च ।

नभूतीष[ण्ड]के चापि व(ब)भूवाधिपति७पुरा ॥<sup>17</sup>—[3].

अथ कस्मिन्धि[त्त]मये<sup>18</sup> वणिजो भ्रातरस्तयः ।

तामलित्ति[म]योध्याया ययुः पूर्वम्वणिज्यया<sup>19</sup> ॥ —[4].

भूयः प्रतिनिवृत्तास्ते स्वमावासं यियासवः ॥(1)

3.

प्रयोजनेन केनापि चिरञ्चक्रुरिह स्थितिं ॥ —[5].

सुवर्णमणिमाणिक्यमुक्ताप्रभृति र्द्वैर्जनं ।

वित्तपस्यर्द्धयेवासीदपर्यन्तमुपार्जितं ॥ —[6].

सर्वभूताश्रयास्त्यदयादाक्षिण्यशालिनः ।

स्रष्टा(ष्टा)र इव लोकस्य त्रयः क्षितिसुपागताः ॥ —[7].

केलासः कठिनः कलङ्क-

4.

मलिनचन्द्रस्तुषाराचलः

प्रायस्तीक्ष्णकरप्रहारविवशो नित्यङ्गलत्थेव हि ।

तारत्थश्च समाश्रिता गुणवतो हारा इति प्रायशो

येषामन्न व(ब)भूव निर्मलगुणैः शोलस्य नैवोपमा ॥<sup>20</sup>—[8].

दातृत्वेन समो व(ब)भूव न पुरा कर्णोपि येषामसौ

शौर्येणापि जगज्जिगीषुरगमत्<sup>21</sup>

5.

नैवाञ्जुनस्तुल्यतां

ये चासञ्चपराक्रमक्रमपदाक्रान्तश्चिलोकीतला

वीरानाहवमूर्धसु प्रव(ब)लिन७पङ्गुनिवोच्चिचिपुः ॥ —[9].

दिक्काम(मि)नीतनुविलेपनचन्दनानि [रा]ज्यत्रिय स्तनतटीविकटाङ्गकानि<sup>22</sup> ।

अद्यापि चन्द्रकरहारतुषारभान्ति<sup>23</sup> सर्वा दिशो धवलयन्ति यशा[न्ति] येषां ॥<sup>24</sup>—[10].

विद्यासमुन्नतगुणा

<sup>10</sup> See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XIII, p. 171.

<sup>11</sup> From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing.

<sup>12</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>13</sup> The two *aksharas* in brackets are almost entirely broken away.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: *Indravajrā*; but the third *Pāda* of the verse is as if the metre were *Vasantatilakā*.—Compare Vallabhadeva's *Subhāshitāvalī*, verse 41.

<sup>15</sup> Observe the hiatus in श्रीआदि°; and read °सिंहो and °सिंहः.

<sup>16</sup> Metre: *Upajāti*.

<sup>17</sup> Metre of verses 3-7: *Śloka* (*Anuṣṭubh*).

<sup>18</sup> Read कस्मिन्धि°.

<sup>19</sup> Read पूर्व व°.

<sup>20</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>21</sup> Read °गमसैवा°.

<sup>22</sup> Read °विकटाङ्गकानि.

<sup>23</sup> Read °भान्ति and यशादि.

<sup>24</sup> Metre of verses 10 and 11: *Vasantatilakā*.



- L. 6. अपि न [अयात्वा] नन्नाः सुदूरमथ चोन्नतिमूर्तिभाजः<sup>26</sup>।  
 निस्त्रिंशन्निष्ठुरकराः<sup>26</sup> [क]पयाकुलाश्च ये चार्थिकल्पतरवः शिवशौरिभक्ताः ॥ —[11].  
 स श्रीमानादिसिङ्घो<sup>27</sup> कदाचिदटवीमिमां ।  
 प्रारब्धो(ब्धो)खेलनोद्युक्तः<sup>28</sup>प्रविवेशावनीश्वरः ॥<sup>28</sup>—[12].  
 आदिदेश
7. समाह्वय स पक्षीक्षितयाज्जनं ।  
 यूयमद्यावलगकमस्मभ्यं<sup>29</sup> ददताश्रिति ॥ —[13].  
 अन्नत्यस्तस्माकण्य<sup>30</sup> [तूण]स्व(म्ब)लपरिग्रहः<sup>31</sup> ॥(1)  
 वणिजां भ्रातरं ज्येष्ठसुदयमानमुपागमत् ॥ —[14].  
 राज्ञोवलगनार्थाय तमभ्यर्थ्य प्रयत्नतः ।  
 प्रेषयामास तन्सोपि<sup>32</sup> वक्षभोभूम्होपतेः ॥ —[15].
8. अल्पैरहोभिरनुभूय नृपप्रसादं श्रीपट्टव(व)न्धमधिगम्य ततः क्रमेण ।  
 श्रीआदिसिङ्घनृपतिमपरिवो(वो)धं<sup>33</sup>[ते]न [स]मानितो<sup>34</sup>भ्रमरशाल्मलिपक्षिलोकः॥<sup>35</sup>[16].  
 तुष्टास्ततो भ्रमरशाल्मलिवासिनस्ते भूयस्तमागतमुपेत्य जनाः<sup>36</sup>प्रणम्य ।  
 राजा भव त्वमिह पालय पक्षिमेतामित्या-
9. दि तत्परधियोभिदधुस्तमुच्चैः ॥ —[17].  
 एवन्नाम भवत्विति प्रतिवचस्तस्मात्समाकण्य ते  
 तस्मै राज्यपदन्ददुः क्षितिभृताप्याज्ञापि[ता]स्तत्कृते ।  
 सोस्मिन्विक्क्रमखण्डितारिसुभटश्रेणिः श्रुतार्थस्त्रिरं  
 राज्यनिर्जितसर्वपक्षिरकरोन्मान्नीदयाख्यो नृपः ॥<sup>36</sup>—[18].  
 यस्य त्यागनयान्वयोन्नतिगुणग्रामाधिपत्याज्जितां
10. कीर्त्तिश्चन्द्रकरावदातसुभगामद्यापि सोत्कण्डिताः ।  
 गेहासीनसुराङ्गनाजनकतप्रीतिन्सुरेन्द्रालय-<sup>37</sup>  
 प्राप्स्तप्रीत्यितकल्पपादपतले गायन्ति सिद्धस्त्रियः ॥ —[19].  
 आगत्योदयमानस्तु तैरेवाभ्यर्थितस्तदा ।  
 पक्षीह्वयेपि राज्यार्थं भ्रातरौ विससर्ज सः ॥<sup>38</sup>—[20].  
 श्रीमाच्छीघ्रीतमानाख्यः<sup>39</sup> प्रख्यातो [न]भूति-<sup>40</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Read चीनतम्.

<sup>26</sup> Read निस्त्रिंशं.

<sup>27</sup> Read °सिङ्घो.

<sup>28</sup> Metre of verses 12-15; Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>29</sup> Originally °स्मभ्यो was engraved, but it has been altered to °स्मभ्यं.

<sup>30</sup> Read °स्तस्मा.

<sup>31</sup> Of the akṣaras in brackets the upper portion is broken away.

<sup>32</sup> Read तं सोपि or तन्सोपि.

<sup>33</sup> Observe again the hiatus in श्रीआदि°; and read °सिङ्घ°.

<sup>34</sup> Read संमानितो.

<sup>35</sup> Metre of verses 16 and 17: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>36</sup> Metre of verses 18 and 19: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>37</sup> Read °प्रीतिं सुरे°.

<sup>38</sup> Metre of verses 20-23: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>39</sup> Read श्रीमाच्छी°.

<sup>40</sup> The akṣara in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.



L. 11.

षण्णके ।

वश्यात्तोदयमानस्य चिरं राज्यमधीकरत् ॥ —[21].

प्रचण्डसुभटाटोपहृण्डितामिन्नमण्डलः ।

अभूदजितमानोपि ष्छिङ्गलायां महीपतिः ॥ —[22].

पत्युर्भ्रमरशालमल्याम्बुलान्नभूतिषण्णको<sup>41</sup> ।

वश्यौ व(ब)भूवतुः पूर्वमेवमेतौ यथाक्रमं ॥ —[23].

आरभ्योदयमानमादिपुरुषं गोत्र-

12.

क्रमोयन्महा-

नस्माकम्परिवर्द्धमानमहिमेत्यालोक्ष्य ते पूर्वजाः ।

अस्मन्नोन्नभवास्तदाचिदनाहुत्यानिकं<sup>42</sup> स्यादिदंसत्यस्त्रीद्वयमित्यवेत्य चखनु७प्राशस्त्यवर्णानिमान् ॥<sup>43</sup>—[24].यावद्व्यान्तमरीचिरेचकचयव्याप्तत्रिलोकोच्छ्रय<sup>44</sup>

चक्रं चक्रधरो वि(ब)भर्त्ति गिरिशो यावद्भवानीपतिः ।

13. यावत्सौकसिस्तुचयाकुलमिलच्चिन्तालसखात्मभू-

र्गोन्नस्योदयमानदेवनृपतेस्तावत्स्थितिर्दृश्यताम् ॥ —[25].

## XXVIII.—COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA, KING OF KÂMARÛPA.

BY ARTHUR VENIS, M.A., PRINCIPAL, SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES.

Twenty-five copper-plate inscriptions were found in October 1892 in the village of Kamauli, near the confluence of the Barnâ and the Ganges at Benares. The story at the time was that a villager while ploughing a field had turned up one of the plates with his plough and so discovered the others; but I do not know whether this simple and (in India) not unusual story has been subsequently confirmed by official inquiry into the locality and circumstances of the find. Mr. R. H. Brereton, Magistrate of Benares, sent me the plates, which are the subject of this and the next paper, *viz.* the grant of Vaidyadeva and two grants of Govindachandra of Kanauj, for immediate examination and report. On receiving from me a few rough notes as to their general contents and approximate dates, he kindly permitted a more careful and leisurely revision of these grants.<sup>1</sup>

The Vaidyadeva grant is engraved on three plates. A spoon-like arrangement loosely holds the plates together, its narrower, hooked end being passed through a hole in the middle of their right-hand margins. The broader, hollow end of the spoon contains a figure of Ganeśa. The plates measure 9½" broad by 7" high, and weigh together

<sup>41</sup> Here again the *akshara* in brackets seems to be engraved above the line.

<sup>42</sup> This was originally engraved, but appears to have been altered to °चिद न व्यु°; and I believe the intended reading to be °चिदपि न व्यु°.

<sup>43</sup> Metre of verses 24 and 25, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>44</sup> I am not sure whether the word रेषक of this line should be altered to मेषक.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All the plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow in July 1893.



2lbs. 13oz.; their margins are slightly thickened outwards. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only. Each side contains sixteen lines, except the outer side of the third plate, on which there are nine lines only. The height of the letters is about a quarter inch. On the whole, the writing is well preserved, being nowhere completely obliterated. The characters resemble those of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (*ante*, vol. I, p. 305), but approach more closely to the modern Bengali character. They may also be compared, in some respects, with the character of the Kṛṣṇadvārikā Temple inscription at Gayā (*Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. III, plate xxxvii), which Dr. Kielhorn describes as "a kind of Devanāgarī which appears to have been current in the 12th century A.D." (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVI, p. 63.)

Peculiarities, epigraphical and orthographical, are always better seen than described; but the purpose of this notice will have been sufficiently served, it is hoped, by the corrigenda in the foot-notes to the printed text. Lines 6-13 of plate iii, A, have not been corrected, because they are mostly filled with names of villages, tanks, their exact boundaries, etc., in Prakrit forms. It may be remarked in passing that the engraver of the plates (or his prompter) has fallen an easy victim to the shibboleth of ञ, ष, स. The language is Sanskrit, prose and verse.

The inscription records the grant of two villages named Śāntipāṭaka and Mandarā situated in the *vishaya* of Bādā, in the *bhukti* of Prāggyotisha, in the *maṇḍala* of Kāmarūpa. The donee is a Brahman named Śrīdhara, the son of Yudhishtīra and Pāi his wife, and the grandson of Bharata, who was born of the *gotra* of Viśvāmītra, in the village of Bhāva in Vārendrī. Vaidyadeva, the donor, is the son of Bodhideva and Pratāpadevī his wife, and the grandson of Yogadeva. His caste is not mentioned; but there can be little doubt that he was a Brahman. He was a devotee of both Śiva and Viṣṇu. His father and grandfather, in their time, had been the ministers of Rāmapāla and Vīgrahapāla, who were the father and grandfather respectively of Kumārapāla. The royal and the ministerial lines stand thus:—

*Sūryavamśī Pālas.*

- I. Vīgrahapāla.
- II. Rāmapāla (son of I).
- III. Kumārapāla (son of II).

*Mantrins.*

- 1. Yogadeva.
- 2. Bodhideva (son of 1).
- 3. Vaidyadeva (son of 2).

From the inscription we directly learn but little more about the Pālas than is given in the above table. Vīgrahapāla is dismissed in a single verse as "perfect in every accomplishment"—a brief but appropriate intimation, perhaps, that his reign was brief. Rāmapāla, a warrior, is compared to his great namesake. If the dark conceit of verse 4 has not escaped me, it means in bald prose that Rāmapāla conquered (or regained?) Mithilā, and killed a certain raja Bhīma, whom I am unable to identify. Kumārapāla is styled Lord of Gauḍa. He loved Vaidyadeva "dearer even than life," to whose generalship he entrusted the fortunes of the empire. Vaidyadeva was a stern minister and a victorious general. If verse 11 and verses 13—17 do not refer to the same event, he won two glorious victories for his master; the one in the southern part of Vāṅga (but see note 81); the other "in the East," when he killed a rebellious vassal whose name I read hesitatingly as Timgyadeva.



In the kingdom "in the East" was included Kāmarūpa; for it was here that the two villages conveyed by Vaidyadeva as Mahārājādhirāja, etc., were situated. He dates the charter from his victorious camp at Hamsākoñchī, which again I cannot identify. His younger brother (? nephew), Budhadeva, is introduced without any apparent reason, unless indeed it be to mark him as the heir. The *praśasti* was written by Manoratha, the son of the *rājaguru* Murāri and Padmā his wife. The *śāsana* was delivered by Gonandana, Vaidyadeva's *dharmādhikārin*. It was engraved by Karna-bhadra.

The date of the Vaidyadeva grant remains to be discussed. I have failed to work it out directly from the text. The statement in plate iii, A, l. 5, appears to be only a prose repetition of the statement in verse 28, with the addition of the word *Sam* and the numerical sign 4. The syllable *ni*, with which it concludes, I take as a contraction of *nibaddham* (to qualify *śāsanam*). Verse 28 will be considered below. The other statement in ll. 3, 4 of plate iii, A, baffles me. The last word *Guggulī* is very doubtful. Read thus, it may be explained as an *upanāman* of Śrīdhara, the donee, in reference to the story of the *Guggulu* in verse 26. But the forms of conjunct *ggu* are entirely different in the two words. I am still inclined to think that the letters read *Guggulī* are somehow connected with the date indication.

Failing to fix Vaidyadeva's date from the inscription itself, I have been forced to enter on the much debated chronology of the Pāla and Sena dynasties. Now, in regard to the Pāla dynasty, the reign of Mahīpāla from 1066 to 1060 A.D., and the accession of Govindapāla in 1161 A.D., are practically the only dates unanimously accepted by the latest modern authorities. The intervening names, the order of their succession, and their dates are still disputed. Dr. Kielhorn's list of Pāla kings from Gopāla I. to Vīgrahapāla III., based on the Âmgāchhī plate (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XXI, p. 99), is, in part at least, confirmed and extended by the statements of the Vaidyadeva plates: for, assuming the historical accuracy of the Âmgāchhī and Vaidyadeva grants (which indeed there seems to be no reason for doubting), we see from the latter grant that the kings Vīgrahapāla, Rāmapāla and Kumārapāla must be placed together in this unbroken order; and from the former grant that no place in the Pāla line can be found for this trio previous to Mahīpāla. Further, the dates discussed in the next paragraph make it almost certain that Vīgrahapāla of the Vaidyadeva grant is identical with Vīgrahapāla III. of Dr. Kielhorn's list.<sup>2</sup> Nayapāla's position is not so easy to decide. Dr. Hoernle identifies him with Devapāla, 956—991 A.D., (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XIV, p. 164). Of course there may have been two or more of his name in the Pāla dynasty. But I may observe that the exact position of Nayapāla is not material to the present inquiry.

I return to verse 28, and premising the succession given by Dr. Kielhorn, I would thus state the problem widely:—Between the years 1060 and 1161 A.D., to find the year in which the *Meshasamkrānti* fell (1) on *ekādaśī* and (2) on *dvādaśī* in Vaiśākha (*krishṇa-pakṣa*)? The following years result:—(1) on *ekādaśī* 1077, 1096, 1123, 1142, 1161 A.D.; (2) on *dvādaśī* 1115, 1134 A.D. Now, the years 1077, 1096, 1115 and 1123 may at once be rejected as altogether too early for Kumārapāla, by whom Vaidyadeva was made a king. The year 1134 may also be rejected; for, since we do not know

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kielhorn confines himself to proving that the Âmgāchhī plate of Vīgrahapāla III. was issued after 1053 A.D.



whether Kumârapâla was the immediate predecessor of Govindapâla or not, we are not a liberty to count the years of Kumârapâla backwards directly from 1161 A.D. Then, turning to the other end of the line, even if Nayapâla's name be omitted from that part of the royal succession which is now under review, it is safer to place Kumârapâla nearer the end than the beginning of the period 1060—1161 A.D. Thus 1142 and 1161 remain. And of the two 1142 A.D. seems the more probable date for the grant of Vaidyadeva. The 4th year mentioned in Plate III, A., ll. 3, 4, 5 may be the regnal year of Vaidyadeva, whose rule in Assam would then date from 1138 A.D.

Next, as to the history of the Sena dynasty, it is generally acknowledged that some time during the second half of the 11th century A.D. the Pâlas lost Eastern and Northern Bengal (including Assam) to the Senas under Vijayasena. "Vijayasena's reign (Dr. Kielhorn writes, *ante*, vol. I, 307) may therefore be reasonably supposed to have begun about the beginning of the last quarter of the 11th century." I have no wish to indulge in further speculation. Briefly, this is what I suppose the drift of events to have been. At first, *i.e.* roughly from 1060—1130 A.D. the Pâlas were driven westwards by the Senas. Then the Senas began to lose ground rapidly and were driven back by the Pâlas into a small corner of Bengal, where they were finally demolished by the Muhamadans at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Thus, the conquest of Janakabhûmi (Mithilâ) by Râmapâla, recounted in verse 4 of the Vaidyadeva grant, may have been an historical fact, marking the return of power to the Pâla line. And thus, too, the Pâla culmination under Kumârapâla about 1142 A.D. would synchronise with the Sena decadence under Keśavasena or his successor.

To recapitulate: Vaidyadeva's grant furnishes some new historical material, *viz.* a trio of the royal line of Pâlas arranged in order of descent; it throws some more light on the relations existing between the rival Pâla and Sena dynasties in Bengal during the 12th century A.D.; and its data, as confirmed by the history of the period, seem to point to 1142 A.D. as its probable date.

#### TEXT.

##### Plate I. (Inner side only.)

Line [ 1.] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ अम्बरमानस्तम्भः कुम्भः संसारबीजरक्षायाः । ह-  
रिदन्तर-

[ 2.] मितमूर्तिः क्रीडापोत्री हरिजयति<sup>१</sup> ॥<sup>४</sup> (Verse 1) एतस्य दक्षिणदशो वंशे मिहिरस्य  
जातवान् पूर्व<sup>५</sup> । विग्रहपा-

[ 3.] लो नृपतिः सव्वाकारद्विसिद्धः<sup>६</sup> ॥ (2) यस्य वंशक्रमेणाभूत्सचिवः शास्त्रवित्तमः । योग-  
देव इति ख्यातः

[ 4.] स्फुरद्दोर्दण्डविक्रमः ॥<sup>७</sup> (3). तस्योज्ज्वलपौदषस्य<sup>८</sup> नृपतेः श्रीरामपालोऽभवत्पुत्रः पालकुला-  
न्विशो-

[ 5.] तकिरणः साम्राज्यविख्यातिभाक् । तेने येन जगच्चये जनकभूलाभाद्यथावद्यथः क्षीणीना-  
यकभोम-

<sup>१</sup> Read ०मूर्तिः and हरिजयति

<sup>४</sup> Metre of verses 1 and 2: Pathyâryâ.

<sup>५</sup> Read जातवान् पूर्वम्.

<sup>६</sup> Read सव्वाकारद्विं

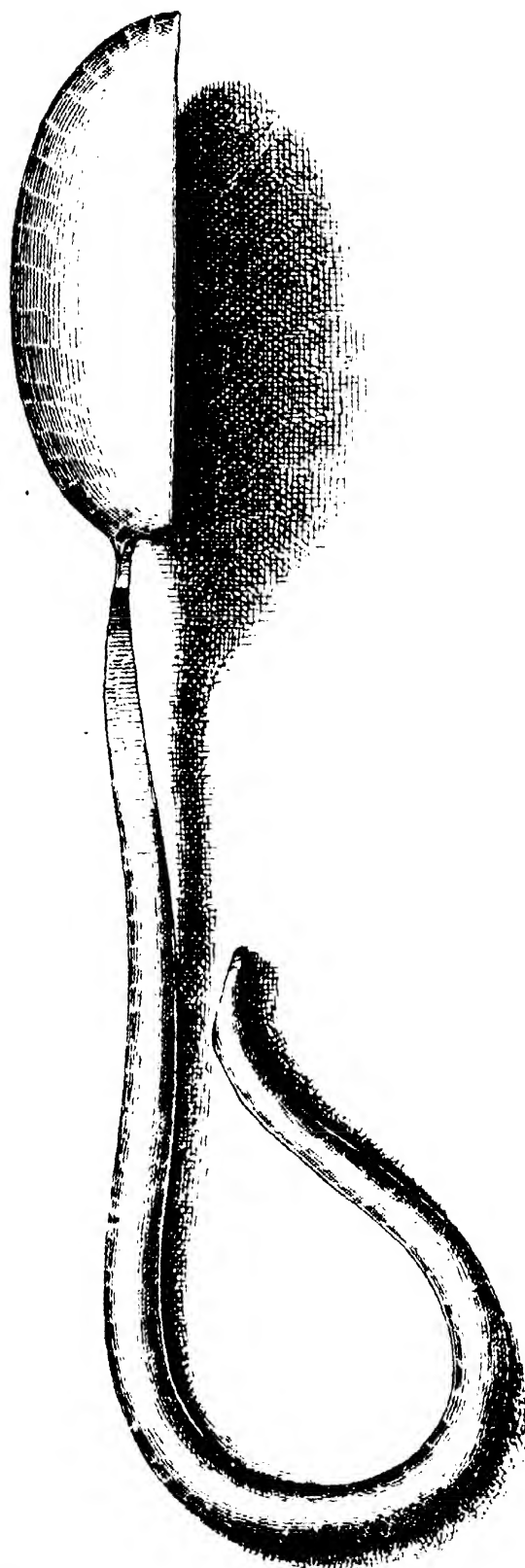
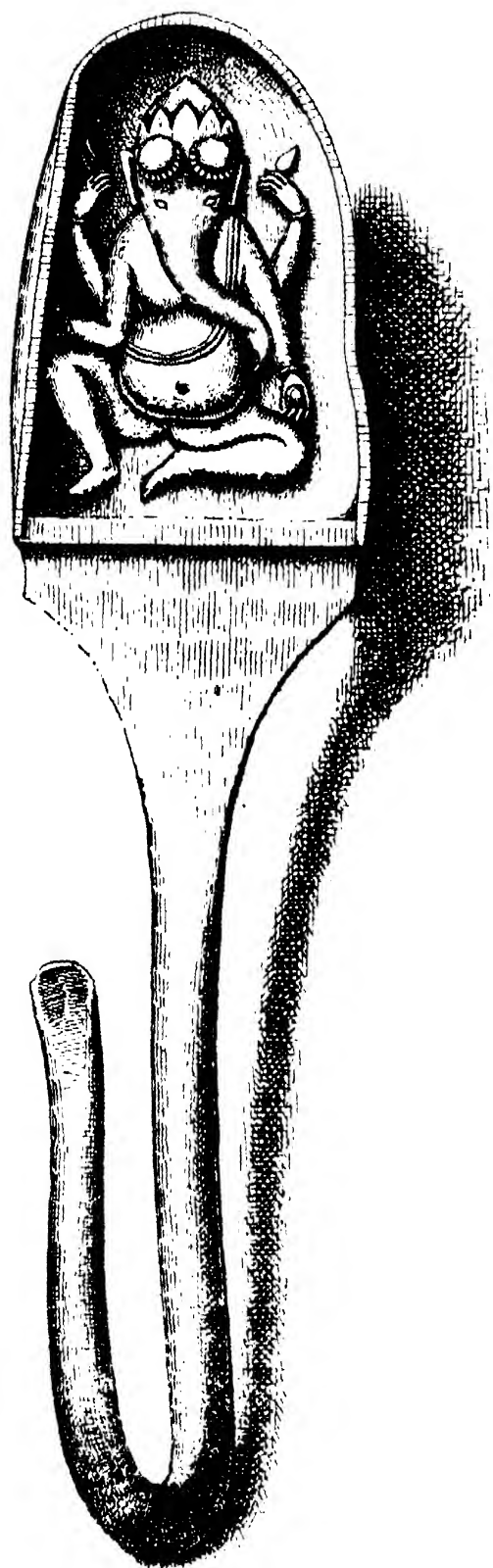
<sup>७</sup> Metre: Śloka. (Pathyâvaktra.)

<sup>८</sup> Read तस्योज्ज्वलं



GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA OF KAMARUPA.

THE SEAL.



*Scale : 3-4ths of original.*







- L. [ 6.] रावणवधाद्युद्धार्णवोत्सङ्घनात्<sup>9</sup> ॥<sup>10</sup> (4) यस्य शुद्धसचिवः पुराभवबोधिदेव इति तत्त्वबोधभूः।  
विश्वगेव वि-
- [ 7.] दितोऽद्भुतैर्गुणैरुक्तात्मसदृशः क्षितावयं<sup>11</sup> ॥<sup>12</sup> (5). अस्य प्रतापदेवी पत्नी धर्मद्विकीर्त्तिवि-  
श्रान्तिः
- [ 8.] विश्रान्तिः<sup>13</sup> । आसीदसामकान्तिः सन्तोषस्याल्लतिः पत्युः ॥<sup>14</sup> (6). अभूदमुष्यान्तनयोऽस्य  
विश्रुतः श्रीवे-
- [ 9.] श्रीवैद्यदेवः<sup>15</sup> परया श्रिया युतः । यदुच्छलत्कीर्त्तिंशरीवरोद<sup>16</sup> पद्माङ्कुराभः शिवभूधरो-
- [10.] भवत् ॥<sup>17</sup> (7). दैवज्ञेषु च तर्ककेषु च जनुहिष्टस्य दिष्टिभूतेरन्नस्रप्रधृतीर्गटित्यरिभटैरनु-
- [11.] च संमूर्च्छितं । किञ्चैतन्निजबन्धुवृन्दनयनप्रोद्गतहर्षाम्बुभिः पारव्यप्रसरप्रतापदहनस्याभू-  
द्विनि-
- [12.] वर्णपणं<sup>18</sup> ॥<sup>19</sup> (8). सोऽयं रामनरेन्द्रजस्य सचिवः साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीशुषः प्रस्थातस्य कुमारपाल-  
नृपते-
- [13.] क्षित्तानुरूपोऽभवत् । यस्यारातिकिरीटहाटककृतप्रासादकण्ठीरवग्रासत्रासवशादपैथति
- [14.] विधोर्विम्बाङ्गरूपी<sup>20</sup> मृगः ॥ (9). सचिवसमाजशरोजतिग्मभानुः<sup>21</sup> प्रसरयशोऽम्बुधिरेष वैद्य-  
देवः । स-
- [15.] हजवदान्यतयैव चम्पकेशः सुजनमनःकुमुदेषु शीतरस्मिः<sup>22</sup> ॥<sup>23</sup> (10). यस्यानुत्तरवङ्गसङ्गरजये  
नौवाट-
- [16.] हीहीरवत्सैद्दिकरिभिश्च<sup>24</sup> यन्न चलितं चेन्नास्ति तद्व्यभूः । किञ्चोत्पातुककेनिपातपत-  
नप्रोत्सर्पितैः

## Plate II, A.

- [17.] शीकरैराकाशे स्थिरता कृता यदि भवेत्स्यान्निष्कलङ्कः शशी ॥<sup>25</sup> (11). गौडेशस्य कुमारपाल-  
नृपते-
- [18.] होर्षीय्यतेजस्यते<sup>26</sup> त्रैलोक्योदरपूरिभूरियशसः प्रज्ञानवाचस्यतेः । सप्ताङ्गक्षितिपाधिपत्व-  
मभितः
- [19.] संचिन्तयन्नुग्रहीः प्राणेभ्योप्यतिबन्धुरस्य सचिवः सोऽभूद्गुणिग्रामणीः ॥ (12). एतादृशे<sup>27</sup> हरि-  
हरिङ्गवि स-
- [20.] रक्ततस्य श्रीतिम्यदेव<sup>28</sup> नृपतेर्विष्कृतिं निशम्य । गौडेश्वरेण भुवि तस्य नरेश्वरत्वे श्रीवैद्यदेव  
उरुकीर्त्ति-
- [21.] रयं नियुक्तः ॥<sup>29</sup> (13). स्रजमिव शिरस्यादायाज्ञां प्रभोरुरतेजसः । कतिपयदिनैहत्वा<sup>30</sup> जिष्णुः  
प्रयाणमसौ

<sup>9</sup> Read 'भाक्. °उच्छङ्घनात्

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>11</sup> Read तस्य° विश्वगेव °तावयम्

<sup>12</sup> Metre: Rathoddhata.

<sup>13</sup> Read धर्मद्विकीर्त्तिविश्रान्तिः.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Pathyāryā.

<sup>15</sup> Read श्रीवैद्यदेवः

<sup>16</sup> Read 'सरीवरोदरे. The रे is supplied from a *truṭi*, which is found at the bottom of the plate and is prefixed by the numeral sign for 9.

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Upajāti of Vamśastha and Indravamśa.

<sup>18</sup> Read जनुहिष्टस्य, i.e. " of the birth time (of Vaidyadeva). संमूर्च्छितम् °निर्वाणमसौ

<sup>19</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>20</sup> Read विधोर्विम्बा°

<sup>21</sup> Read °सरीज°

<sup>22</sup> Read शीतरस्मिः

<sup>23</sup> Metre: P

<sup>24</sup> Read °वक्त्रेहि°

<sup>25</sup> Metre of verses 11 and 12: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>26</sup> Read °नृपतेर्दोर्वीय्य°

<sup>27</sup> Read एतादृशी.

<sup>28</sup> This might be read तिङ्ग.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>30</sup> Read °दिनैहत्वा and द्रुतम्. One would expect प्रयाणं कृत्वा



- L. [22.] द्रुतं । तमवनिपतिं जित्वा युवे बभूव महीपतिर्निजभुजपरिष्वङ्गैः<sup>51</sup> साक्षाद्विषयतिवि-  
क्रमः ॥(14).<sup>52</sup> ए-
- [23.] तस्य प्रवरप्रयाणसमये पांशुत्करैः स्पर्शितप्राये व्योमतले कंसतिकगणै-
- [24.] लब्धोऽङ्घ्रियानयमः । किञ्चाङ्घ्रियगोपनेन करयोरन्यक्रियास्वप्नमः सुचामा नय-
- [25.] नानिमीलनकरं कर्म स्वकं निन्दति ॥<sup>53</sup> (15) दोहण्डारणिजे<sup>54</sup> हविर्भुजि भटत्रातेनैरधि-  
[26.] संघामाध्वरपूजिते रिपुशिरःश्रेणीलसत्प्रीफलैः ।<sup>55</sup> कृत्वा होमविधिं परचितिभु-
- [27.] जा दत्वाथ<sup>56</sup> पूर्णाहुतिं लब्धोदययशो<sup>57</sup> महत्फलमसौ श्रीवैद्यदेवो बभौ ॥ (16). यदुत्समर-  
मध्यात्<sup>58</sup> खड्गघातो-
- [28.] त्यतस्त्रिः परसुभटशिरोभिव्योम कीर्णं निरीक्ष्य । भटिति विसरराष्ट्रव्यहधीविभ्यदर्कः स्व-
- [29.] रुचमपि रजोभिः प्रोच्छयन्<sup>59</sup> स्वं जुगोप ॥<sup>60</sup> (17). चन्द्रस्थोऽवभूर्महीधरसरणं सत्वप्रधानाश्रयः  
पा-
- [30.] जश्रीमहितः स्फुरद्रसमयः सोयं गभीरः परः । रत्नानां निलयः श्रियः कुलवृद्धं स्वान्तस्थित-
- [31.] श्रीपतिः स्यादेवं सदृशोऽम्बुधेर्यदि जलाधारोऽयवा लघितः<sup>61</sup> ॥<sup>62</sup> (18). ज्ञानैर्गीर्णतिरुजितै-  
हिनपतिः
- [32.] सत्प्रीरुषैः श्रीपतिर्हैर्यैरम्बुपतिर्हनेहनपतिर्हानैः<sup>63</sup> स चम्पापतिः । किञ्चित्तेपि गिरोपमान-  
विषयाः

Plate II, B.

- [33.] प्रायः प्रसिद्धेर्बलाद् ब्रूम किन्तु वयं स्वयं स्वसदृशः सर्वैर्गुणानां<sup>64</sup> गणैः ॥0॥ (19) यस्य श्रीबुध-  
देव इत्यनुजभूः
- [34.] श्रीरामभद्रानुजप्रायस्तदसीमनिर्मलगुणैर्धर्मविशीलविभूः<sup>65</sup> । दानैः शोभनपद्मवैद्विज<sup>66</sup>-
- [35.] कुलप्रीतिप्रदानैरपि । ख्यातः कल्पमरुहप्रतिकृतिर्होर्वीर्यजृम्भायसाः<sup>67</sup> ॥ (20). अथाभ-
- [36.] वत कौषिकसञ्चको सुनिसुनोन्द्रसुख्यो<sup>68</sup> निजगोचरपूषः । पयोजजम्बास्वचयभमशमात्
- [37.] यदास्यपद्मेतु सुखं गिरा स्थितं<sup>69</sup> ॥<sup>70</sup> (21). एतदंसे महति भरतः प्रादुरासीतद्विजाति-  
र्भावग्रामे
- [38.] प्रविसरयसाः शासनोद्ये वरेन्द्रां अस्तामन्यगुणगणसमाख्यानमाख्यानमाचाद्यज्ञानोऽ-
- [39.] पि स्फुटति निखिलः किर्णधानां प्रपञ्चः<sup>71</sup> ॥<sup>72</sup> (22). अस्य विप्रतिलको युधिष्ठिरः पुत्र इ-
- [40.] त्यभवत्सुधीश्वरः<sup>73</sup> । शास्त्रवेदपरिशुद्धबोधभूः श्रीचियत्नविलसद्यशोनिधिः ।<sup>74</sup> (23). पार्श्व-
- [41.] ति धर्मपत्नी धीरवरस्यास्य चित्तविश्रान्तिः । असौदसीमकान्तिः श्रीसीदायश्रीयां<sup>75</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Read महीपतिर्निजं.

<sup>52</sup> Metre : Hariṇī.

<sup>53</sup> Metre of verses 15 and 16 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>54</sup> Read दीर्घा.

<sup>55</sup> Read °लसत्प्रीफलैः.

<sup>56</sup> Read दत्वाथ.

<sup>57</sup> Read लब्धोदययशो.

<sup>58</sup> Read °मध्यात्.

<sup>59</sup> Read °शिरोभिर्व्योमं °प्रोच्छयन्.

<sup>60</sup> Metre : Mālinī.

<sup>61</sup> Read महीधरसर्व सत्त्वं लघुचितः.

<sup>62</sup> Metre of verses 18, 19, and 20 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>63</sup> Read °हनेहनपतिर्हानैः श्रीपतिर्हैर्यैरम्बुपतिर्हनेहनपतिर्हानैः.

<sup>64</sup> Read ब्रूमः and सर्वैर्गुणैः.

<sup>65</sup> Read °लसत्प्रीफलैः °धर्मविशीलविभूः.

<sup>66</sup> The var. lect. सरफलपद्मवैः (with the numerical sign 3 affixed) is given in the upper margin of the plate; and श्रीभन° is cut out in the text.

<sup>67</sup> Read कल्पमरुहप्रतिकृतिर्होर्वीर्यजृम्भायसाः । जृम्भा° is cut out in the body of the plate, and कल्प (with the sign 3 affixed) is supplied in the lower margin.

<sup>68</sup> Read °भवत् कौषिक° सुनिर्मु°.

<sup>69</sup> Read °भवत्पद्मात् and स्थितम्.

<sup>70</sup> Metre : Varpāstha.

<sup>71</sup> Read एतदंसे . . प्रादुरासीद् . . प्रविसरयसाः

. . . वरेन्द्रां । अस्तामन्यं . . किञ्चिदाद्यां.

<sup>72</sup> Metre : Mandākrāntā.

<sup>73</sup> °भवत्सुधीश्वरः is faulty metre.

<sup>74</sup> Metre : Rathoddhatā.

<sup>75</sup> Read आसीद् . . श्रीसीदार्थविद्यां.



[illegible]



१ ॥ यथा ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥  
 ४ ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥  
 ८ ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥  
 १२ ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥  
 १६ ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥ अत्रिपुत्रेणैवामाकृतं यथा ॥







[illegible]



- L. [42.] वसतिः ॥<sup>66</sup> (24). पूर्वपूर्वजनुज्जम्भकर्मपाकदभूत्सुतस्स्यैतस्यां द्विजाधीसपूज्यः<sup>67</sup> श्रीश्रीध-  
 [43.] रः परः ॥<sup>68</sup> (25). तीर्थेषु भ्रमणात् श्रुताध्ययनतो दानात्तथाध्यापनाप्यज्ञानां<sup>69</sup> करणाद्भूते-  
 कचरणात् सव्यो-  
 [44.] त्तः शोचियः ॥ प्रातःकृत्तमयाचितोपवसनैर्येन स्वयं गुग्गुलीराकर्षाद्भरदः कृतोच हि कलौ  
 श्री-  
 [45.] सोमनाथः<sup>60</sup> प्रभुः ॥<sup>61</sup> (26). कर्मव्रजविदां मुख्यः सर्वाकारतपोनिधिः श्रौतस्मात्तरहस्येषु<sup>62</sup>  
 वागीश इव वि-  
 [46.] श्रुतः ॥<sup>63</sup> (27). एतस्मै शासनं प्रादाद्दैवदेवकीतीक्ष्णः । वैशाखे विश्वत्याञ्च<sup>64</sup> स्वर्गायं हरि-  
 वासरे ॥0॥ (28).  
 [47.] स्वस्ति हंसाकीर्त्तिसमावासितश्रीमज्जयकम्भावारात<sup>65</sup> । परममाहेम्बरः परमवैष्णवः महा-  
 राजाधि-  
 [48.] राजः । परमेस्वरः परमभट्टारकः । श्रीमान<sup>66</sup> वैद्यदेवदेवः कुशली । श्रीप्राग्ज्योतिषभुक्तौ ।  
 कामरू-

## Plate III, A.

- [49.] पमण्डले । वाडाविसये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तक । शान्तिवडामन्दराग्रामीय । यथाप्रधानप्रति-  
 वासि । चट्टभट्टविस-  
 [50.] यिक्तकादिजनपदान् कर्षकाश्च यथात्याग मानयति । बोधयति समादिशति वः मतमस्तु  
 भवतां । एतत् इयं  
 [51.] चतुःशीमावच्छिन्नं । परिबोधशुभं अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशं सजलस्थलं । भूच्छिद्रश्च अकिञ्चित्कर-  
 ग्राह्यं<sup>67</sup> । चतुर्थान्द  
 [52.] सं वैशाखप्रथमादिना गुग्गुली श्रीशुद्धरश्मिणे<sup>68</sup> चतुःशतिकां शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तमस्माभिः  
 तदेतस्मिन्<sup>69</sup>  
 [53.] विधेया भवतेति । सं ४ सूर्यगत्या वैशाखदिने १ नि ॥0॥ सन्तिवडामन्दराग्रामयोरे-  
 कीभूय अष्टसीमा-  
 [54.] त्रिनयकतः ॥ पूर्वदिशस्तावत् दिग्दाण्डिधरमादाय यावत् पश्चिमकूलशीमा ॥ ऐशा-  
 नदिशः शिङ्गिन्नाध-  
 [55.] रशीमालिङ्गवडाभोग्ये कंसपलभू १ ॥ उत्तरदिशः कोण्टुवाडोङ्गीनडजोलीनवधराशीमा ॥  
 [56.] शिरवडाशिलगुडिभोग्यं किञ्चिदतिक्रम्य जयरातिपोला उणैपोलाविरामादाय वाय-  
 [57.] व्यदिस पिपामुण्डा अश्वत्थशीमा अम्भडाचौवील । वुटिपोखिरिपूर्वधरकुलाचापडि अ-  
 [58.] ष्टवलपुराणधर्म्मालि पश्चिमायावत् पश्चिमदिशःशीमा किञ्चिद्वरकित्वा नैर्ऋत्यदिशो ध-

<sup>66</sup> Metre: Pathyāryā.<sup>67</sup> Read पूर्वपूर्वजनुज्जम्भकर्मपाकादभूत्सुतः । द्विजाधीशपूज्यः<sup>68</sup> Metre: Pathyāvakra.<sup>69</sup> Read तथाध्यापनाप्यज्ञानां<sup>60</sup> Read सर्वोत्तरः श्रीवियः . प्रातर् . . श्रीसोमनाथः<sup>61</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>62</sup> Read °निधिः । श्रौतस्मात्°.<sup>63</sup> Metre of verses 27, 28, 29, 30: Pathyāvakra.<sup>64</sup> Read °चित्ती° विश्वत्याञ्च.<sup>65</sup> Read °श्रीमज्जयकम्भावारात्°.<sup>66</sup> Read श्रीमान्.<sup>67</sup> Read thus, omitting the unnecessary pauses in the plate:—वाडाविसये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तकशान्तिवडामन्दराग्रामीययथा-  
 प्रधानप्रतिवासिचट्टभट्टविसयिक्तकादिजनपदान् कर्षकाश्च यथात्यागं  
 मानयति बोधयति समादिशति वः मतमस्तु भवताम् । एतद्वयं  
 चतुःशीमावच्छिन्नं परिबोधशुभम् अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशं सजलस्थलं भूच्छिद्रश्च  
 अकिञ्चित्करग्राह्यं.<sup>68</sup> Read श्रीशुद्धर° With the परिबोध of the text (l. 3)  
 compare the Pāli form पालिबोध = hindrance.<sup>69</sup> Read तदेतस्मिन्.



- L. [59.] आलिमादाय नैपोश्वरयो विवादभूमेर्वावर्द्धमादाय लच्छुवडास्थितैकवाटीसमेतघाट-  
चम्पकः श्रीमा वे-
- [60.] लवणीपटानवपल । दक्षिणदिशः कुम्भकारभोग्यवह्निः श्रीमा कोण्टोहाडादुभ्रवोल्यावत  
हेलावणामुण्डमा-
- [61.] दाय दिघ्दाण्डियावत । अग्निदिशः सीमा । एवं अष्टसीमा ॥ ॥ द्वितीयपटकस्य चतुदश-  
पङ्क्ताः ॥ सन्तिपाट-
- [62.] कसन्नन्तु मन्दराग्रामसंयुत । वडाविसयसम्बद्धं भूच्छिद्रेणेति निश्चयात् ॥<sup>70</sup> (29). सव्वायोपाय-  
संयुक्तं करोप-
- [63.] स्करवज्जितं । यावच्चन्द्राक्षसभोग्यं यावदिच्छाक्रियाफलं । जलस्थलखिलारण्यवाट-  
गोवाटसंयुत<sup>71</sup> ॥ (30). कोष्ठ य-
- [64.] स करिष्यति स्वयमिदं यः कारयिष्यत्यसौ पुत्रादिचयमभ्युदीक्ष्य निरये कल्पान्तरं स्थास्यति ।  
यः स्नाघः परिपा-

Plate III, B.

- [65.] स्यति सुतैर्वितैः स वदिस्यते स्वस्तीकं परिभुज्य यास्यति चिराद्विष्णोर्वरेण्यं पदं<sup>72</sup> (31).  
यावज्जास्करहिमकर-
- [66.] ताराभूधरपधिवसुधाद्याः । तावद्विलशत नृपतेः कीर्तिः<sup>73</sup> श्रीवैद्यदेवस्य<sup>74</sup> ॥ (32). इमां  
राजगुरोः पुत्रः श्रीमुरारेर्हि-
- [67.] जन्मनः पद्मागर्भोद्भवश्चक्रे प्रसस्तिं श्रीमनोरथः<sup>75</sup> ॥ (33). देवीयं रिपुचक्रविक्रमकथाप्रत्यर्थि-  
दोष्विभ्रमः शस्त्रद्विभ्र-
- [68.] परिभ्रमन्नवनवोन्मीलद्यशः श्रीधरः । एतस्मै सुदितो द्विजातिपतये धर्माधिकारार्पितश्री-  
गोनन्दनकोवि-
- [69.] दैकवचसा प्रादादिदं साग्रनं<sup>76</sup> ॥ (34). कर्णभद्रेण भद्रेण शिल्पिनामण्यबुद्धिना । ताम्रं  
विनयनस्त्रेण निर्मितं
- [70.] साधुकर्मणा<sup>77</sup> ॥ (35). एतादृशे सुनिवचनानि भवन्ति । स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसु-  
न्धरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा
- [71.] पच्यते पितृभिस्तद् ॥ गामेका स्वर्णमेकाम्वा भूमेरप्यर्धमङ्गुलं हरन्नरकमायाति यावदाङ्ग-
- [72.] तसङ्गव ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-
- [73.] लं<sup>78</sup> ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation to the holy Vāsudeva! Hail!

Verse. (1.) Glorious is Hari; the pillar for measuring the sky; the receptacle in which are preserved the germs of the transmigratory world; the boar whose form, assumed by him in sport, terminates with space, (i.e. is all-pervading).

(2.) In the race of the Sun, who is the right eye of Hari, was born of yore the king Vighrahapāla, perfect in every accomplishment.

<sup>70</sup> Read °सुतम् °विषयं °निश्चयात्.

<sup>71</sup> Read सव्वायो°वज्जितम् यावच्चन्द्राक्षसभोग्यं °फलम् °संयुतम्

<sup>72</sup> Read कीर्तिं करिष्यति कारयिष्यति परिपाद्यिष्यति  
सुतैर्वि° वदिस्यते स्वस्तीकं पदम् ॥ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>73</sup> Read °भूधरपदीधि° नृपतेः कीर्तिः

<sup>74</sup> Metre: Pathyāryā.

<sup>75</sup> Read प्रसस्तिं, Metre: Pathyāvakra.

<sup>76</sup> Read °दोष्वि° लघुपद्माः शासनम्. Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>77</sup> Metre: Pathyāvakra.

<sup>78</sup> Read परदत्तां वा वसुन्धराम् गामिकां स्वर्णमेकं वा °नङ्गुलम्।  
सङ्गवम् पचम् ।



(3.) His minister was Yogadeva, who was versed in the Śāstras and the prowess of whose arm was manifest.

(4.) Of this king of mighty power the son was Rāmapāla, who was the moon (*produced*) from the ocean-like Pāla family and who wielded the glory of empire. As befitted one of his name (*yathāvat*), Rāmapāla (*yena*) spread glory through the three worlds, by gaining the country of Janaka,<sup>79</sup> (as Rāma gained Janakabhū, the child of Janaka, *i.e.* Sītā); and by killing king Bhīma,<sup>80</sup> as Rāma killed Rāvaṇa; and by crossing the ocean of war, as Rāma crossed the ocean.

(5.) Bodhideva was Rāmapāla's faultless minister, the abode of truth. By his wondrous qualities he was known throughout the world as one without an equal.

(6.) His wife was Pratāpadevī, the resting-place of virtue, good fortune and good report, whose beauty was boundless, and who was the embodiment of her husband's joy.

(7.) To him was born of her the renowned Vaidyadeva, who was endowed with the highest happiness, and in whose lake of leaping glory the mountain of Śiva (*i.e.* Kailāsa) appeared as it were but a lotus-sprout.

(8.) Hearing from astrologers and mendicants of the auspicious juncture of Vaidyadeva's birth-time, his enemies' soldiers forthwith gave up food and sleep and courage, and were stupefied. And, further, by the waters of joy that sprang from the eyes of his gathered friends was extinguished the fire-like splendour of the hostile multitude.

(9.) This Vaidyadeva was the minister after his own heart of the famous king Kumārapāla, who was the son of the king Rāma, and who delighted in the glory of empire. The deer which is formed in the orb of the moon will run away through fear of being swallowed by the lions represented on the palace, which is made of gold from diadems of the enemies of this (*Vaidyadeva*).

(10.) This *Vaidyadeva* was the sun in the lotus-like assembly of ministers; the ocean of spreading fame; by reason of his natural generosity he was the Lord of Champakā (*i.e.* Karkāṇa); he was the moon among the lily-like minds of good men.

(11.) And on the occasion of Vaidyadeva's (*yasya*) victory at the battle in Southern Vāṅga,<sup>81</sup> if the elephants of the eight quarters did not run away terrified by the shouts from the enclosure of boats, it was because they had no place to run to (*i.e.* the shouts of the rowers pervaded all space!) Moreover, if the spray, thrown up by the downward strokes of the upraised rudder-oars, had remained fixed in the sky, then the moon would have become spotless (being washed clean by the spray).

(12.) He (*Vaidyadeva*) chief among the virtuous, sternly keeping in mind the kingdom in all its parts, was minister, dearer even than life, to king Kumārapāla the Lord of Gauḍa, who was like the sun in the might of his arm, with his great glory filling the three worlds, and like Vṛihaspati in his wisdom.

(13.) The aforesaid renowned Vaidyadeva was appointed ruler by the Lord of Gauḍa in the room of Timgyadeva, who had been treated with honour in the East, and of whose disaffection the Lord of Gauḍa had heard.

<sup>79</sup> *i.e.* Mithilā. To take *janaka* = "father" would spoil the play upon the word.

<sup>80</sup> I cannot identify the name.

<sup>81</sup> *Anuttara* = "complete" may qualify "victory." For *Nauvāṭa* see Dr. Hultzsch, — *Ind. Antiq.* vol. XV, p. 309.



(14.) This victorious Vaidyadeva having placed upon his head, garland-wise, the command of his glorious master, marched speedily in a few days, and having defeated that king (*viz. Timgyadeva*) by the energy of his own arm, became king and appeared like the valiant Indra himself.

(15.) When during the glorious march of this Vaidyadeva the sky became like the surface of the earth on account of the heaps of dust, the horses of the sun found it difficult to move their feet. Further, Indra, while closing both his eyes (*against the dust*), is unable to use his hands for any other action, (*and therefore*) reviles his fate,<sup>82</sup> to which is due the never-closing condition of his eyes.

(16.) This *Vaidyadeva* performed the *Homa* in the fire of his own splendour, which, produced from his arm as fire from the *arani*, was fed like fire by the fuel of his enemies' hosts, and was worshipped at the fight, as fire at the sacrifice, (*and he used as material for his sacrifice*) many heads of his enemies in the place of bright *vilva* fruits; next, he offered the *pūrṇāhuti* oblation with the (*body of the*) hostile king, and having acquired vast glory as the result (*of his sacrifice*) he shone resplendent.

(17.) The sun, beholding the sky covered with the enemies' heads, as at the stroke of the sword they fly upwards from the great fight of Vaidyadeva (*yad*), suddenly became alarmed at the thought of these heads being so many Rāhus and protected himself by smearing out his own lustre with dust.

(18.) This Vaidyadeva might be exactly compared with the ocean, if he were (*but he is not*) a *jālddhāra*, *i.e.* protector of fools (*jala = jaḍa*), as the ocean is a *jālddhāra*, *i.e.* receptacle of water; or if he were conquerable (*laṅghita*) as the ocean was crossed (*by Rāma*)—(*for in other points the comparison holds, thus—*) the ocean is the birth-place of the moon, and he is the source of delight (*chandra*); the ocean is the refuge of mountains (*e.g. Maināka*) and he is the refuge of kings (*mahādhra*); the ocean is the home of living things, and he is the home of a disposition in which the *sattva* element of goodness predominates; the ocean is adorned by the beauty of its bed, and he is adorned by the beauty of his ministers (*pātra*); the ocean is filled with sparkling water, and he is filled with *rasa* (*love, etc.*); the ocean is very deep, he is profound; the ocean is the abode of gems, and he the abode of what is most precious; the ocean is the chief home of Lakshmi, and he of wealth (*śrī*); Vishṇu dwells within the ocean and within his heart.

(19.) He was Vṛihaspati as regards his knowledge, and the Sun as regards his energies, and Vishṇu as regards his good actions, and Varuṇa as regards his stability, and Kuvera as regards his wealth, and the king of Champā (*Karṇa*) as regards his liberality. Further, even these names (*sc. Vṛihaspati etc.*) are here employed because of their notoriety as the common objects of comparison in poetry (*girā*); but we for our part declare that in respect to all his numerous qualities Vaidyadeva was like himself alone.

(20.) His younger brother<sup>83</sup> was Budhadeva, who, resembling the younger brother of Rāma (*viz. Lakshmaṇa*) in possessing his well-known (*tattat*) boundless and spotless qualities, (*and himself*) the abode of perfect *dharma* and perfect character, with glory leaping in the might of his arm, was famed to be like the Kalpataru in his gifts and also in his donations to Brahmans, which are the good fruits and fresh sprouts.

<sup>82</sup> It is his *karman* = (*prārabdha*) that makes him Indra with never-closing eyes.

<sup>83</sup> *Anujabhūḥ* is ambiguous. I explain thus:—*anujā bhūḥ (utpattiḥ) yasya so anujabhūḥ*.



(21.) Now (turning to the receiver of this grant), there was that chief of munis, named Kauśika, the first of his *gotra*, in whose mouth Sarasvatī rested after her fatigue in wandering through the (*four*) mouths of Brahmā.

(22.) In his great *vanśa*, in the strictly-disciplined village of Bhāva,<sup>84</sup> in Varendrī appeared Bharata, a Brāhmaṇa, glorious, by the bare mention of whose name,—to say nothing of his many other good qualities—are destroyed all sins.

(23.) His son was Yudhisṭhira, chief of Brāhmaṇas and intelligent men, the repository of knowledge purified by (*study of*) the Vedas and Śāstras, the abode of glory showing itself through his mastery of the sacred learning.

(24.) The wife of this learned man was Pâi of boundless beauty, the repose of her husband's heart, and the dwelling-place of virtue, nobleness and prosperity.

(25.) As the result of his merit, acquired in many previous states of existence, there was born to him of her that great son Śrīdhara, honoured among Brāhmaṇas.

(26.) By reason of his pilgrimages to *tīrthas*, and study of Veda, and generosity, as well as by his teaching and by his performance of sacrifices and strict observance of vows, Śrīdhara was chief among learned Brāhmaṇas. Through Śrīdhara's penances of eating once only either by day or by night, and living on alms without begging, and fastings, the Lord Śiva was propitiated here, in the Kaliyuga, by being drawn out of a Guggulu tree.

(27.) Foremost among those who know *karman* and *brahman* (*i.e.* the *Karma-kāṇḍa* and the *Jñāna-kāṇḍa* of the Veda), Śrīdhara, the store-house of every kind of religious observances, was famed to be like Vṛihaspati in (his mastery of) the hidden things of *Śruti* and *Smṛiti*.

(28.) To this Śrīdhara, at the Vishuvatī (*saṃkrānti*) in Vaiśākha on Ekādaśī, the king Vaidyadeva gave this charter, to gain heaven.

[To follow line 14 of the second Plate].<sup>85</sup>

(29.) As determined by the *bhūmichchhidra* rule, the village Santipāṭaka<sup>86</sup> is joined to the village Mandarā and belongs to the Baḍā-vishaya.

(30.) The villages conveyed are provided with all sources of revenue, and are exempt from royal charges and payments in kind. They are to be enjoyed as long as the sun and moon shall endure, and the profits (*phala*) of cultivation (*kriyā*) shall be arranged for as (*the owner may*) wish. They are provided with water and dry land, forest tracts, gardens and enclosures for cows.

(31.) Whoever may himself appropriate this or cause it to be appropriated, shall see his sons and property perish before him and shall remain in Naraka for the period of a Kalpa. But the honourable man who respects it shall be blessed with sons and wealth; and having long enjoyed Svarga he shall go to the supreme abode of Viṣṇu.

(32.) May the glory of king Vaidyadeva continue to shine as long as sun, moon, stars, mountains, sea and earth endure!

<sup>84</sup> *Sāsnogre* I take equal to *Ugrasane*, the commoner *bahuvrīhi*.

<sup>85</sup> The sign of omission is found in the second plate (side *B*) after *harivāsare*, the last word of l. 14. The translation is therefore made to follow the order intended by the words *dvitīyopāṭakasya chaturdaśapañktyāḥ*, to which I supply "*agre*" to complete the construction.

<sup>86</sup> Translation doubtful. Dr. Kielhorn explains *pāṭaka* by "outlying hamlet" (*Ind. Antig.* vol. XVIII, p. 135), which I follow above. *Santi* would thus be the name of the *pāṭaka* adjoining the village Mandarā and falling within the *vishaya* Baḍā; and the correcter form of the name would appear to be *Śānti*; [cf. III, A, line 1, where, however, the final syllable of *Śānti* is read only doubtfully owing to the bad state of the plate.] The grammar of verse 29 seems to make *santipāṭakasamjñam* an adjective to *Śāsanaṃ* in verse 28: (observe also *idam* in verse 31).



(33.) Manoratha, son of the brāhmaṇa *rajaguru* Murāri, and Padmā, his wife, composed this praśasti.

(34.) This is that king whose active arm destroyed the famed prowess of his many foes. And this is that Śrīdhara, whose glory ever spreading through the world extends anew. [*The king*] being pleased delivered this śāsana to that brāhmaṇa through the words of his *dharmādhikārin*, the very learned Gonandana.

[Plate II, B, l. 15.] Hail ! From the victorious camp at Hamsākoṇchī, his Majesty Vaidyadeva, a most devout worshipper of Śiva and of Viṣṇu, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, being in good health [Plate III, A, l. 1.] greets, informs and commands the people of the villages of Śānti-Baḍā and Mandarā possessed by Gaṅgādhara Bhaṭṭa, in the *vishaya* of Baḍā, in the *maṇḍala* of Kāmarūpa in the *bhukti* of Prāgjyotiṣa, beginning with the principal residents . . . . (?) and peasants. Be it known unto you that these two villages, having their boundaries fixed and subject to no reduction, with their water and dry land, not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, and their uncultivated land free of taxes, with a revenue of 400, we have given by charter to Śrīdhara Śarmā (surnamed) Guggulī in ? ? . . . . Therefore be obedient to this charter. Written in the fourth year on the first day of Vaiśākha by the movement of the sun.<sup>87</sup>

[Plate III, B, l. 5.] (35) This copper was engraved by the artist Kaṇabhadra, an intelligent, courteous and accurate workman.

To such a plate are added the words of the Munis<sup>88</sup>:—

## XXIX.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

BY ARTHUR VENIS, M.A., PRINCIPAL, SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES.

No. I.<sup>1</sup>—Dated Samvat 1162.

This grant is on a single plate, and closely resembles the Basāhi grant of Samvat 1161, both in its outward form and text.<sup>2</sup> The plate is 1' 6" long by 11" broad, and weighs 8lbs. 12oz. Like the Basāhi plate (see Dr. Fleet's description *in loco*), it has a *śaṃkha* engraved on its left margin with a barbed arrow below it. At its top end is rivetted a turned over copper band, through which the ring of a seal was evidently intended to run ; but the seal is missing.

The inscription is in Nāgarī characters and is well preserved, but the technical execution is on the whole imperfect. As regards orthography, *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign, except once in line 1, where *b* (*babhāva*) is represented by the sign used in seven inscriptions of Jayachchandra (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 129 *et seq.*) The sibilants are used promiscuously. The letters *r* and *ś* have two forms. In line 22 I

<sup>87</sup> See above, p. 349.

<sup>88</sup> Here follow the boundaries of the villages.

<sup>89</sup> The usual imprecations which follow are left untranslated.

<sup>1</sup> As to the finding of these plates see *ante*, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> See Rājendralāla Mitra, *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII (1873), and Fleet, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XIV (1885) for the Basāhi plate.



have failed to read the two letters immediately preceding the word *purandara*. In line 23, initial *e* appears in the old form of a triangle, with the apex downwards.

The opening verses, 1—3, correspond with those of the Basâhi plate. Line 2 reads *Mahîyalasutah*:—conf. *Mahiala-sutah* or *Mahîâla-sutah* of the Bas. pl. according to Drs. Fleet and Mitra. Verse 4 of the Bas. pl. is not found in our text: verse 6 of our text is not found in the Basâhi plate: but these omissions are unimportant. Line 6 records the date in words and figures,<sup>3</sup> viz. Tuesday, full moon (bright half) of Kârttika, 1162 Samvat, date corresponding to 24th October, 1105 A.D.

Line 7. Govindachandra, the donor, was then encamped in Vishnupura and made the grant after having bathed in the Ganges, etc. This, and the succeeding names of places, I cannot identify.

Line 8. He gives the village of Usithâ (?), in the Jîâvati-pattalâ in the Pañchâla country, with the usual appurtenances.

Ll. 12—13. The donee, Vilhâkâya Dîkshita, who came originally from Sâvithadeśa (?), was the son of Puravâsa and grandson of Nâgânanda (?). These belonged to the Vandhula gotra with the three *pravaras* of Vandhula, Aghamarshana and Viśvâmitra, and were followers of the *Yajurveda*.

Ll. 15—16 contain the well-known crux मत्वा यद्दीयमान . . . दशव (ब) धविशतिह्रवथाकेरे तुरुष्कदण्डप्रभृति . . .

Ll. 23—24. The composer of the inscription was Vijayadâsa, who also composed the Basâhi document. The following consented to the grant:—the *pratihara* Gautama, the *purohita* Jâgûka, the *mahattaka* Vâlhana (all three of whom are mentioned in the Basâhi plate) and the Queen-mother Râlhadevî.

#### TEXT.

#### Front.

Line [1.] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ तमाद्यं सर्वदेवानां दामोदरमुपास्यहे । त्रैलोक्यं यस्य वक्त्रोऽव

क्रोडान्तःस्थं वलिचयी ॥ (1).<sup>4</sup> वंसे गाहडवालाख्ये बभूव विजयी नृपः ॥<sup>5</sup>

[2.] महोयलसुतः श्रीमान्नलनाभागसन्निभः ॥ (2).<sup>6</sup> याते श्रीभोजभूपे विबुधवरवधूनेऽसीमाति-  
थित्व<sup>7</sup> श्रीकर्णे कीर्त्तिशेषं गतवति च नृपे क्षात्र्ये जायमाने ।

[3.] भर्तारं यं धरित्री त्रिदिवविभुनिभं प्रीतियोगादुपेता जाता विश्वस्य पूर्वं समभवदिह स  
क्षापतिश्चंद्रदेवः<sup>8</sup> (3).<sup>9</sup> ॥ तस्मादभूद्रिषदिलापतिदन्तिसिंहः क्षोरीपति-

[4.] मदनपाल इति प्रसिद्धः । येनाक्रियन्त वभुशः समरप्रवन्धाः सन्नर्त्तितप्रहतशत्रुकवन्धवन्धाः<sup>10</sup> ॥  
(4).<sup>11</sup> तस्मादजायत नरेश्वरवृंदवन्द्यपादारविंदयुगलो ज्व-

[5.] क्षितप्रतापः । क्षोणीपतीन्द्रतिलको रिपुरगभंगी गोविंदचंद्र<sup>12</sup> इति विभुतनामकीर्त्तिः (5).<sup>13</sup> ॥  
तिष्ठतो यस्य दोःस्तम्भे मत्तसौर्यैकदन्तिनः । धनुर्गुणकिणश्रेणी म-

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Kielhorn kindly provides the following note:—

'For V. 1162 expired:—Tuesday, the 24th October, A.D. 1105; the full moon *tithi* commenced 2h. 29m. after mean sunrise and ended 0h. 9m. after mean sunrise of the following day.'

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>5</sup> Read वंसे . . . नृपः

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>7</sup> Read विबुध.

<sup>8</sup> Read चन्द्रदेवः

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Śragdharā.

<sup>10</sup> Read वभुशः . . . कवन्धवन्धाः

<sup>11</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'हृदयवन्द्यपादारविन्द' रिपुरगभंगी गोविन्दचन्द्र

<sup>13</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.



- L. [6.] दराजीव लक्ष्मते ॥ (6).<sup>14</sup> संवत्सहस्रके द्विषष्टुत्तरशताब्धिके कार्तिकशैर्णमास्ये भीमे दिने ऽपि संवत् ११६२ सुदि ५ भीमे<sup>15</sup> अथेह श्रीमद्विष्णुपुरावासितश्री-  
 [7.] विजयकटके सकलकलमषक्षयकारिण्यां गंगायां स्नात्वा ॥ यथाविधानं मन्त्रदेवचक्रविमल-  
 भूतपितृस्तर्पयित्वा । सूर्यं भस्त्रकं संपूज्य । भगवन्तं महेश्व-  
 [8.] रं समभ्यर्च्य । विष्णाधारं वासुदेवं समाराध्य । मन्त्रपूतं भुतवहं हुत्वा । पंचालदेशे जीष्वा-  
 वतीपत्तलायां उत्तियागामे समस्तविषयसार्धवर्त्तिसमस्त-  
 [9.] महत्तमजनपदान्संबोधयति समान्नापयति ॥<sup>16</sup> यथा ग्रामोयं मया स्वसीमातृणयूतिगोचर-  
 पर्यन्तः सजलस्थलः साम्भधूकः सगर्तोपरपाषाणः स-  
 [10.] नदीवनलोहलवणाकरः सदशापराधदण्डः साकाशपातालः स्वसीमाचतुराघाटविश्रान्तः  
 पूर्वदत्तदेवब्राह्मणवर्जितः । नलिनीदलगतजल ।  
 [11.] लवतरलतरं प्राणिना जीवितं<sup>17</sup> विज्ञाय । करिकलभकर्णायविलसितचपलां लक्ष्मीं विलोक्य ।  
 जलबुद्बुदाकारं यौवनं परिज्ञाय । कदलीदण्डव-  
 [12.] त् संसारमसारतरं<sup>18</sup> समाकलय्य ॥ सावित्र्यदेशनिर्गताय वाजरुनेयसाखीमृगाय वंधुलगोत्राय  
 वंधुल अघमर्षणविष्णामिचचिप्रवराय<sup>19</sup> ॥  
 [13.] दीक्षितनागानदपौत्राय दीक्षितपुरवासपुत्राय यंजुर्वेदविद्यानलिनीविकासनप्रत्यक्षभास्क-  
 राय<sup>20</sup> दीक्षितवील्हाकाय । अद्याविशुद्धमनसा  
 [14.] महाराजपुत्रश्रीमन्नोविदचंद्रदेवेन कुशपूतहस्तोदकेन कार्तिक्यां निमित्ते सम्यगाज्यूयास्त्री  
 ब्राह्मणार्या मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च यशःपुण्यवि-  
 [15.] वृद्धये चंद्रार्केदिधिर्चित्तिपवनाम्बराणि यावत् शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः<sup>21</sup> ॥ मत्वा यद्दीयमान-  
 भागभागकूटकदशवधविशतिरुवथाकेरे तु-  
 [16.] प्कदण्डप्रभृतिसर्वादायान तत् सर्वमस्मीं निसेदनीयं<sup>22</sup> ॥ ये यास्यन्ति महीभृतो मम कुले  
 किं वा परस्मिन्पुरस्त्रोषामेष मयाजलिर्विरचित्ता नादेय-  
 [17.] सत् कियत् दूर्वामात्रमपि स्वधम्मनिरता दत्त सदा पात्यता वायुर्वास्यति तस्यति प्रतपन  
 श्रुत्वं सुनीना वचः<sup>23</sup> ॥ (7).<sup>24</sup> अत्राय पौराणिकाः  
 [18.] श्लोकाः ॥ भूमि<sup>25</sup> यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणी नियतं  
 स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ (8).<sup>26</sup> योर्धितं प्रतिगृह्णाति ददात्यर्ध-  
 [19.] तमेव वा । तावुभौ गच्छतः स्वर्गं नरकं तु विपर्यये ॥ (9). बहुदिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सग-  
 रादिभिः । यस्य सत्यं यदा भुगिस्तम्य तस्य वदा  
 [20.] फलं<sup>27</sup> ॥ (10). यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्मात्यवत्सत्यति  
 मानि<sup>28</sup> तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ (11).<sup>29</sup> अस्मत्कुलं पर-

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>15</sup> Read °पौर्णमास्यां and १५ instead of ५.

<sup>16</sup> Read गङ्गायां मन्त्रदेवचक्रविमलभूतपितृस्तर्पयित्वा . . . महेन्द्र . . . मन्त्रपूतं हुतवहं पंचालं °यामे °पौर्णवर्त्तं °पदान् सज्जीधं; remove the unnecessary signs of punctuation.

<sup>17</sup> Strike out the unnecessary punctuation after जल ; and read प्राणिना जीवितं.

<sup>18</sup> Read बुद्बुदां °सारतरं.

<sup>19</sup> Read °शास्त्रामृगाय वंधुलाघमर्षं

<sup>20</sup> Read °नागानन्दं यंजुर्वेदं

<sup>21</sup> Read श्रीमद्दीविष्णुचन्द्रदेवेन . . . सम्यगाज्यूयां . . . ब्राह्मणार्या . . . °रात्मनं . . . अद्यार्केदिधिचित्तिपव-

नाम्बराणि . . . शासनीकृत्य.

<sup>22</sup> Read °सर्वादायान् °निसेदनीयम्

<sup>23</sup> Read परस्मिन्पुरस्त्रोषामेष मयाजलिर्विरचित्ता नादेयमस्मात् कियत् । . . स्वधर्मं °दत्तं . पात्यतां तस्यति . श्रुत्वा सुनीना

<sup>24</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>25</sup> Read भूमिं

<sup>26</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and in the two following verses.

<sup>27</sup> Read बहुभिर्धं . यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥

<sup>28</sup> Read निर्मात्यवत्सत्यतिमानि तानि

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.



- L. [21.] सुदारसुदाहरद्विरनैष दानमिदमच । गुमादनीयं । लक्ष्मास्तडित्सलिलबुद्बुदचंचलाया  
दानं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ज<sup>30</sup> (12).<sup>31</sup> पञ्चभद्रासनं  
[22.] छत्रं वराक्षा वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि मसं \* \* पुरंदर<sup>32</sup> ॥ (13).<sup>33</sup> स्वदत्तां पर-  
दत्तां वा यो दरेत वमंधरां । स विष्टायां कृमिर्दूला<sup>34</sup> पितृभिः स-  
[23.] ह मज्जति ॥ (14). प्रतीहारगौनमयक<sup>35</sup> जागूकश्च पुरोहितः । जननी राल्लदेवी च वाल्ल-  
णश्च महत्तकः ॥ (15). एतेषां संमत्तिं प्राप्य सम्यग्विहित-

Reverse.

- [24.] वानिदम् । नाम्ना विजयदासाख्यः शासनं राजसंमतम् (16).

No. II.—Dated Samvat 1196.

This inscription is engraved on a single plate, which measures 1' 3½" in length by 1' ¼" in breadth, and weighs 5lbs. 15oz. The plate is perforated at the top margin to take the ring of a seal; and it is likely that one of the loose seals now in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, belongs to this plate. The orthography calls for no special remark. Verses 1-7 correspond with the opening verses of the Chandradeva and Madanapāla grant (see *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII, p. 11): verses 8 and 9 are found again in a grant of Jayachchandra (*ibid.*, p. 130).

L. 13.—Govindachandra while at Benares conveys the village of Janakadevī-pura in the Rāna pattalā (the latter name I read doubtfully owing to the plate being injured).

Ll. 16, 17.—Contain the date, and mention a lunar eclipse on that date, viz. Monday, the 15th day in the bright half of Āśvina, 1196 Samvat, corresponding to 9th October 1139 A.D.<sup>36</sup>

19, 20. The donee was the *purohita* Jāgū Śarman, the son of the donee in the preceding grant.

TEXT.

- L. [1.] स्वस्ति । अकुण्ठेत्कण्ठर्वैकुण्ठकण्ठपीठलुठकरः । संरन्ध<sup>37</sup> सुरतारन्ध्रे स श्रियः  
श्रेयसेस्तु वः ॥ (1).<sup>38</sup> आसीदसीतद्युतिवंसजातस्त्रापालमाला-  
[2.] सु<sup>39</sup> दिवङ्गतासु । साक्षादिवस्त्रानिव<sup>40</sup> भूरिधान्ना नाम्ना यशोविग्रह इत्युदारः ॥ (2).<sup>41</sup>  
तत्सुतो भूम्नहीचन्द्रश्चन्द्रधामनिभन्निजं । येनापारम-  
[3.] कूपारपार<sup>42</sup> व्यापारितं यशः ॥ (3).<sup>43</sup> तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैकरसिकः क्रान्तद्विषमण्डलो  
विध्वस्तोद्धतधीरयोधतिमिरः श्रीचन्द्रदेवो नृपः ॥ येनो-

<sup>30</sup> Read 'सुदाहरद्विरनैष दानमिदमभ्युनीदनीयम् ॥ लक्ष्मास्त-  
डित्सलिलबुद्बुदचंचलाया . . परिपालनम् ॥

<sup>31</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>32</sup> Read 'छत्रं वराक्षा वरवारणाः । फलं स्वर्गः  
पुरंदर ॥

<sup>33</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and in the three following  
verses.

<sup>34</sup> Read 'हरित वसुधरान् । स विष्टायां कृमिर्दूला.

<sup>35</sup> Read 'प्रतीहारगौतमश्च

<sup>36</sup> Dr. Kielhorn again kindly notes,— "The year is the

northern expired year; the lunar eclipse occurred 13 h. 21 m.  
after mean sunrise."

<sup>37</sup> Read 'अकुण्ठो संरन्धः

<sup>38</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>39</sup> Read 'आसीदसीत' °वश°.

<sup>40</sup> Read 'साक्षादि°

<sup>41</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

<sup>42</sup> Read 'पारि

<sup>43</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).



- L. [4.] दारतरप्रतापसमिताशेषप्रजोपद्रवं श्रीमहाधिपुराधिरायमसमन्दोर्विक्रमेणार्जितं<sup>44</sup> ॥ (4).<sup>45</sup>  
 तीर्थानि काशिकुशिकोत्तरकोशलैन्द्रस्थानी-
- [5.] यकानि परिपालयताभिगम्य । हेमात्मतुल्यमनिसन्ददता द्विजेभ्यो येनाङ्किता वसुमती  
 सतयस्तुलाभिः<sup>46</sup> ॥ (5).<sup>47</sup> तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितीन्द्र-  
 [6.] डामणिर्विजयते निजगोत्रचन्द्रः । यस्याभिवेककलसोक्तसितैः पयोभिः प्रक्षालितं कलिरजः  
 पटलं धरित्राः ॥ (6) यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणस-
- [7.] मये तुङ्गाचलोच्चैश्चलन्माद्यत्कुम्भिपदक्रमासमभरन्मस्यन्महीमण्डले । चूडारत्नविभिन्नतालु-  
 गलितः स्थानासृगुहासितः<sup>48</sup> शेषः पेषवभा-
- [8.] दिव<sup>49</sup> क्षणमसी क्रोडे निलीनाननः ॥ (7).<sup>50</sup> तस्मादजायत निजायतवाहुवस्त्रिवधावरुद्धनव-  
 रायगजो नरेन्द्रः । सान्द्रासृतद्रवमुचाम्पभवो ग-
- [9.] वां यो गोविन्दचन्द्र इति चन्द्र इवाम्बुरासेः<sup>51</sup> ॥ (8).<sup>52</sup> न कथमप्यलभन्त रणक्षमांस्तिष्ठतु  
 दिक्षु गजानथ वज्रिणः । ककुभि वभ्रसुरभ्रमुवक्ष्यभप्रति-
- [10.] भटा<sup>53</sup> इव यस्य घटागजाः ॥ (9).<sup>54</sup> सोयं समस्तराजचक्रसंसेवितचरणः स च परमभट्टारक-  
 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरनिजभुजो-
- [11.] पार्जितश्रीकान्यकुजाधिपत्यश्रीचन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-  
 परममाहेश्वर श्रीमदनपालदेवपादानुध्यात-
- [12.] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वराश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजचयाधिप-  
 तिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीमज्ञो-
- [13.] विन्दचन्द्रदेवो विजयी ॥ रानपत्तलायां<sup>55</sup> । जनकदेविपुरग्रामनिवासिनो निखिलजनपदा-  
 नुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञीयवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहि-
- [14.] तप्रतीहारसेनापतिभाण्डागारिकाक्षपटलिकभिषग्नैमिसिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरगपत्तनाक-  
 रस्थानगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषान् समा-
- [15.] ज्ञापयति बोधयत्यादिशति च यथा विदितमस्तु भवतां ययोपरिलिखितग्रामः सजलस्थलः  
 सलोहलवणाकरः समव्याकरः सगर्तो-
- [16.] षरः समधूकाम्रवमवाटिकाविटपतृणयतिगोचरपर्यन्तः सोर्ध्वाधस्तुराघाटविसुप्तः स्वसो-  
 मापर्यन्तः संवत् ११८६ आश्विनसुदि १५ सो-
- [17.] मदिने<sup>56</sup> श्रीमहाराणस्यां राहुग्रस्तचन्द्रमसि गङ्गायां ज्ञात्वा विधिवन्मन्त्रदेवसुनिमनुजभूत-  
 पितृगणांस्तर्पयित्वा तिमिरपटलपाटनपटुमहस-
- [18.] मुष्णरोचिषमुपस्थायौषधिपतिसकलसेषरं समभ्यर्च्य त्रिभुवनत्रातुर्व्वासुदेवस्य पूजास्त्रिधा<sup>57</sup>  
 प्रचुरपायसेन हविषा हविर्भुजं हुत्वा माता-
- [19.] पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धयेऽस्माभिर्गोर्कण्णकुशलतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्वम् वधुलगोत्राय  
 वधुल । अघमर्षण । विश्वामित्रप्रवराय दीक्षितपु-

<sup>44</sup> Read नृपः । °प्रतापप्रमिता° गाधिपुराधिराजमसमं °तम्

<sup>45</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. .

<sup>46</sup> Read °तुल्यमनिशं . . शतशं

<sup>47</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā, and in the next verse.

<sup>48</sup> Read °गलितस्था°

<sup>49</sup> Read according to Kielhorn शेषः शेषवशादिव and see *Ind. Antig.*, vol. XV., p. 12, note 97.

<sup>50</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>51</sup> This verse is found in Ben. Coll. grant of Jayacholhan-

dra : see Kielhorn, *Ind. Antig.*, vol. XVIII., p. 129 ; and read °वाहु° . °वन्मा° . नवराज्य° °प्रमवी° °राज्ञीः

<sup>52</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>53</sup> Read °जमान् ति° वक्ष्यं

<sup>54</sup> Metre: Drutavilambita.

<sup>55</sup> रान° doubtful.

<sup>56</sup> Read सोर्ध्वाध° °विमुक्तः चाचिन°

<sup>57</sup> Read °शेखरम् . . पूजां विवाह



- L. [20.] रासपौत्राय दीक्षितवील्हापुत्राय दीक्षितपुरोहितश्रीजागूसर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय आदन्द्रार्कं यावत्  
शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्त<sup>58</sup> मत्वा यथादीयमानभागभो-
- [21.] गकरप्रवणिकरतुरुष्कदण्डप्रभृतिसमस्तादायान आन्नाविधेयीभूय दास्यथेति ॥ \*<sup>59</sup> ॥  
भवन्ति चात्र । श्लोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं
- [22.] प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पण्यकर्मणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ (10).<sup>60</sup> संखं भद्रासनं च्छत्र  
वरास्वा<sup>61</sup> वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेतत्परन्दर ॥ (11). सर्वानेता-
- [23.] न् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामोन्ययं धर्मसेतुनृपाणा<sup>62</sup> काले  
काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ (12).<sup>63</sup> बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-
- [24.] भिः सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ (13).<sup>64</sup> सुवर्णमेकं गाभेकां  
भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुलं हरद्वरकमाप्नोति यावदाङ्गतसंज्ञ-
- [25.] व<sup>65</sup> ॥ (14) तडागानां सहस्रेण अस्त्रमेधशतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न  
मुध्यति<sup>66</sup> ॥ (15). स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसुधरां<sup>67</sup> । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा  
पितृ-
- [26.] भिः सह मज्जति ॥ (16).

## XXX.—PALI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF MAHARAJA LAKSHMANA.

DATED SAMVAT 158.

BY A. FÜHRER, PH.D.

The original plate containing the inscription now published was found, in May 1891, buried underground in the house of a goldsmith at the village of Pālī,<sup>1</sup> close to Kosām, the ancient Kauśāmbī, the chief town of the Karārī pargana in the Mānjhanpur tahsīl of the Allahābād district. It was obtained by me from the Magistrate of Allahābād, and is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

The plate, which is inscribed on both sides, measures about 7½" by 6½". It is quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims to protect the writing. The average size of the letters is about ¼"; they are cut neatly and deeply, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the peculiar "nail-headed" type current in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The language is Samskr̥it, and with the exception of the benediction and imprecatory verses in lines 9

<sup>58</sup> Read °तलीदकपूर्वम् . . . °पुरवासपौत्राय  
°शर्मणे . . . आदन्द्रार्कं . . . प्रदत्तः । . and remove unnecessary  
signs of punctuation.

<sup>59</sup> Read °दायानाञ्च°—The asterisk is represented in the  
plate by a character like छ. (cf. *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII., p. 12).

<sup>60</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh), and in the following verse.

<sup>61</sup> Read शङ्खं . . . छत्रं वरास्वा ।

<sup>62</sup> Read °नृपाणां

<sup>63</sup> Metre: Śālinī.

<sup>64</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh), and in the three following  
verses.

<sup>65</sup> Read °ङ्गुलम् । °संज्ञवम्

<sup>66</sup> Read चञ्च° . . . शुध्यति

<sup>67</sup> Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा . . . वसुधराम्

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. II, page 240



to 14, the inscription itself is in prose throughout. In respect of orthography we have to notice: (1) the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* in *māddhyandināya*, line 5; (2) the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r* in *pitttor*, line 4, and in *gottrāya*, line 5; (3) the doubling of *n*, *g*, *th*, *bh*, *v*, and *sh* in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *paurṇamāsyām*, line 15; in *svargge*, line 13; in *artthe*, line 8; in *vidheyair bhbhavitavyam*, line 7, and *kṛimir bhbhutvā*, line 10; in *parvatikā*, line 2, and *bahubhir vvasudhā*, line 11; in *varshsha*, line 12; (4) the doubling of *v* after the *anuvāra* in *samvatsara*, line 15; (5) the use of *v* for *b* in *atuvinah*, line 3.

Towards the proper right side of the plate, about the centre, a circular copper ring is fastened through a hole to an oval brass seal, about 2½" by 2". In the upper part it bears a rather good figure of a lion, squatting on its haunches and brandishing its tail, facing to the right; below it, separated by two lines, is in relief the legend *śrī-mahārāja-lakshmanasya*, "of the illustrious Mahārāja Lakshmaṇa." The seal itself rests on two low leg-fashioned supports. The weight of the plate is 37¾ *tolas*, and of the ring and seal 27½ *tolas*; total 65 *tolas*.

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Lakshmaṇa, and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city Jayapura. The date of the writing of the charter is given in words as the year one hundred and fifty-eight, and the full-moon day of the month Jyaishṭha. There is no indication as to the era; but in all probability it refers to the Gupta era. The corresponding European date can, however, not be calculated as the week-day, *nakshatra*, or other astronomical details are not given, which could be utilized in checking the calculation. The object of the charter is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Lakshmaṇa, of an *agrāhāra* in the village Phelā-parvvatikā,—undoubtedly the ancient name of the modern village Pālī,—to the Brāhmaṇa Revatisvāmin of the Kautsagotra. The *dūtaka* is the Mahārāja Naravāhanadatta. Neither the capital Jayapura nor the names of the two feudatory princes are known to us from earlier or contemporaneous inscriptions.

#### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

##### Obverse.

- L. [1.] श्री स्वास्ति जयपुरात्परममाहेस्वरः श्रीमहाराज-  
 [2.] लक्ष्मणः कुशली फेलापर्वतिकाग्रामे ब्राह्मणादी-  
 [3.] ग्प्रतिवासिकुटुम्बिनः समान्नापयति विदितं वोस्तु य-  
 [4.] धैष ग्रामी मया मातापित्रीरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिष्टुये  
 [5.] कौत्ससगोत्राय वाजसनेयिसब्रह्मचारिणे माह्यन्दिनाय  
 [6.] ब्राह्मणरेवतिस्वामिनेषाहरोतिसृष्टस्तयुषाभिर-  
 [7.] स्यान्नाश्रयणविधेयैर्भूवितव्यं समुचिताश्च प्रत्यायाः  
 [8.] मेयहिरण्यादयो देयाः[॥]अपि चास्मिन्नर्थे व्यासकृताः  
 [9.] श्लोका भवन्ति[॥]स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यी हरित वसुध्वरा [॥]  
 [10.] स विष्ठायां क्षमिर्भुत्वा<sup>3</sup> पितृभिः सह मज्जति [॥]

<sup>1</sup> From the original plate.

<sup>2</sup> Read *\*rbbhuvāvyam*.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Anuṣṭubh, and the following two verses.

<sup>4</sup> Read *\*rbbhūtā*.



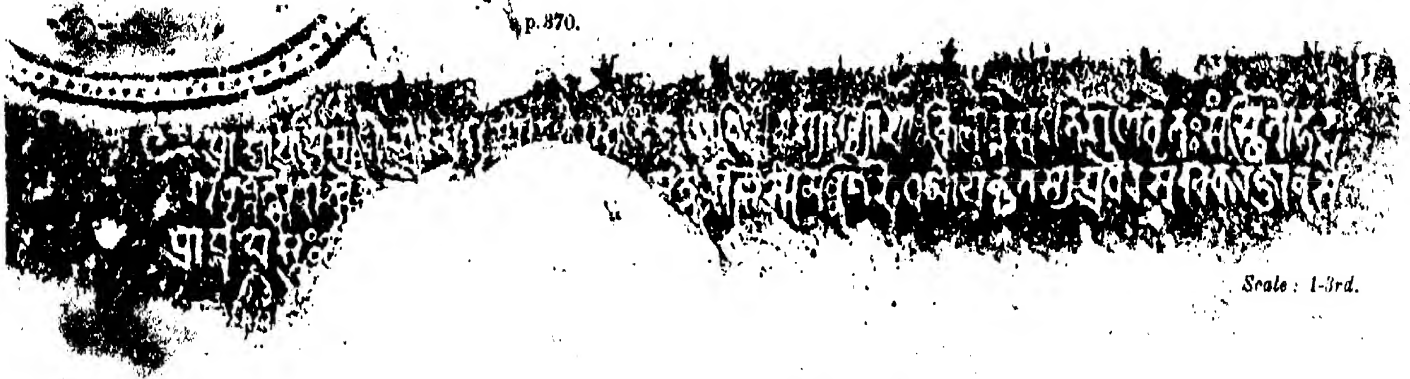
# SANCHI INSCRIPTIONS.

ON MEDIEVAL IMAGES. p. 309.



Scale: 2-5ths.

p. 370.



Scale: 1-3rd.

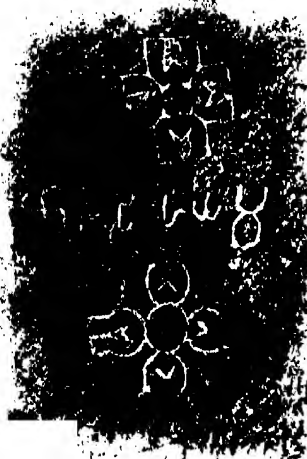
St. I, 377. - p. 396.

St. I, 30. - p. 388.



Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 35.

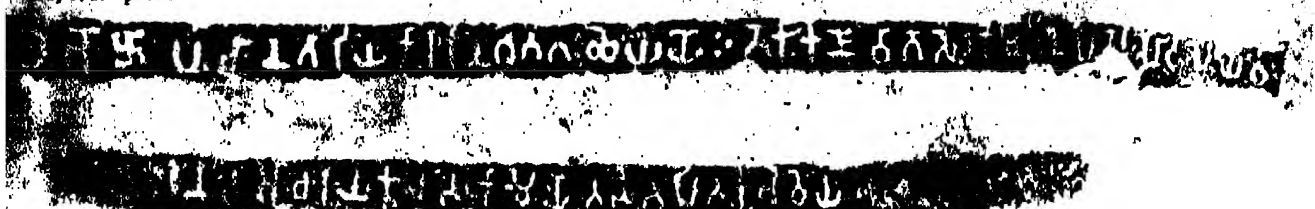


Scale: 1-5th.



Scale: 1-4th.

St. I, 378. - p. 396.



Scale: 1-6th.



STUPA I, 21.—p. 99.



J. Burgess, impress

Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 230.—p. 381.



Scale: 1-4th.

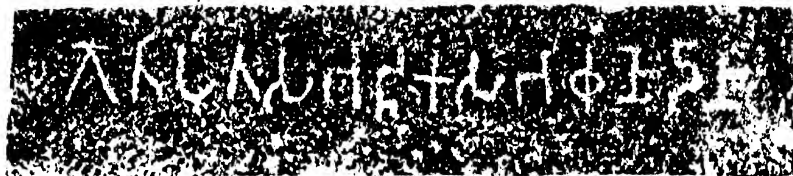
St. I, 50.—p. 102.



A. Fuhrer, impress

Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 256.—p. 384.



Scale: 1-5th.

St. II, 1.—p. 110.



Scale: 1-4th.

St. I, 257.



Scale: 1-5th.

ASOKA FRAGMENT

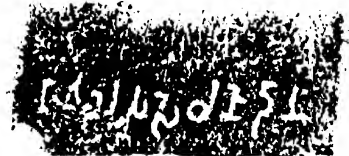
p. 367.



A. Fuhrer, impress

Scale: 1-4th.

St. I, 285.—p. 387.



Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 288.



Scale: 1-5th.



GRANT OF MAHARAJA LAKSHMANA.

[illegible]

Seater, 3-4ths.

[illegible]

Scale: 4-5ths of original.







*Reverse.*

- L. [11.] \*बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [I] यस्य यस्य  
 [12.] यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [II] षष्टिं वर्षसह-  
 [13.] स्नाणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदिः [I] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव  
 [14.] नरके वसेत् [II] दूतकथाञ्च श्रीमहाराजनरवाहनदत्तः  
 [15.] संवत्सरशतेष्टपंचाशदुत्तरे ज्येष्ठमासे पौर्ण-  
 [16.] मास्यां लिखितं बलदेवेनेति १५८ [II]

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail from Jayapura! A most devout worshipper of the god Mâheśvara, the illustrious Mahârâja Lakshmana, being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brâhmanas, and to the cultivators, at the village of Phelâ-parvatikâ:—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of my parents and of myself, this village is granted by me as an *agrâhâra* to the Brâhmana Revatisvâmin, of the Kautsagotra, a student of the Vâjasaneya-Mâddhyandina (*śâkha*). You shall be obedient to his commands, and you shall render to him the customary taxes, that which is to be measured out, gold, etc." And on the same subject there are also the following verses by Vyâsa:—"He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, becomes a worm in ordure, and sinks into hell together with his ancestors. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*) and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!" The *dûtaka* (*is*) the illustrious Mahârâja Naravâhanadatta. This charter has been written by Baladeva in a century of years, increased by fifty-eight, on the full-moon day of the month Jyaishṭha, 158.



XXXI.—FURTHER INSCRIPTIONS FROM SÂNCĪHĪ.<sup>1</sup>

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the course of a tour through Eastern Rajputana and the Central India Agency in March 1893, Dr. A. Führer again visited the famous Stûpas of SâncĪhĪ, *recté* in Sanskrit K â k a ṇ â d a or in Prakrit K â k a ṇ â v a (see I, No. 378) and took impressions of those inscriptions which had not been found on his former visit. He also used the opportunity to clear away the rubbish round the two Stûpas and to make a few excavations. As in all former cases, his operations have yielded highly satisfactory results. The fragment of the Aśoka inscription has been recovered;<sup>2</sup> the number of the small donative inscriptions has risen, if all the fragments and almost effaced pieces are counted, to nearly 500, against Sir A. Cunningham's 240. Finally, a valuable Indo-Skythian inscription has turned up on the base of a statue of Buddha, and in a similar position have been found two inscriptions in later characters,<sup>3</sup> the latest of which shows the Nāgarī of the 9th or 10th century A.D. These new finds prove that the Stûpas were visited by Buddhist pilgrims both during the interval between the times of the early Andhras and of the Guptas, and long after the latter had passed away. Moreover, the late Nāgarī inscription may also be considered to furnish additional evidence for the fact that Buddhism survived in India until very late times, long after the period when the stupid legends allege it to have been drowned in a deluge of blood. The recovery of the fragment of the Aśoka edict does not quite fulfil the expectations which I thought might be reasonably entertained. I am not able to decipher the whole or even to suggest a complete plausible restoration of the portion with which I declined to meddle in my former article. But I am able to settle two points. First, the two signs indistinctly visible in the beginning cannot have formed part of the word *devānam*, nor can the word *piya* have followed. The first sign of the line, which, counting from below, I number as line 7, has been lost, the second is illegible, and the third is either *yam* or *yām*. The *ya* is plain and certain, and so is the Anusvāra, but the vowel is doubtful. The next consonant is certainly *bha*, and the syllable probably was *bhe*. This is sufficient to prove that line 7 does not contain the beginning of the edict, but that a probably not inconsiderable piece has been lost at the top.

Secondly, at the end of line 7 stand not only, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 260), the letters *mag*, but *mage*, and after it quite distinctly *kaṭe*. This new reading removes the possibility that the Sa m ģ ha of Ma g a d ha can be mentioned or addressed. The words mean, without a doubt, "a road has been made." The next line 6 tells us for whom this road was intended. The first sign has again been lost. Next follows a fairly distinct *khu*, and after two indistinct signs the syllable *bhi*. The two following consonants have been lost in a large abrasion, to the right of which the vowel *i* appears and immediately after it *nam*. Then comes an indistinct sign and next *ti*. Thus, we obtain— . *khu* . . *bhi* . . *īnam* . *ti*. It is almost certain that the reading was *bhikhunam vā bhikhunīnam vā ti*, and that the road was prepared for the monks and the nuns of the Buddhist order. A comparison of the phrase at the end

<sup>1</sup> Continued from *ante*, p. 87.<sup>2</sup> In his letter Dr. Führer states that it is now lying in the jungle. It is on a frustum of a *stambha* or pillar which probably stood near the Southern gate, and might be placed in

some museum in order to keep it safe. See place of facsimiles.

<sup>3</sup> About thirty very small fragments and illegible inscriptions have not been transcribed.



of the edict (ll. 2-3) "for my wish is,—what?—that the road of the Saṃgha may last a long time" removes even the possibility of a doubt regarding the correctness of the reading adopted, with which the shape of the remnants of the third, fourth and ninth signs of the line agrees. Though at the end of line 6 the letters *ta pa* are quite plain and again in line 5 towards the end the letters *ka* or *ke*, *ye*, as well as the word *saṃgham*, I do not dare to propose a restoration. I must content myself with putting down the few signs I believe to recognise. The better preserved remainder of the inscription, as I have stated formerly, indeed corresponds in part with the middle of the Kosambī edict on the Allahābād Pillar, and there is very little to alter in the readings which I have given in my former article.

TRANSCRIPT.

*Allahābād.*

*Sānchi.*

• • • • • saṃgham  
bhokhati bhikhu-va bhikhu-nî vâ •  
[pi chā]o—(2) dātā—ni [d]-usāni • nam dhāpa  
yitu anāpe-  
sa • v • s • y • y •

• • y[am] bh[e?] • • mage kaṭe [7]  
khu[nam vā] bhi • inam [vā] ti [.] . ta pa [6]  
• [ . ikhi(?)tam] • m. • ri (?) • [ke ?] ye  
saṃgham [5] bhokhati bhiku vā bhikhuni vā odātā-  
ni du[s . ] • i sanam • • yitu anā • [3]  
sasi v[i]s . petaviy . [.] Ichhā hi me kim- [2]  
ti saṃghasa mage chilathitike siyā ti [1]

TRANSLATION.

• • • "A road was made both for the monks and the nuns<sup>4</sup> • • • • the community<sup>5</sup> will dine, both monk and nun, (*and*), causing white cloth to be put down (*for them*), you will order it to be spread; for my wish is,—what?—that the road of the community (*of the Buddhist monks*) may endure for a long time."

It is now evident that the road (*mage*) is something material. Possibly the expression refers to the procession path or "terrace for circumambulation"<sup>6</sup> which surrounds the Stūpa (see *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 184). But the road may also be one which made the Stūpas more conveniently accessible.

The characters of the small donative inscriptions offer various points of interest. Among those the alphabet of which in general agrees with that of Aśoka's Edicts we find—

(1) Some like I, Nos. 172, 174, 185, 203, the letters of which are very small, with short vertical strokes, giving one the impression of an attempt at reproducing the Maurya characters, used for literary purposes;

(2) Two,—II, No. 61 and another,—illegible with the exception of the word *dānam*, in which throughout thin double lines are employed instead of single ones;

(3) Many, which present cursive forms for one or two consonants, or even only for some medial vowel marks. Thus, *da* has frequently (see, *e.g.*, I, Nos. 129, 177, 186 and 188) a very shallow curve open to the left and otherwise abnormally bent strokes. Here and there *ja*, too, is irregular. In *Ujjeniyā* (No. 159) it has the angular shape, which is the usual one in the Andhra inscriptions, but occurs once in the Gīrnār version of Aśoka's Rock-Edicts. In *Rājuka* (I, No. 177), and sometimes in the word *pajāvatī*, *ja* looks

<sup>4</sup> The word *ti* indicates that the sentence is at an end.

<sup>5</sup> I am inclined to take *saṃgham* as a neuter nominative with the *liṅgavyatya-ya*, so common in the Aśoka inscriptions, and as the subject of the sentence. As long as the text

has not been restored completely, this is, of course, merely tentative.

<sup>6</sup> Usually called *Pradakṣiṇā* by the Brahmans and *Bhāmī* (*Bhramantī*) by the Jains.



almost like *tá*. In *Yakkhadásiyá* (I, No. 194) the letter *sa* has been made with a single stroke, the left-hand limb being formed by drawing from the right hand upstroke a continuous line across the letter. Among the vowels *á* and *e* often slant upwards, as in the Kálsi version of the Rock-Edicts and in the later inscriptions. The vowel *i* very commonly consists, as in the Girnár version, of a small semi-circle and occasionally (see, e.g., I, Nos. 141, 285) of a long stroke, rising straight upwards. I may add that the vowel *á* is attached against the usual practice to the inner side of the left prong of *ma* in the word *Máhisatiya*, I, Nos. 313-14, and that the vowel *i* occupies a similar position in *Sirimitáyá* (I, No. 355).

The unusual *cha*, with a little tail, known from Mr. Rea's Bhaṭṭiprolu Stûpa inscriptions, appears in I, Nos. 269 and 284. A *la*, intermediate between the form of the Bhaṭṭiprolu Stûpa and that of the Andhra cave inscriptions, is used in the name *Váḷṭ-vahana*, a vicarious form for *Váḍivahana* in I, No. 199. This is one of the few certain instances of the occurrence of *la* north of the Narmadâ before the times of the Guptas.

There are also, just as in Sir A. Cunningham's collection, a certain number of inscriptions, showing later characters than those of the Aśoka Edicts. To these belong—

(1) the long imprecatory document, I, No. 377, which shows the dagger-like *ka*, the angular *gha* and a peculiar short *da*, with a shallow curve, but has no *serifs* or nail-heads;

(2) a few inscriptions with short vertical strokes and nail-heads, but otherwise with archaic forms, like I, Nos. 288, 334, 377;

(3) likewise a small number of inscriptions with still more advanced forms, like I, No. 237; II, Nos. 25, 59, 66, among which the first shows curves to the left attached to *ka* and *ra*, while the third offers an almost circular *ba* and the looped *ta*, common in the southern inscriptions of the second century A.D. and of later times. It seems to me that these facts confirm the remarks made in my former article regarding the age of the Stûpas, and show that the bulk of the work belongs to the 3rd century B.C. and to the beginning of the 2nd, as well as that some additions and repairs were made in later times.

With respect to the language I have not to add anything to the notes given in my former article. The type is that of the Pâli of the Aśoka inscriptions and of the Buddhist scriptures. Anomalous forms of the kinds noticed before are also numerous. If my reading of the second word of I, No. 263, is right, there is one instance of the use of a double consonant.

As regards the contents I may state that the new inscriptions mention also a number of the collective donations.

Thus, I, No. 214 registers a gift of the village of Asvavatî; No. 124 one by the nuns of Vâḍivahana; Nos. 147 and 231 those of the female lay worshippers of Nava-gâma and of Ejâvatî; No. 276 one by the family of Dhamu [tara] and No. 366 one by the family of Ajitiguta. The number of single monks making donations now amounts to more than eighty. Among them there is (II, No. 59) another *sutâtiku* or teacher of the Sûtras, a *thera* (I, No. 266), and, it would seem, a *tâpasa* or ascetic (I, No. 260). This designation is usually not adopted by Buddhists, who despise the performance of austerities. Possibly this person may have belonged to some other sect. One of the most prominent personages among the monks apparently was Gotiputa Bhaṁḍuka, who occurs twice (I, Nos. 16, 256) and had four pupils . . . ka, Budharakhita, Aya-Kana and Dhamadata. The names of nuns making donations



now rise from thirty-seven to nearly seventy. One or two among them mention their children, and must have been married before they entered the Saṃgha, see, *e.g.*, I, No. 234 and II, No. 29.

Among the lay donors the Sheths and their relatives now take a still more prominent position than in the smaller collection formerly accessible, and it may be pointed out that in several instances the Sheth of a village is mentioned without the addition of his proper name. Thus, I, No. 140, records the gift of "Nāgā, wife of the Sheth of Kamda-digāma," and No. 167 that "of the mother of the Sheth." Among the other professions of the donors there are some new ones. Thus, we have a *sotika*, *i.e.*, *sautrika*, "weaver," in I, No. 195; *vaḍaki*, *i.e.*, probably *vardhakin*, "carpenter" in No. 311, and a *rajuka* in No. 229. The term *rajuka* or *rājuka* is known from the Aśoka edicts and from the *Kalpasūtra* of the Jainas, where, as Professor Jacobi has shown, it occurs in the form *rajjuya*, and is explained to mean 'a clerk or accountant,' what is now called in India a *karkun*.<sup>7</sup> The word is an abbreviation of *rajjugāhaka*, literally, a ropeholder and is an ancient name for a Revenue Settlement officer. *Rājālipikara* "a royal scribe" (I, Nos. 48, 49), apparently differs in meaning from *lekhaka* (I, No. 143), which latter means "a writer who copies manuscripts or copyist." Among the proper names there are various new ones, pointing to the worship of the *Nakshatras*, and a few like Ajarānī, *i.e.*, Ajirā or Durgā, indicating the existence of Paurāṇik worship.

There are fifteen new names of towns or villages mentioned as the homes of donors, but none of them occurs more than a few times. It would seem that the inhabitants of Arāpāna, Bhogavadhana, Kuraghara, Kurara, Madhuvana, Nandinagara Navagāma, Pokhara, Tumbavana, Ujjain and Vedisa defrayed nearly the whole expense of the ornaments of the two Stūpas, the lion's share falling to Ujjain, which is mentioned thirty-five times.

If we now turn to the three later inscriptions incised on the bases of statues which Dr. Führer has discovered, the first records the dedication of a statue of Buddha by Madhurikā, daughter of Khara or Vera in the Vibhāra of Dharmadeva during the reign of the [mahārāja] rājātirāja [deva]putra Shāhi Vāsushka. The name Vāsushka is new. But it looks as if it were formed of the first part of Vāsudeva and the last syllable of the names Kanishka and Huvishka, and one feels tempted to consider it as another name of the third Kushana king. If the first sign of the date is read, as Sir A. Cunningham, I think, correctly proposes, as 70, the identification of Vāsushka with Vāsudeva becomes quite unobjectionable; for the year 75 certainly falls within Vāsudeva's reign and the characters of the document fully agree with those of the inscriptions which bear his name. The inscription is unfortunately mutilated in the beginning of each line and the third line has almost entirely disappeared. What remains may be read as follows:—

L. 1. . . . . sya<sup>8</sup> rājātirājasya . . . putrasya<sup>9</sup> Shāh[i] Vāsushkasya<sup>10</sup>  
 sam [70]<sup>11</sup> 8 he 1 [di 5] [e]tasy[ām] [p]u[rv]v[āyām] bhagava—

<sup>7</sup> See my notes on the Pillar Edict IV, and the Rock Edict III, *infra*, and my article in the *Deutschen Morgenländischen Zeitschrift*, vol. XLVII, p. 466.

<sup>8</sup> Restore, as Sir A. Cunningham suggests, *Mahārāja*, or perhaps *Siddham mahārājasya*.

<sup>9</sup> Restore *devaputrasya*.

<sup>10</sup> I read this sign first as 20; Sir A. Cunningham, whom I consulted, suggested that it is a looped sign for 70. I agree to this, as the Mathurā Inscr. No. XX (*Epigr. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 214), which belongs to the same period, has a very similar sign. (See facsimile on the plate.)



- L. 2. . . . . sya<sup>13</sup> jambuchhâyâsailâgra . sya Dharmadevavihâre  
 pratishṭâpitâ<sup>6</sup> Kharasya<sup>13</sup> dhitare<sup>14</sup> Madhurikâ.  
 L. 3. . . . . [ṇa]m deyadharmā . . i. . . . .

The second novelty, which shows letters of the 8th or 9th century need not be transcribed, as it contains nothing but the Buddhist creed. The third inscription, which, as already stated, is in Nāgarī characters of the 9th or 10th century, originally consisted of a Sragdharā verse, of which only two Pādas are at present completely legible :—

- L. 1. Om Prâ—. âyushy ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ —  
 — ◡ — — [Ta]syākhyâyâḥ kilānte Sugatagunavritāḥ saṁsthito  
 bhadra. . . . .  
 L. 2. śavdaḥ [1]  
 o rā o ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — sam  
 sam— — dedharmoyam<sup>15</sup> k[ri]tasya pravarasukhakarajñānasam—  
 L. 3. . . . . prāptaye saḥ [11]

#### DONATIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM SANCHI.

##### TOPE I.

No. 124 = C. 2.

[वाडि\*]वहना भिक्षुनिना दानं [॥\*]<sup>16</sup>

The gift of the nuns from [Vāḍi]vahana.

No. 125 = C. 6.

वजिगुतस दानं [॥\*]<sup>17</sup>

The gift of Vajiguta (*Vajrigupta*).

No. 126 = C. 7.

देवभागाय [म]धुवनिक[रय] भिक्षुनिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Devabhâgâ, inhabitant of Madhuvana.

No. 127 = C. 8.

वाकलाये देविये अहिमितम[तु\* ॥\*]<sup>18</sup>

(The gift) of the Vâkalâ queen, the mother of Ahimita (*Ahimitra*).

<sup>11</sup> Probably to *sākyamunisya* to be restored.

<sup>12</sup> Read *pratishṭhâpitâ*.

<sup>13</sup> Or *Verasya*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *dhitarâ*.

<sup>15</sup> This seems to be a contraction of *deyadharmo*, made for the sake of the metre.

<sup>16</sup> Sir A. Cunningham has only *Hand bhichhuniya*. Dr.

Führer's impression shows a faint *va* before *hand*. The restoration is not doubtful, as *Vāḍivahana* is mentioned in Nos. 101, 116, and so forth.

<sup>17</sup> The letters are beautifully carved and about half a foot high. *Vajrin* may be,—Indra, a Buddha, or one of the *Viśve Devas*.

<sup>18</sup> Possibly वाकिजाये.



No. 128 = C. 10.

नगदिनस भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nagadina (*Nagadatta* or *Nāgadatta*), the monk.

No. 129 = C. 17.

सोणदेवाय [प]रिजय अगिदेवा[य च दानं] [॥\*]

The gift of Soṇadevā (*Suvarṇadevā*),<sup>19</sup> Parijā (?), and Agidevā (*Agnidevā*).

No. 130 = C. 18.

सुभगाय सभगिनिकाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Subhagā and her sister.

No. 131 = C. 21 (?).

पुसगिरिनो नाव[गा]मकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Pusagiri (*Pushyagiri*), inhabitant of Navagāma (*Navagrāma*).

No. 132 = C. 26.

ओद[र]तिकाये भिक्षुनि वेदिसिकया<sup>20</sup> दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Odātikā (*Avadātikā*), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 133 = C. 27.

यसोपालस दानं भद[त]कडि[य स] (?) [॥\*]

(The gift) of Yasopāla (*Yasāhpāla*), pupil of the venerable Kaḍa (?).

No. 134 = C. 28.

माहम[र]गिह्वा सीहगिरिनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sīhagiri (*Simhagiri*) from Māhamoragi.<sup>21</sup>

No. 135 = C. 29.

पुसस चहटियस भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Pusa (*Pushya*) the Chahaṭiya<sup>22</sup> monk.

No. 136 = C. 32.

[ग]हपतिनो बुधिलस दानं [न\* ॥\*]

The gift of the *gahapati* Buddhila (*Buddhila*).

No. 137 = C. 37.

अय[र]हिलस साफिनेयकस<sup>23</sup> मातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the mother of the venerable Rahila (?), the Sāphineyaka.

<sup>19</sup> *Suvarṇa*, i.e. the Gandharva of that name.

<sup>20</sup> Compare the note to II, No. 33.

<sup>21</sup> See *ante*, No. 77.

<sup>22</sup> Possibly "inhabitant of Chahaṭa."

<sup>23</sup> This might be read साडनेयकस, but below (in No. 161), the *फि* is distinct.



No. 138 = C. 42.

L. 1. नवगामका दिसारखि-

L. 2. तस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of DisArakhita<sup>24</sup> (*Disārahshita*) from Navagâmakā (*Navagrâma*).

No. 139 = C. 44.

पोठदेवाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Poṭhadevâ (*Proshṭhadevâ*).No. 140 = C. 45 (?)<sup>25</sup>.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेथिनो

L. 2. पञ्जावतिया नागाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nâgâ, the wife of the Sheth of Kamdaḍigâma (*°grâma*).

No. 141 = C. 46.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेथिनो

L. 2. पञ्जावतिय पुसाय दानं [॥]

The gift of Pusâ (*Pushyâ*), wife of the Sheth of Kamdaḍigâma.

No. 142 = C. 47.

कंदडिगामा वढस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vadha (*Vṛiddha*) from Kamdaḍigrâma.

No. 143 = C. 48.

मुलगिरिनो दानं लेखकस [॥\*]

The gift of Mulagiri (*Mūlagiri*), the copyist.

No. 144 = C. 49.

उजेनिय — — — —

From Ujjain . . . .

No. 145 = C. 50.

यखदिनस भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Yakhadina (*Yakshadatta*), the monk.

No. 146 = C. 51.

उजेनिया उपासिकाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of a female lay worshipper from Ujjain.

No. 147 = C. 53.

नावगामिकाना उपासिकाना दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the female lay worshippers of Navagâma (*°grâma*).<sup>24</sup> The deities meant here are the *disakh*, the nymphs of the quarters of the horizon.<sup>25</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is in one line. Hence this may be a different one.



No. 148 = C. 55.

उजेनिया रो[ह]णिय दानं [॥\*]<sup>26</sup>The gift of Rohaṇī (*Rohiṇī*) from Ujjain.

No. 149 = C. 56.

उजेनिया धमगिरिनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamagiri (*Dharma*<sup>o</sup>) from Ujjain.

No. 150 = C. 57.

उजेनिया सोनस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sona (*Suvarṇa*) from Ujjain.

No. 151 = C. 58.

उजेनिया तापसियानं [ह]सानजाय<sup>27</sup> दानं [॥]

The gift of Najā, the daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas, from Ujjain.

No. 152 = C. 59.

उजेया तापसियना इसिमितस दानं [॥\*]<sup>28</sup>The gift of Isimita (*Rishimitra*) of the Tāpasīyas from Ujjain.

No. 153 = C. 60.

उजेनिया मुलदतये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Muladatā (*Mūladattā*) from Ujjain.

No. 154 = C. 61.

उजेनिय बलकय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Balakā from Ujjain.

No. 155 = C. 62.

[उजे]निया ओपेददतस पजावतिय वयुदतय दानं [॥]

The gift of Vayudatā (*Vāyudattā*), wife of Opedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain.

No. 156 = C. 63.

उजेनिय उपेददतस भगिनिय हिमदताये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Himadatā (*Himadattā*), sister of Upedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain.

No. 157 = C. 64.

[उजे]निया उपेददतस भगिनिय बुधाये दानं [॥\*]<sup>29</sup>The gift of Budhā (*Buddhā*), sister of Upedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain.<sup>26</sup> The reverse shows clearly that the apparent u-stroke under ह is due to an accidental scratch.<sup>27</sup> The little horizontal stroke, denoting the ह is placed rather high up and detached from the vertical line.

Read उजेनिया.

Possibly बुधिये to be read.



No. 158 = C. 65.

उजेनिया काडिये भिङ्गनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Kādī (*Kāṇḍī*), from Ujjain.

No. 159 = C. 66.

उजेनिया छेतमातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the mother of Chheta (*Kshetra*), from Ujjain.

No. 160 = C. 67.

उजेनिया तापसियना सिंहदतये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Simhadatā<sup>30</sup> (*°dattā*) of the Tāpasiyas from Ujjain.

No. 161 = 68.

उजेनिया सफिनेयकाना इसिकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Isika (*Rishika*) of the Saphineyakas from Ujjain.

No. 162 = C. 69.

कुरघर इसिमितय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Isimita (*Rishimitrā*) from Kuraghara.

No. 163 = C. 70.

उजेनिया वा[सु]लाया दानं [॥\*]<sup>31</sup>

The gift of Vāsulā (?), from Ujjain.

No. 164 = C. 71.

कुरघरा नरय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Narā<sup>32</sup> from Kuraghara.

No. 165 = C. 72.

कुरघरा नगमितया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nagamitā (*Naga°* or *Nāgamitrā*), from Kuraghara.

No. 166 = C. 83.

अस्वदेवाय समिकस मातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Aśvadevā<sup>33</sup> (*Asvadevā*), mother of Samika (*Svāmika*).

No. 167 = C. 85.

सेथिनी मतु कनिय[सि]ये<sup>34</sup>— —(The gift) of Kaniyasī (*Kanīyasī*), the mother of the Sheth.<sup>30</sup> In this and similar compounds *Simha* may possibly stand for नरसिंह, shortened *bhāmāvat*.<sup>31</sup> Possibly विपुलाय to be read.<sup>32</sup> i.e. probably *Naradattā*.<sup>33</sup> In this and similar compounds अस्व probably stands *bhāmāvat* for अश्वयुज-<sup>34</sup> The vowel of सि is indistinct.



No. 168 = C. 88.

वसुलाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vasulā.

No. 169 = C. 89.

ईददतस पाविडकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Īdadata (*Indradatta*), inhabitant of Paviḍa.

No. 170 = C. 94.

कुजरस सेथिभातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Kujara (*Kuñjara*), the brother of the Sheth.

No. 171 = C. 96.

L. 1. —[सि]दताय सकदिन पजाव—

L. 2. —य दानं [॥\*]<sup>35</sup>The gift of Isidatā (*Rishidattā*), wife of Sakadina (*Sakradatta*).

No. 172 = C. 97.

भदगुतस सानुकगामीनस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Bhadaguta (*Bhadrugupta*), inhabitant of Sānukagāma (*°grāma*).

No. 173 = C. 98.

धरकिना सातिलस दानं [॥\*<sup>36</sup>]The gift of Sātīla (*Sāntīla* or *Svātīla*)<sup>37</sup> from Dharakinā (*Erakina* or *Erān*).

No. 174 = C. 106.

स[घा]य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Saghā (*Samghā*).No. 175 = C. 118.<sup>38</sup>

वाघुमता काचा— —

(The gift of) Kāchā . . . . . from Vāghumatu.

No. 176 = C. 119—21.

L. 1. समिकस वानिकस

L. 2. पुतस चस सिरिपालस

L. 3. दानं ३ [॥\*]

Three (*rails*)<sup>39</sup>, the gift of Samik a (*Svāmika*), the trader, and of his son Siripāla (*Śrīpāla*).<sup>35</sup> Restore इसिदताय and पजावतिय.<sup>36</sup> Probably धरकिना to be read.<sup>37</sup> Diminutive from *Sāntideva*, *Sāntivarman*, or *Svātīdatta*.<sup>38</sup> As the inscription is mutilated, its identity with C. 118 is not absolutely certain.<sup>39</sup> As Sir A. Cunningham (*The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 252) states, the three lines are carved on three different rails, which probably were given by the two persons named.



No. 177 = C. 122.

भादतराजुकस [दा]ना [॥\*]

The gift of Bhâdata-Râjuka (the venerable *Râjuka*)

No. 178 = C. 123.

विसाखस भिक्षुनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Visâkha (*Visâkha*).

No. 179 = C. 130.

नंदस कुररतो— —

(The gift) of Nânda from Kurara.

No. 180 = C. 132.

मधुव[ना] इ[सि]दतये भिक्षुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidatâ (*Rishidattâ*) from Madhuvana

No. 181 = C. 133.

[इ]सिदताये भिक्षुनिये कुररिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidatâ (*Rishidattâ*), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 182 = C. 134.

धमपालस कीथुकपदियस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamapâla (*Dharmapâla*), inhabitant of Kuthukapada.

No. 183 = C. 147.

नंदिनागारिकय इसिदिनाये भिक्षुनिये [॥\*]<sup>40</sup>(The gift) of the nun Isidinâ (*Rishidattâ*), inhabitant of Nâmdinagara.

No. 184 = C. 151.

अयधनकस भिक्षुनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk, the venerable Dhanaka.

No. 185 = C. 157.

धनगिरिगी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhanagiri.

No. 186 = C. 159.

L. 1. बलिकाये भिक्षुनिया मडलाच्चिक-

L. 2. टिकाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Balikâ, inhabitant of Madalachhikata.

<sup>40</sup> Or *Kothukapada*, i.e. either *Kunthuka* or *Kroshukapada* or *padra*.<sup>41</sup> Read नंदिनागरिक



No. 187 = C. 163.<sup>42</sup>

L. 1. भडिकियस

संघिलस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Saṃghila, a pupil of Bhaḍika.<sup>43</sup>

No. 188 = C. 164.

अरहतपालितस भि— — — — [॥\*]

(The gift) of the monk Arahatapālita (*Arhatpālita*).

No. 189 = C. 165.<sup>44</sup>

L. 1. अरहकस परि-

L. 2. पनकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Araḥaka (*Arhaka*), the Paripanaka.<sup>45</sup>

No. 190 = C. 166.

धमगिरिकमातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the mother of Dhamagiri (*Dharmagiri*).

No. 191 = C. 168.

सिधथस वि— — —

. . . . of Sidhatha (*Siddhārtha*) . . . . .

No. 192 = C. 169.

इसिदासिये नादिनागरिकाये भिक्कुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidâsî (*Rishidâsî*), inhabitant of Nāmdinagara.

No. 193 = C. 170.

नंदिनगरा दुपसहभिक्कुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Dupasahâ (*Dushprasahâ* ?) from Nāmdinagara.

No. 194 = C. 171.

यखदासिया दानं [भिक्कुनिया] [॥\*]

The gift of Yakhadâsî (*Yakshadâsî*), the nun.

No. 195 = C. 172.

दतकलिवतस दानं [॥\*]<sup>46</sup>

The gift of Datakalivāta (?)

<sup>42</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription has only one line and may be different.

<sup>43</sup> Compare No. 306.

<sup>44</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is given in one line and may be different.

<sup>45</sup> This possibly means an inhabitant of *Paripana*, i.e., *Pariparna* or *Paripāna* ?

<sup>46</sup> The inscription may be mutilated in the beginning.



No. 196 = C. 174.<sup>47</sup>

L. 1. दमकस सोति-

L. 2. कस कुसुकपितु

L. 3. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the weaver Damaka, father of Kusuka.

No. 197 = C. 179.<sup>48</sup>

L. 1. इसिपालीतस च

L. 2. समणस च दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Isipâlîta (*Rishipâlita*) and of Samana (*Śramaṇa*).

No. 198 = C. 186.

卐 वीरस भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Vîra.

No. 199 = C. 187=88.

L. 1. यखिय भिखुनिया वाळीव =

L. 2. 卐 हनिकाया दानं 卐

The gift of the nun Yakhî (*Yakshî*), inhabitant of Vâlîvahana.

No. 200 = C. 189.

वेदिसकेहि दंतकारेहि रूपकंमं कतं [॥\*]

The workers in ivory of Vedisa have done the carving.

No. 201 = C. 192.

कुरराय नागपायस अछावडे सेथिस पुतस च संघस [दा]नं [॥\*]<sup>49</sup>The gift of Nâgapiya (*°priya*) in Kurara, Sheth in Achhâvâḍa, and of (*his*) son Samgha.No. 202.<sup>50</sup>

अछावाटा चिरातिमातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Chirâtî (*Kirâtî*) from Achhâvâṭa (? *Ma°*).

No. 203.

अज[रा]निय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Ajarânî (*Ajird*).

No. 204.

[अ]ठकनगरस गगं[द]तस भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Gagandata (*Gaṅgadatta*), the monk, inhabitant of Aṭhakanagara.<sup>47</sup> There are four impressions bearing these letters. Though perfectly identical, they may yet belong to two different inscriptions.<sup>48</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is given in one line and may be different.<sup>49</sup> Read कुररिय नागपियस.<sup>50</sup> As there are four impressions with these letters, it is possible that they refer to two separate inscriptions.



No. 205.<sup>51</sup>

अप — यह दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Apa-yaha (?)

No. 206.

अपा[का]नया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Apâkânî.

No. 207.

अयकनस भिक्षुनो दानं अयभंडुकियस [॥\*]

The gift of the venerable Kana, pupil of the venerable Bhamḍuka.<sup>52</sup>

No. 208.

अयजे[त]स भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk, the venerable Jeta (*Jayanta*).

No. 209.

L. 1. अयफगुनस साधिविहारिनो

L. 2. खेमकम भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Khemaka (*Kshemaka*), the fellow-wanderer of the venerable Phaguna (*Phalguna*).

No. 210.

अरपना असाडस दा[नं]व— —

The gift of Asâḍa (*Ashâḍha*) . . . from Arapana.

No. 211.

अरपना पदा— — —

From Arapana . . . . .

No. 212.

[अ]रपानिया सिहय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sihâ (*Simhâ*), inhabitant of Arapâna.

No. 213.

असगुतस दानं [॥ ]

The gift of Asaguta (*Āsvagupta*).

No. 214.

असभये उजेनिकाये भिक्षुनिये दान [॥\*]

The gift of Asabhâ, a nun of Ujjain.

No. 215.

[अ]स्ववतिय गामस — —

(*The gift*) of the village of Asvavatî (*Āsvavatî*).

<sup>51</sup> Incised on the procession path.

<sup>52</sup> See *ante*, p. 98, No. 16, and below No. 256.



No. 216.

L. 1. इसिदसिये नादिनागरिकाये भिक्षु[निये]

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]<sup>53</sup>The gift of Isidasî (*Rishidâsî*), a nun of Nandinagara.

No. 217.

L. 1. इसिनदनस दानं [॥\*]

L. 2. [पु]अवढनियस [॥\*]

The gift of Isinadana (*Rishinandana*), inhabitant of Puñavaḍhana (*Punyavar-dhana*).

No. 218.

इसिरखितस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Isirakhita (*Rishirakshita*).

No. 219.

उजेनिये अस्वरखिताये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Asvarakhitâ (*Āśvarakṣhitâ*) in Ujjain.

No. 220.

उजेनाया उपसिकाये सिरिकाये दानं [॥\*]<sup>54</sup>The gift of the lay worshipper Sirikâ (*Śrīkā*) from Ujjain.No. 221.<sup>55</sup>

उजेनिया ओपेददतस पजावतिय वा[यु]दताय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vâyudatâ, wife of Opedadata (*Upendradatta*) from Ujjain.

No. 222.

L. 1. [\*उ]जेनिय कलुरप-

L. 2. तस बुमुस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Bumu, son of Kalura, from Ujjain.

No. 223.

L. 1. डजेनिया तापसिया-

L. 2. नं — — — धम

L. 3. [दता]य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamadatâ (*Dharmadattâ*) . . . of the Tâpasiyas from Ujjain.

No. 224.

[उ<sup>x</sup>]जेनिया धमयसाया मतु भिक्षुनिया दा[न\* ॥\*]The gift of the mother of the nun Dhamayasâ (*Dharmayaśas*) from Ujjain.<sup>53</sup> This is identical in words with No. 192 (C. 169), which however is in one line.<sup>54</sup> Read उजेनिया.<sup>55</sup> This is identical in words, but not in spelling, with No. 155 (C. 62).



No. 225.

L. 1. उजेनिया बलिकाया

L. 2. मातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the mother of Balikâ from Ujjain.

No. 226.

उजेनिये मितये भिक्षु — — — —

(The gift) of the nun Mitâ (*Mitrâ*) in Ujjain.

No. 227.

उजेनिया वसुलय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vasulâ from Ujjain.

No. 228.

उजेनिया संघदत्तस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Saṃghadatta (°*datta*) from Ujjain.

No. 229.

उजेनिया सुलासस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sulâsa from Ujjain.

No. 230.

उतरस रज्जुकस दानं [॥\*]<sup>60</sup>The gift of Utara (*Uttara*), the *Rajuka*.

No. 231.

एजावतिय उ[पा]सिकाना — —

(The gift) of the female lay worshippers from Ejâvatî.

No. 232.

एजावतिया वाहिलस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vâhila from Ejâvatî.

No. 233.

कटकजु[य]कस [ई\*]ददेवस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Îdadeva (*Indradeva*), inhabitant of Kaṭakañu.

No. 234.

कटकजुया अरहस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Araha (*Arhat*) from Kaṭakañu.

No. 235.

कटकजुया ध — — —

From Kaṭakañu . . . . .

<sup>60</sup> See facsimile on the plate.



No. 236.

कंदडिगामा सेथि — —

From Kamdaḍigāma (*grāma*), of the Sheth . . . .

No. 237.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेठिनो

L. 2. पजावतिया देवभागाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Devabhāgā, wife of the Sheth of Kamdaḍigāma (*grāma*).

No. 238.

L. 1. काणस भिकुनो

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Kāṇa.

No. 239.<sup>57</sup>

कुरघरा घोसकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Ghosaka (*Ghoshaka*) from Kuraghara.

No. 240.

कुरघरा नगमिताय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nagamitā (*Naga* or *Nāgamitrā*) from Kuraghara.

No. 241.

L. 1. [कु]र घरिय स[र ति]सिरिय

L. 2. —खुनि — — —<sup>58</sup>(The gift) of the nun Sātisiri (*Śāntisīrī* or *Svātisīrī*), inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 242.

L. 1. कुररातो अरहगुतस

L. 2. दान [॥\*]

The gift of Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*) from Kurara.No. 243.<sup>59</sup>

L. 1. कुररातो अरह[गु]तस

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

No. 244.

L. 1. कुरराय अछावतिय

L. 2. भिखुनिय दानं [॥\*]<sup>60</sup>The gift of the nun Achhāvati (*Rikshavati*) in Kurara.<sup>57</sup> There are two illegible lines above that given here.<sup>58</sup> Restore भिखुनिय दानं.<sup>59</sup> The inscription is identical in words with the preceding, but the last three letters of line 1 are almost destroyed and the spelling differs.<sup>60</sup> It is not impossible that the कुरराय in this inscription and in Nos. 241 and 244 is meant for कुररिय.



No. 245.

कुरराय णागादिनाय दानं [॥\*]<sup>61</sup>

The gift of Nāgādina (Nāgadattā) in Kurara.

No. 246.

कुरराय धमकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamaka (Dharmaka) in Kurara.

No. 247.

कुरराय वल — — — —

No. 248.

L. 1. कुरराय सघारखिताया<sup>62</sup>

L. 2. भिखुनिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Saghâarakhitā (Samgharakshitā) in Kurara.

No. 249.

कुररिय अरहगुता [य दा]—

The gift of Arahagutā (Arhadguptā), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 250.

कुर[रि]य [अर]हदिनाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Arahadinā (Arhaddattā), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 251.

[कु]ररियस सघा — — — —

No. 252.

L. 1. गडाय भिखुन-

L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Gadā (Gaṇḍā?).

No. 253.

गड[र]या भिखुनिया वेदिसिकाया दा[नं\* ॥\*]

The gift of the nun Gadā (Gaṇḍā?), inhabitant of Vedisa.

No. 254.

. . गिरिकस पजावतिया—लिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of . . tî, wife of Girika.

No. 255.

गोतमिये ऋसिनिका — — — —<sup>63</sup>

(The gift) of Isinikā (Rishikā), the Gotamî (Gautamî).

<sup>61</sup> Read णाग.

<sup>62</sup> Read सघर.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>63</sup> There are four impressions, which seem to refer to the same inscription.



No. 256.

गोतिपुत्रस भडुकस भिडुनो दानं [॥\*]<sup>64</sup>The gift of the monk Bhaduka, son of the Goti (*Gaupti* mother).No. 257.<sup>65</sup>

जितमितय दनं [॥]

The gift of Jitamitâ (*Jitâmitra*).No. 258.<sup>66</sup>

जोङ्कस भिडुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Jonhaka (*Jyotsnakâ*).

No. 259.

ताकारापदा संघरखितस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Samgharakhita (*°rakshita*) from Tâkârâpada.

No. 260.

तापसस गोनंदकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the ascetic Gonamda.

No. 261.

तिरिडपदा नागाया उपासिकाय [द]नं [॥\*]

The gift of the female lay worshipper Nâgâ from Tiridapada.

No. 262.

तिसस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Tisa (*Tishya*).

No. 263.

तुडस फुजाकप[लि]यस दानं [॥\*]<sup>67</sup>The gift of Tuda (*Tunda*), inhabitant of Phujâkapallî (?).No. 264.<sup>68</sup>

तुंबवना गहपतिनो पतिठियस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of *Gahapati* Patithiya (*Pratishthita*) from Tumbavana.<sup>69</sup>

No. 265.

तुम्बवना गहपतिनो पतिठियस भातु [जा]याय ध[जा]य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhañâ (*Dhanyâ*), wife of the brother of the *gahapati* Patithiya (*Pratishthita*) from Tumbavana.<sup>69</sup><sup>64</sup> This is identical in words with the inscription No. 16 (*ante*, p. 98), which however has three lines, see facsimile.<sup>65</sup> See facsimile.<sup>66</sup> Identical in words (but not in the size of the letters) with No. 75, *ante*, p. 105.<sup>67</sup> The consonant of the bracketed syllable is very doubtful.<sup>68</sup> Identical in words with No. 23, *ante*, p. 99.<sup>69</sup> *Tumbavana* occurs in Hemachandra's *Parishista Parvan*. (see Professor Jacobi's Introduction, p. 71).



No. 266.

थेरस अयनागस भिक्कुनो उजेनिकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the *Thera*, the venerable Nāga, a monk of Ujjain.

No. 267.

L. 1. दताये भिक्कुनिया म — — िकटिकाये<sup>70</sup>

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Datā (*Dattā*), inhabitant of [Maḍalachh]ikaṭa.

No. 268.

देवरखितस मोरजहकटियस भिक्कुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Devarakhita (*°rakshita*), inhabitant of Morajahakāṭa.

No. 269.

धनगिरिनो [चडि]पियस<sup>71</sup> च भिक्कुनं दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monks Dhanagiri and Chaḍīpiya (*Chaṇḍīpriya*?).

No. 270.

L. 1. धमकस वेजजक-

L. 2. स दन [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamaka (*Dharmaka*), inhabitant of Vejaja.

No. 271.

धमगिरिनो च धमसेनस च दा[नं] [॥\*]

The gift both of Dhamagiri (*Dharma°*) and of Dhamasena (*Dharma°*).

No. 272.

धमदिनाये दान [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamadinā (*Dharmadattā*).

No. 273.

L. 1. धंमपालस

L. 2. म[हि]पालस<sup>72</sup> दान [॥\*]

The gift of Dhammapāla (*Dharma° and*) of Mahipāla.

No. 274.

L. 1. धमरखितस

L. 2. — रकरकस दानं [॥\*]

The Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*), inhabitant of —rakara(?).

No. 275.

धमरखिताय मधुवनिकाये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshitā*), inhabitant of Madhuvana.

<sup>70</sup> Restore मडल्लिकटिकाये

<sup>71</sup> This may also be intended for चडिपियस or चडि

<sup>72</sup> The second vowel has been obliterated.



No. 276.

L. 1. धमु — — —

L. 2. कुलस द[न ॥\*]<sup>73</sup>The gift of the family of Dhamu[tara] (*Dharmottara*).

No. 277.

L. 1. नदिनगर अचल—

L. 2. भिक्षुनिय दा[नं ॥\*]

The gift of the nun Achalâ from Nadinagara (*Nandi*°).

No. 278.

L. 1. नंदिनगरा अम[ग य]

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Amagâ (*Amatâ*, i.e., *Amṛitâ* ?) from Namdinagara.

No. 279.

L. 1. नंदिनगर[र] उत्तरदत्तय

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]<sup>74</sup>The gift of Utaradatâ (*Uttaradattâ*) from Namdinagara.

No. 280.

नंदिनगर [उत्तर]मितय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Utaramitâ (*Uttaramitrâ*) from Namdinagara.

No. 281.

L. 1. [नं]दिनगर उपास-

L. 2. [कस] यमदस दन [॥\*]<sup>75</sup>The gift of the lay worshipper Yamada[ta] (*°datta*) from Namdinagara.

No. 282.

L. 1. नदिनगर रोहणदेव-

L. 2. य [दा]नं [॥\*]

The gift of Rohanadevâ (*Rohinîdevâ*) from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 283.

न[दु]तरय दनं वे[दि]सिकय भिक्षुनिया

The gift of Namdutarâ (? *Nandottarâ*), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 284.

L. 1. नागदत्तस सघरखितस च कोरघरानं

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]<sup>76</sup>The gift of Nâgadatta (*°datta*) and Sagharakhita (*Saṅgharakṣita*), inhabitants of Kuraghara.<sup>73</sup> Probably धमुतरस to be restored.<sup>74</sup> Above the first syllable stands another न.<sup>75</sup> Read यमदत्तस<sup>76</sup> This inscription has to be read from below, see *ante*, p. 107, No. 93.



No. 285.<sup>77</sup>

ना[गिल]स सेठिनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of *Sheth Nâgila*.

No. 286.

नाटिय भिखुनिय [को]रघरिय द[नं ॥\*]

The gift of the nun *Nâtî*, inhabitant of *Kuraghara*.

No. 287

नादिनगर काबीज -

स भिक्कुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk *Kâboja* (*Kâamboja*) from *Nâdinagara* (*Nandi°*).

No. 288.<sup>78</sup>

L. 1. पंथकस भिक्कुनो उ[भे]यका — —

L. 2. बूधपालीतस भिक्कुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk *Pamthaka* (*Pânthaka*) . . . . (and) of the monk *Bûdhapâlîta* (*Buddhapâlita*).

No. 289.

[पा]तिठानस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of *Pâtithâna*.

No. 290.

पुरुविडा दिसागिरिपुतानं दा[नं ॥\*]

The gift of the sons of *Disâgiri*<sup>79</sup> (*Disâgiri*) from *Puruviḍa*.

No. 291.

पुसकस दन [॥\*]

The gift of *Pusaka* (*Pushyaka*).

No. 292.

पुसदतस नवगमकियस दन [॥\*]

The gift of *Pusadata* (*Pushyadatta*), inhabitant of *Navagâma* (*°grâma*).

No. 293.

पेमुतिकाय सुपठामाये भिक्कुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun *Supathâmâ* (*Suprasthâmâ* ?), inhabitant of *Pemuta*.

No. 294.

[पो\*]खरातो इसिदताय लेवस पजावतिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of *Isidatâ* (*Rishidattâ*), the wife of *Leva* from *Pokhara* (*Pushkara*).

<sup>77</sup> See facsimile.

<sup>78</sup> Given among the facsimiles.

<sup>79</sup> See above, note 24 to No. 138.



No. 295.

पोखरातो इसिदताय दानं — — — — —

The gift of Isidatā from Pokhara . . . . .

No. 296.

[\*पो]खरातो तुडाया तुडस च दानं ले — — — — —

The gift of Tudā and Tuda (*Tundā*) . . . from Pokhara.

No. 297.

पोखरा संघ[खि]स<sup>80</sup> दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Saṃgha[ra]khi[ta] from Pokhara.

No. 298.

पोडविभक्तस इसिदिनस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Isidina (*Rishidatta*), inhabitant of Poḍavijha.<sup>81</sup>

No. 299.

बधकस भिक्षुनो को[डि]जिलकस — —

(The gift) of the monk Badhaka (*Baddhaka*),<sup>82</sup> inhabitant of Koḍijila.

No. 300.

L. 1. बलदताया चुड[फ]

L. 2. लगिरियाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Baladatā (*°dattā*), inhabitant of Chuḍaphalagiri (*Kshudra*°).

No. 301.

[बो]हु सुलपितु<sup>83</sup> दनं [॥\*]The gift of Bohu (*Bhoddhri* ?), the father of Mula (*Mūla*).

No. 302.

बुधरखितस [दानं] [॥\*]

The gift of Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*).

No. 303.

बुधरखितस [भिक्षुनो च]य भंडुकियस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*pupil*) of the venerable Bhaṇḍuka.

No. 304.

L. 1. बुधरखताय भिक्षु —

L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Budharakhatā (*Buddharakshita*).<sup>80</sup> Read संघरखितस.<sup>81</sup> Professor Jacobi suggests that this may be derived from a Sanskrit compound पुराडविन्या.<sup>82</sup> This may be a misspelling for बोधक or बधक.<sup>83</sup> Perhaps meant for बुहुसुलपित. See the facsimile.



No. 305.

बोधिया दान [॥\*]

The gift of Bodhi.

No. 306.

L. 1. भडिकस भिखुनो

L. 2. कुरघरा-

L. 3. स दानं ]॥\*]<sup>84</sup>

The gift of the monk Bhadika, inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 307.

भड — — — खुनो कोरघरस दन [॥\*]<sup>85</sup>

The gift of [*the monk*] Bhad[ika], inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 308.

भडुनो पजावतिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the wife of Bhadu (*Bhandu*).

No. 309.

[भो]गवढना धञिकाय — —

(*The gift*) of Dhañikā (*Dhanyakā*) from Bhogavadhana (*vardhana*).

No. 310.

मछवटा नादिनिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nādinī (*Nandini*) from Machhavata (*Matsyavarta*).

No. 311.

मनोरमस वडकिनी ओ — — — —

(*The gift*) of the carpenter<sup>86</sup> Manorama . . . . .

No. 312.

महानामस

Of Mahānāman.

No. 313.

माहसतिय अरिहदताये दानं [॥\*]<sup>87</sup>

The gift of Arihadatā (*Arhaddattā*) from Māhasati (*Māhishmatī*).

No. 314.

माहिसतिय जि — — — स दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Ji . . . . from Māhishmatī (*Māhishmatī*).

<sup>84</sup> Probably कुरघरियस to be read.

<sup>85</sup> Restore भडिकस भिखुनो.

<sup>86</sup> I take *vaḍakino* to stand for *vaḍḍhakino*, just as we have in No. 210 *Asāḍasa* for *Asāḍha*.

<sup>87</sup> Meant for माहिसतिय; the blurred letters of the inscription might be taken to represent माहिसतिय.



No. 315.

मितसिरिया दानं भिखुनिया कोररिया [॥\*]

The gift of Mitasiri (*Mitraśrī*), a nun of Kurara.

No. 316.

यखिय भिखुनिये वेदिसा दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Yakhî (*Yakshî*) from Vedisa.

No. 317.

रतिनय<sup>88</sup> माहिसतिय दानं [॥\*]The gift of Ratina from Mâhisati (*Mâhishmatî*).

No. 318.

L. 1. रेबिलस नंदिनगारकस<sup>89</sup>

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Rebila,<sup>90</sup> inhabitant of Namdinagara.

No. 319.

L. 1. रेवतिमिताय बलक-

L. 2. स पजावति[या दा]नं [॥\*]

The gift of Revatimitâ (*Revatîmitrâ*), wife of Balaka.

No. 320.

L. 1. वजिनिय भिखुनिया

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Vajinî (*Vajrinî*).

Nos. 321-22.

L. 1. वरदतस दानं

L. 2. भगिनिया वरसेनाय

L. 3. दानं

The gift of Varadata (*°datta*); the gift of (*his*) sister Varasenâ.

No. 323.

L. 1. वरदतस पजावतिय

L. 2. इसलय<sup>91</sup> दानं [॥\*]The gift of Isalâ (*Rishilâ*), wife of Varadata (*Varadatta*).<sup>88</sup> Meant for रतिनिय, diminutive from रति or रत्न.<sup>89</sup> Probably meant for नंदिनगारकसः<sup>90</sup> This probably stands for *Rebhila*, like *Asâda* (No. 210) for *Asâdha*.<sup>91</sup> Meant for इसिषाय.



No. 324.

L. 1. वरदतस पजवतया

L. 2. रोहाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Rohâ, wife of Varadata (°datta).

No. 325.

वरुणस दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Varuna.

No. 326.

L. 1. [व]सुमिताय भि-

L. 2. कुनिय [दानं]

L. 3. उजेनिकय

The gift of Vasumitâ (°mitrâ), a nun of Ujjain.

No. 327.

वसुलाय दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Vasulâ.

No. 328.

वाडीवहनातो ओडकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Oḍaka (*Ādraka*) from Vâḍīvahana.

No. 329.

वासवये नंदिनगरा भिक्षुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vâsavâ, a nun from Nandīnagara.

No. 330.

L. 1. [वि]तिरिञ्जय भुत-

L. 2. रखितस दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Bhutarakhita (*Bhâtâarakshita*) from Vitiriñahâ(?).

No. 331.

L. 1. वितिरिनहिय महि-

L. 2. रखितस दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Mahirakhita (*Mahîrakshita*) from Vitirinahî(?).

No. 332.

L. 1. बिपुलाय कापासिगा—

L. 2. मतू भिक्षुनिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vipulâ, a nun from Kâpâsigâma (°grâma).



No. 333.

विरोहकट घरिनिये [सि]भाये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sijhâ (*Śaikhsā*), a house-wife from Virohakata.

No. 334.

विखाखरखितस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Visâkharakhita (*Visâkharakshita*).

No. 335.

विसखरखितस भिक्खुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Visakharakhita (*Visâkharakshita*).

No. 336.

वीरसेनाये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Virasenâ.

No. 337.

वी[राये] भिक्खुनिया तीववनिकाय दानं

The gift of Vîrâ(?), a nun of Tumbavana.

No. 338.

वेदिसा अरहतरखित — दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Arahatarakhita (*Arhadrakshita*) from Vedisa.

No. 339.

वेदस<sup>१२</sup> दतस कलवडस दानं [॥\*]

No. 340.

वेदिस दतस कलवडस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Data (*Datta*) Kalavaḍa from Vedisa.

No. 341.

वेदिसा मोहिकाये भिक्खुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Mohikâ from Vedisa.

No. 342.

सकरखितस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sakarakhita (*Sakrarakshita*).

No. 343.

संघरखिताय कोरमिकाय भिक्खुनिया [दने] [॥\*]

The gift of Saṃgharakhitâ (*°rakshitā*), a nun of Kurama.<sup>१२</sup> Meant for वेदिसा.



No. 344.

संघायि — — — —

Of Saṃghā.

No. 345.

संघायदासकमातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Saṃghā, mother of Dāsaka.

No. 346.

सतिगुतस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Satiguta (*Saktigupta* or *Svātigupta*).

No. 347.

L. 1. समणस भिक्खुनो अयुतरस अतेवसिनो

L. 2. दानं [॥+]

The gift of the monk Samana (*Śramaṇa*), pupil of the venerable Utara (*Uttara*).

No. 348.

समिकस अयनगस अतेवसिनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Samika (*Svāmika*), pupil of the venerable Naga (*Nāga*).

No. 349.

L. 1. समिकस वनि[क]स

L. 2. पुतस च सी[हदे]व-

L. 3. स [दा]नं [॥\*]

The gift of the trader Samika (*Svāmika*) and of (his) son Sīhadeva (*Śimha*°).

No. 350.

समिकया भिक्खुनि-

L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Samikā (*Svāmikā*).

No. 351.

सामिकाय भिक्खुनिया दानं

The gift of the nun Sāmikā (*Svāmikā*).

No. 352.

[सा\*]मिदतस भिक्खुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk [Sā]midata (*Svāmidatta*).

No. 353.

सिरिदिनाय भिक्खुनया नादिनागरिकाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Siridinā (*Śrīdattā*) of Nandinagara.



No. 354.

सिरिभागस संबु — — —

Of Siribhāga (*Śrībhāga*) . . . . .

No. 355.

सिरिमिताया नादिना[ग]रिकाय भिडुनिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Sirimitā (*Śrimitrā*) of Nandinagara.

No. 356.

सिरिया भिडुनिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Siri (*Śrī*).

No. 357.

सिवतिये

Of Sivati.

No. 358.

सिहय<sup>93</sup>Of Sihā (*Simhā*).

No. 359.

L. 1. सिहाय देवदताय

L. 2. च दानं [कु]रघरा भिडु-

L. 3. निनं [॥\*]

The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*) and Devadatā (*°dattā*), nuns from Kuraghara.

No. 360.

सिहाय समातिकय वजिनिकय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*), *Samātikā*<sup>94</sup> (*Samāptikā* ?) (*and*), *Vajjānikā* (*Vajrinikā*).

No. 361.

सुबाहितस पजाव[तिय]<sup>95</sup> — — —

Of the wife of Subāhita . . . . .

No. 362:

L. 1. सुरियय बुधदेवय पेमतिक-

L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Suriya (*Sūryā and*), Buddhadevā (*Buddha*<sup>96</sup>) of Pemata.

<sup>93</sup> Incised on the procession path and surrounded by four sacred symbols, among which that on the right hand looks like a large म. See facsimile on the plate.

<sup>94</sup> Possibly *samātikāya* may stand for *samātrikāya* and be intended to indicate that *Vajjānikā* was the mother of *Sihā*. If so, the construction is of course ungrammatical.

<sup>95</sup> Compare No. 48, *ante*, p. 102.



No. 363.

L. 1. सुरियाय भिक्षु-

L. 2. निया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Suriya (*Sūryā*).

No. 364.

L. 1. सेतपथियस

L. 2. योनस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Yona (*Yavana*), inhabitant of Setapatha (*Śveta*<sup>96</sup>).

No. 365.

L. 1. हालाय दक्षिणाजि-

L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Hālā, the Southern (?).<sup>96</sup>

No. 366.

— — — — कस अजितिगुतकुलस — —<sup>97</sup>

No. 367.

[स]ककळ अस्सवे[वाय\*] — —

No. 368.

लेवस [भि ?] — — —

No. 369.

— — — — [सतिनो] [?] कुररस दानं [॥\*]

No. 370.

— — — — नागिलस दानं [॥\*]

No. 371.

L. 1. — — — — तय एजावति[य]

L. 2. पू — न

No. 372.

— — डस दान सपजावतिकस [॥\*]

No. 373.

— — — स कुथुपदकस [दानं]? [॥\*]

No. 374.

L. 1. — — — — रा संघपालि[ताय\*]

L. 2. भिक्षुनिय दा[नं] [॥\*]

<sup>96</sup> The explanation of दक्षिणाजी by दाक्षिणात्या is, of course, merely tentative.

<sup>97</sup> On the analogy of Gujarāṭī *Vikamājit* for *Vikramāditya*, *Ajitiguta* may stand for *Aditigupta*.



No. 375.

L. 2. — — — य सुभगाय पुसाय नागदतस सघरखितस कोरघ[रका][ना?]

L. 1. दानं [॥\*]<sup>98</sup>

The gift of : . . . Subhagâ, Pusâ (*Pushyâ*) Nâgadata (*°datta*) Sagharakhita (*Samgharakshita*), inhabitants of Kuraghara.

No. 376.

— — — — उत्[राय] द — — —

No. 377.<sup>99</sup>

L. 1. [यो] इतो काकणा — तो तोरण वा वेदिक वा

L. 2. उपादेया उपादा — — या वा आनं वा (vâ) आचरियकु —

L. 3. संकामेय सो म — — — तिन पितिघा — न

L. 4. अरहंतघातिन — — — — — [म मो]

L. 5. [कम] उपायकान — — — — — [स पापा]

L. 6. [कर] न सेव — — — — —

He who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kâkanâ[va] an ornamental arch or rail, or causes it to be transferred<sup>1</sup> to another temple of the teacher [*shall incur the guilt*] of murderers of mothers, of murderers of fathers, of murderers of Arhats . . . . .

No. 378.<sup>2</sup>

यभो ५ पं[चा]नगरियकारकान [ग]त गच्छेय यो इतो काकणावातो से[ल]कमे उपादे]य\*

[उपा]दापेय वा

अनं वा आचरियकुलं संकामेया तस ते पातका भवेयु [॥]

A pillar (*the gift*) of the workmen, inhabitants of Pañchânagara (?) . . . . . on him, who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kâkanâva the stonework or causes it to be transferred to another temple of the teacher, shall fall (*the guilt*) of those mortal sins.

TOPE II.

No. 22 = C. 1.

नागिलस दानं अयस अंतेवासिनी [॥\*]

The gift of Nâgila, the pupil of Aya (*Arya*).

No. 23 = C. 2.

धमरखितस सेभस कु — —

. . . of Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*), the pupil.

<sup>98</sup> The inscriptions must be read from below.

<sup>99</sup> Identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 183. There is a large abrasion in the centre, and the right sides of lines 1-4 have been somewhat defaced by a large diagram which has been carved over them. Restore l. 1 काकणावातो; l. 2. उपादापेया आचरियकुल, l. 3 माताघातिन पितिघातिन. All the bracketed signs are indistinct and their vowels doubtful. See facsimile on the plate.

<sup>1</sup> This explanation, which requires संकामेया to be taken in the sense of संकामयेया, has been suggested to me by Professor Jacobi. With आचरियकुल in the sense of 'temple of the teacher,' compare दीवकुल.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription, which may be identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 195, is incised on a long band. See facsimile.



No. 24 = C. 7.

सघमितस भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Saghamita (*Samghamitra*).

No. 25 = C. 8.

बुधपालितस सेठिनो पङ्कुलिकियस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sheth Budhapâlita (*Buddha*), inhabitant of Paṇḍukulikâ (*Pāṇḍukulikâ*).<sup>3</sup>

No. 26 = C. 15.

L. 1. बलाय कोररिये भिखु-

L. 2. नित्ये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Valâ, inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 27 = C. 19.

L. 1. बलकस अयस अरहगुतस सासा-

दकस अतेवासिनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Balaka, the pupil of the venerable Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*), inhabitant of Sâsâda.

No. 28 = C. 21.

मुलाया दान यमो गडाय अतेवासिनिया [॥\*]

A pillar, the gift of Mulâ (*Mûlâ*), the pupil of Gaḍâ.

No. 29 = C. 22.

L. 1. सघरखिताया मातु — — कडिकाया<sup>4</sup>

L. 2. इसिदासिया भिखुनिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidâsî (*Rishidâsî*), inhabitant of — — kaḍa, mother of Sagharakhitâ (*Samgharakshitâ*).

No. 30 = C. 23.

अयस बुधरखितस पोखरेयकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the venerable Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).

No. 31 = C. 26.

सिदकाडा टिकिसस दानं [॥\*]<sup>5</sup>

The gift of Tikisa (?) from Sidakaḍa.

No. 32 = C. 27.

— य सिदकाडिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of . . . i, inhabitant of Sidakâḍa.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 110, No. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The syllable *yā* stands in l. 2 after दान.

<sup>5</sup> The letters *ḍa* and *ka* look rather modern, the *ḍa* is of the Andhra type.



No. 33 = C. 28.

बुधपालिता सिदकडियाय दानं [॥\*]<sup>6</sup>The gift of Budhapâlîtâ (*Buddhâ*°), inhabitant of Sidakada.

No. 34 = C. 29.

सदकडियाय गोलाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Golâ (*Godâvarî*), inhabitant of Sadakada (*Sidakada*).

No. 35 = C. 31.

बुधगुताय सेदकडिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Budhagutâ (*Buddhaguptâ*), inhabitant of Sidakada.

No. 36 = C. 34.

अरहकस भिक्षुनो भाणकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Arahaka (*Arhat*), a preacher.

No. 37 = C. 35.

बहुलस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Bahula.

No. 38 = C. 39.

नागरखितस भिक्षुनो पोखरेयकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Nâgarakhita (*rakshita*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).

No. 39 = C. 40.

L. 1. सघरखितस भिक्षुनो दानं कीरर-

L. 2. स [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Sagharakhita (*Samgharakshita*), an inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 40 = C. 43.

ओडिय भिक्षुनिय यमो दानं [॥\*]

A pillar, the gift of the nun Oḍi.

No. 41.

अयस पोखरेयकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Aya (*Āya*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).

No. 42.

असदेवाय भिक्षुनिय द[१]नं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Asadevâ (*Āsvadevâ*).

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be one of the cases where only one of two words standing in the same case is inflected—see also above, I, No. 132.



No. 43.

L. 1. आजनावा आवासि-

L. 2. कस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Âvāsika from Âjanâva.

No. 44.

इसिदतय भिक्षुनिय दन [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidata (Rishidatta).

No. 45.

इददतस उपसकस दन [॥\*]<sup>7</sup>

The gift of the layman Îdadata (Indradatta).

No. 46.

गंधारस भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]<sup>8</sup>

The gift of the monk Gamdhâra.

No. 47.

गोतमिया भिक्षुनिया दनां [॥\*]<sup>9</sup>

The gift of the nun Gotamî (Gautamî).

No. 48.

चिरतिय भिक्षुनिय दयं [॥\*]<sup>10</sup>

The gift of the nun Chirati (Kirâtî).

No. 49.

चुं[व]मोरगिरिनो गामस द[॥]न [॥\*]<sup>11</sup>

The gift of the village of Chumvamoragiri (?)

No. 50.

दानं मोरयहिकटियस [॥\*]

The gift of the inhabitant of Morayahikata.

No. 51.

L. 1. धमरसिरिय उपसिक-

L. 2. य दन [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamarasiri (Dharmaśrî ?),<sup>12</sup> a lay worshipper.

<sup>7</sup> The letters are somewhat blurred.

<sup>8</sup> The letters are blurred and only just recognisable.

<sup>9</sup> The *u*-stroke of *khu* is very faint, and there is also an *d*-stroke at the top, which seems to have been afterwards obliterated.

<sup>10</sup> Read दानं

<sup>11</sup> The second sign is abnormal. I suspect that चुडमोरगिरिनी is intended.

<sup>12</sup> This is probably intended for धर्मसिरिय; compare धम्मपत्ति in the Mathurâ inscriptions, —*ante*, p. 210, No. 37.



No. 52.

[ध]मसेनस भिखुनो दन [॥\*]<sup>13</sup>The gift of the monk *Dhamasena* (*Dharma*<sup>o</sup>).

No. 53.

L. 1. नदिनगरा

L. 2. असदवय भिखुय दन [॥\*]<sup>14</sup>The gift of the nun *Asadava* (*Āśvadevā*), from *Nadinagara* (*Nandinagara*).

No. 54.

L. 1. नदिनगरा

L. 2. — िमितय भिखुनय दनं [॥\*]<sup>15</sup>The gift of the nun . . imitā from *Nadinagara* (*Nandinagara*).

No. 55.

न[दु]कस भिखुनो दन [॥\*]<sup>16</sup>The gift of the monk *Namduka*.

No. 56.

पलस भिखुनो दन [॥\*]<sup>17</sup>The gift of the monk *Pala* (*Pāla*).

No. 57.

L. 1. ब[ध]कस कुररस भिखु—

L. 2. दनं [॥\*]<sup>18</sup>The gift of the *Badhaka* (?) (*Baddhaka*), a monk of *Kurara*.

No. 58.

बु[ध]गु[त]स उदुबरघरियस [दा]न [॥\*]

The gift of *Budhaguta* (*Buddhagupta*), inhabitant of *Udubaraghara* (*Udumbaragriha*).

No. 59.

बुधरखितकस सुतातिकस अर[पा]नकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of *Budharakhitaka* (*Buddharakshitaka*), the *Sutātika* (*Sautrāntika*) inhabitant of *Arapāna*.<sup>13</sup> All the letters are much blurred, and the first is not certain.<sup>14</sup> Meant for असदेवाय भिखुनिय.<sup>15</sup> Restore िमितय.<sup>16</sup> Possibly नदकस, but compare above, No. 16.<sup>17</sup> All the letters are much blurred, and the first may have been व.<sup>18</sup> The second letter is not closed at the top and not certain. The name may be intended for *Balaka*,—see above.



No. 60.

बुधरखित [कु]— —<sup>19</sup>

No. 61.

L. 1. बुधरखितय भिक्षुनि[य]

L. 2. दनं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Budharakhitâ (*Buddharakshitâ*).

No. 62.

बुधरखितस भिक्षुनो दन [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*Buddharakshitâ*).

No. 63.

बोधिया भू— —

(*The gift*) of Bodhi . . . .

No. 64.

भ[र]णभूतिनो भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Bharanabhûti (?) (*Bharanibhuti*).

No. 65.

भिक्षुनिकाय दानं [॥\*]<sup>20</sup>

The gift of Bhichhunikâ (*the little nun* ?)

No. 66.

रोहणिकस उदुबरघरियस दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Rohanika, inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragriha*).

No. 67.

विपुलस भि[खु]नो [दा]नं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Vipula.

No. 68.

L. 1. विसकस रोहणिपदियस

L. 2. दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Visaka (*Viśvaka*), inhabitant of Rohanipada.

No. 69.

सघय मातु साफिनेयिकाय[॥\*]

(*The gift*) of the Sâphineyikâ, mother of Saghâ (*Samghâ*).

<sup>19</sup> The व is made circular, the त has the looped form of some Andhra and Mathurâ inscriptions. The last letter is uncertain.

<sup>20</sup> All the lines of the letters are double.



No. 70.

सोणसिरिय भिखुनिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Soṇasiri (*Suvarṇasrī*).

No. 71.

— — — तय सगिरेयिकाय धम — — [सक]सय दानं [॥\*]

No. 72.

L. 1. — — — — रस भिखुनो मातु कोडुय

L. 2. — — — — या दानं [॥\*][\*]

The gift of Koḍu, mother of the monk . . . . ra, . . . .

No. 73.

L. 1. — [म]र[खि]ताय<sup>21</sup> — — — —

L. 2. दा[नं] कोर[मि का]य [अते]वासिनिया [॥]

The gift of Dhamarakhitā (?), pupil of Koramikā.

No. 74.

— — — — णस भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk . . . . ṇa.

No. 75.

— — — — कुनय स — — —

No. 76.

L. 1. — — — य भिखुनिय

L. 2. — — [की]र रिय [॥\*]

(The gift) of the nun . . . . inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 77.

— — — — भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

No. 78.

— — — तया धवदेवय दन [॥\*]

The gift of . . . . tã, Dhavadevā (*Dharmadevā*).



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 Parithaka I, 288.  
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 Patuḍa (?) I, 97.  
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 Pothaka I, 87.  
 Prātiṭhāna I, 12, 70.  
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 Pusarakhita II, 17.  
 Rahila (Aya-) I, 137.  
 Rājuka (bhadata-) I, 177.  
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 Sagbamita II, 24.  
 Sagharakhita II, 39.  
 Samāṇa I, 347.  
 Samdhāna I, 54.  
 Samghila I, 187.  
 Samika I, 348.  
 [Sā]midata I, 352.  
 Sumana II, 19.  
 Tisaka (Aya-) I, 70.  
 Upasijha I, 63.  
 Utara (ayutara) I, 347.  
 Vijha II, 5.  
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 Visākha I, 178.  
 Visakharakhita I, 335.  
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 Yakhila I, 112; II, 6.  
 Yasogiri II, 14.  
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<sup>22</sup> This index includes also the names given on that appended to the former paper. The new impressions made it necessary to alter a number of words and to exclude some.



Balikā I, 186.  
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 Budhapālita I, 86.  
 Budharakhita I, 110, 304; II, 61.  
 Chiratī I, 28.  
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 Saghadinā I, 37.  
 Sagbārahita I, 248.  
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 Arahaka (paripanaka) I, 189.  
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 Araharakhita I, 338.  
 Asāda I, 72, 210.  
 Asaguta I, 213.  
 Aṭha (kamika) I, 10.  
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 Bahadata I, 30.  
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 Bhaḍu I, 308.  
 Bhichhuka I, 56.  
 Bhutarakhita I, 330.  
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 Devabhaga I, 111.  
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<sup>23</sup> This is the distinct reading of Dr. Führer's new impression.



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 Isidina I, 298.  
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 Isipālita I, 197.  
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 Isinadana I, 217.  
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 Kalivata I, 195.  
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 Nāgila I, 390; (seṭhi) I, 285.  
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 Pusadāta I, 292.  
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 Pusaka I, 291.  
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 Saghamita II, 12.  
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 Sakadina I, 171.  
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 Sāphineyaka (race) I, 137, 161; II, 69.  
 Sātīla I, 173.  
 Sidatha I, 191.  
 Sihagiri I, 77.  
 Siribhāga I, 354.  
 Siriguta (vāṇija) I, 47.  
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 Sivanadi I, 45.  
 Sīha (seṭhi) I, 99.  
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 Sīharakhita I, 13.  
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 Soyasa<sup>26</sup> I, 120.  
 Subāhita (-Gotiputa-rājapikara) I, 48, 49, 361.  
 Subhaga I, 19.  
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 Tīkisa (?) II, 31.  
 Tisa I, 262.  
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 Upedadāta I, 156-57.  
 Upidadāta I, 36.

<sup>24</sup> This is the reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, —compare *ante* (Note).

<sup>25</sup> This is the reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, instead of Hamsa° (P).

<sup>26</sup> According to Dr. Führer's new impression it is possible to read *Seyasa*.



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 Asvarakhitâ I, 219.  
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 Buddhadevâ I, 362.  
 Budhagutâ II, 35.  
 Budhapâlitâ II, 33.  
 Buddhâ I, 157.  
 Chirâtî I, 202.  
 Devabhâgâ I, 237.  
 Dhamadatâ I, 223.  
 Dhamadinâ I, 272.  
 Dhamarakhitâ I, 15, 45, 76, 275.  
 Dhamarasiri II, 56.  
 Dhamatâ[datâ] I, 102.  
 Dha[nâ] I, 265.  
 Dhañikhâ I, 309.  
 Dhavadevâ II, 78.  
 Gaḍâ II, 15.  
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 Isimitâ I, 162.  
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 Parijâ (?) I, 129.  
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 Samikhâ I, 46, 118.  
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 Sijhâ I, 333.  
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 Arapâniya (adj.) I, 212.  
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 —gâmiya (adj.) I, 140-41, 237.  
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 Koramikâ (adj., n. pr.) I, 343 ; II, 73.  
 Kaṭakaṇuyaka (adj.) I, 97, 233.  
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 Koḍijilaka (adj.) I, 299.  
 Koraghara (adj.) I, 19, 99, 104, 284, 286, 307.  
 Korara . f . î (adj.); I, 85, 315 ; II, 8, 9,  
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 II, 37.  
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 80, 186, 267 (?).  
 Madhuvana I, 61, 180.  
 Madhuvanaka . f . ikâ I, 15, 76, 110, 126,  
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 Nâdinagarika . f . ikâ, (adj.) I, 82, 105, 119,  
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 Pâḍukulikâ II, 1.  
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 [Pâ]tiṭhâna (adj.) I, 289.  
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 Pematikâ (adj.) I, 362.  
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 Poravijhaka<sup>27</sup> I, 107,—*see* Poḍavijhaka.  
 Prâtiṭhâna (n. pr.) I, 12, 70.

<sup>27</sup> This is the distinct reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, instead of *Poravikhika*. It is confirmed by the form *Poḍavijhaka* in No. 298.



Puṇavaḍhaniya (adj.) I, 102, 217.  
 Puruviḍa I, 290.  
 Ramorajahikaḍi . . . (?) I, 90,—see above  
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 Rohāni nadiya (adj.) I, 93.  
 Rohanipadiya (adj.) I, 113-15; II, 68.  
 Sadakaḍaya (adj.) II, 34,—see Sida°.  
 Sagireyikā (adj.) II, 71.  
 Sakakaḍha (?) I, 367.  
 Sānukagāmīna (adj.) I, 172.  
 Sāsādaka (adj.) I, 18; II, 27.  
 Sedakaḍa . f . -ī. (adj.) II, 35.  
 Setapathiya (adj.) I, 364.  
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 Ujenika (adj.) I, 121, 214, 266, 326.  
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 Vāḍivahanika (adj.) I, 101.  
 Vāḍya° (adj.) II, C. 24.  
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 Vāḍivahanikā (adj.) I, 197.  
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 Vedisaka, f. ikā (adj.) I, 117, 132, 200, 253,  
 283.  
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 Verohahaṭa (adj.) I, 81.  
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## XXXII.—CHITORGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD.

THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1485.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Dr. Burgess has furnished me with good impressions, by Dr. A. Führer, of three inscriptions of the Guhila princes of Mewād, which are at Chitorgadh in the Udaypur state of Rājputāna. Of the earliest<sup>1</sup> of them—it is dated in the Vikrama year 1331—I have already given an account<sup>2</sup> in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXII, p. 80, from a rubbing of Mr. Garrick's that had been sent to me by the late Sir A. Cunningham. I here publish the text of the second inscription, the only one of the three that is complete, of the Vikrama year 1485.

This inscription is on a slab of black marble, inside a large carved stone temple which according to local information was built by Mokālji.<sup>3</sup> It contains fifty-three lines of writing, which cover a space of about 4' 2" broad by 2' 8" high. In the midst of the writing, causing a break in the lines 21-29, is an ornamental device, 5½" square, enclosing a circle which is about 3¾" in diameter; and inside this circle again is an open flower with eight leaves. Near the periphery of the circle is a verse in the Anushtubh metre, which apparently invokes the blessing of the God Hara (Śiva), but the letters of which are too faint in the impression to be read with confidence. And in the centre, and on the leaves of the flower and around them, seventeen other *aksharas* are engraved, three of which clearly give the name *Mokala*. The writing of the inscription is generally

<sup>1</sup> A photo-lithograph of it is given in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, plate xxv.

<sup>2</sup> In Dr. Führer's impressions the name of the 14th prince, *Amraprasāda*, is quite distinct. Otherwise, I have nothing to add to my previous account of the inscription,

and I do not think that it would be worth while re-publishing the text of it.

<sup>3</sup> See *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, p. 106, and plate xxxiii.



well preserved, so that, with the exception of about a dozen *aksharas*, the actual wording of the text may be made out with certainty. The average size of the letters is between  $\frac{3}{8}$ " and  $\frac{7}{16}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Samskrit, and, excepting the introductory words *Om Om namaḥ Śivāya* and a date at the end, the whole is in verse. Considering the great length of the inscription, the historical information conveyed by it is very meagre indeed; and the author has tried to make up for the want of substance by lengthy and exaggerated descriptions of the valour, fame, piety and munificence of the princes of whom he is treating. His language is sometimes obscure, and not free from actual mistakes. The orthography does not differ from that of an ordinary Samskrit manuscript.

The object of the inscription is, to record the erection, at Chitrakūṭa (the modern Chitorgadh), of a temple of the god Śiva (Samiddheśa or Samādhīśa<sup>4</sup>) by the prince Mokala of Medapāṭa (or Mewād). After the words "Om, Om, adoration to Śiva," the inscription has four verses invoking the blessings of Gajāśya (Gaṇeśa), Ekalīga (Śiva), the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* Śiva's consort Pārvatī) who dwells on the Vindhya, and Achyuta (Viṣṇu). The poet then (in verses 5-6) glorifies the pious and famous family of the prince Guhila.<sup>5</sup> In that family was born the lord of Medapāṭa Arisimha (vv. 7-12). His son was the prince Hammīra (*Hammīra-vīra*, *Hammīra-deva*; vv. 13-23). From him sprang the prince Kshetra (*Kshetra-mahīpati*, *Kshetra-kshītīśa*; vv. 24-33). His son was the prince Lakshasimha (*Lakshasimha-nripati*, *Laksha-kshītīśa*; vv. 34-43), who according to verses 38 and 41 freed the holy place Gayā from the distress brought upon it by the ruler of the Śakas (*i.e.* the Muhammadans). And Lakshasimha's son was Mokala (*Mokala-kshmāpati*, *Mokalendra*; vv. 44-60), whom his father appointed his successor, and of whom in verse 51 it is intimated that he defeated Peroja, the king of the Yavanas<sup>6</sup> (meaning, again, the Muhammadans). Mokala, according to vv. 61-64, had already before built a splendid temple of 'the lord of Dvārakā' (*i.e.* the god Viṣṇu-Kṛiṣṇa), near which he also had a tank excavated. And it is now recorded by this inscription (vv. 65-73) that on the Mount Chitrakūṭa, situated in the prince's dominion, Mokala also built a temple of the god Śiva (Samiddheśa or Samādhīśa) and provided for its proper maintenance. Verse 74 gives the date on which this temple was inaugurated; and the *Prasasti* closes (in verse 75) with a prayer for the continuance of Mokala's rule. Five additional verses record that the preceding *Prasasti* was written' (*i.e.* composed) by Ekanātha, a son of Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu, of the Daśapura clan;<sup>8</sup> that the temple was constructed by Mana, the son of Vijala; and that the inscription was written on the stone by Vīśala, a son of Mana, and engraved by Vīśa, who also is described as a son of Mana, and is perhaps identical with Vīśala. And the inscription ends with a date which differs from the date given in verse 74.

<sup>4</sup> The text, in verse 72, actually has *Samidvaiśaḥ*, which must be altered to either *Samiddheśaḥ* or *Samādhīśaḥ*. *Samādhīśa* occurs, as a name of Śiva, in line 53 of this inscription and in other inscriptions at Chitorgadh and Mount Ābū; and *Samiddheśvara* I find in another Chitorgadh inscription of the Vikrama year 1207. See below, p. 422.

<sup>5</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 346.

<sup>6</sup> Verse 46 states in a general way that Mokala subdued the Āngas, Kāmārūpas, Vāṅgas, Nishādas, Chīnas, and Turushkas; but there can be no doubt that that verse has been

put in solely for the sake of poetical ornamentation.

<sup>7</sup> The original has *alikhāt*, which must here mean 'composed,' because the writer's name is given afterwards, and because the name of the composer would hardly have been omitted.

<sup>8</sup> *Daśapura-jñāti* occurs again in the Nāgarī inscription of Mokala's grandson Rājamalla; *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* vol. LVI, part I, p. 82, v. 25. On the town Daśapura see Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 79, note 2.



Neither the date in verse 74 nor the one at the end of the inscription works out satisfactorily. According to verse 74 the temple built by Mokala was inaugurated on the day of the preceptor of the gods, *i.e.* on a Thursday, the third lunar day of the dark half of the month Tapasya, *i.e.* Phālguna, of the Vikrama year made up of the arrows (5), eight (8), the Vedas (4) and the earth (1), *i.e.* 1485, under the *nakshatra* of Aryaman, *i.e.* Pūrvā-phalgunī, while the sun was in the sign Makara and Jupiter in the sign Ghata, *i.e.* Kumbha. Here the statements that the sun (on Phālguna-vadi 3) was in the sign Makara, and that Jupiter was in the sign Kumbha, show that the scheme of the lunar month was the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, and that the date must fall between the 25th February A.D. 1428 and the 20th February A.D. 1429 (*i.e.* in the Jovian year Rākshasa, as determined by the northern mean-sign system); and accordingly the true equivalent for Phālguna-vadi 3 of Vikrama 1485 can only be the 23rd January A.D. 1429. On that day the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 18h. 29m. after mean sunrise, the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Pūrvā-phalgunī, and the sun was in Makara and Jupiter in Kumbha, all as required; but the day was a Sunday, not a Thursday, as stated erroneously by the inscription.—The date at the end of the inscription is Thursday, the 3rd of the bright half of Māgha of the year 1485. In the impression the figures for the day is not as clear as one could wish it to be. But, under any circumstances, this date, on which the inscription is said to have been engraved, would precede the date recorded in the body of the inscription; and assuming my reading to be right, the possible equivalents of the date would be Monday, the 19th January A.D. 1428, and Saturday, the 8th January A.D. 1429, which shows that this date too cannot be correct.

Notwithstanding these errors, there appears to be no reason to doubt that the temple which was built by Mokala, was finished by him in A.D. 1428-1429, and that this inscription furnishes a true date for the reign of that prince. Mokala, therefore, could not have been succeeded by his son Kumbhakarna (Koombho) as early as Vikrama 1475 = A.D. 1419, as was stated by Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān* vol. I, p. 286. And if there be any truth in the statement of our inscription that Mokala defeated the Yavana King Peroja, who could only have been the Sultān Fīrūz Shāh (A.D. 1351—1388), the commencement of his reign, too, must be placed at least ten years before the time assigned to it by Tod. As regards Mokala's predecessors, I can only say that the list furnished of them by this inscription agrees with the one given in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*<sup>10</sup> and in Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 257.

TEXT.<sup>11</sup>

L. 1.

श्री<sup>12</sup> ॥ श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

सिद्धार्थामरसुंदरीकरवलसिंदूरधारारुण-

श्रीगंडस्थलमंडलीयुगलसद्धानांबुपूरोज्ज्वलः ॥(1)

संध्याभ्रच्छ्रितायसानुनिपतन्नाकापगौघद्वयः

क्षण्णोर्वीभृदिव प्रयच्छतु शिवं देवो गजास्योव्ययं ॥ १ ॥<sup>13</sup>

वेदा वागिति शिष्टतामुपगतो यः कर्मणामीक्षि-

<sup>9</sup> The earliest certain date of Kumbhakarna's reign known to me is of the Vikrama year 1492; see Peterson's *Third Report*, Appendix, p. 203.

<sup>10</sup> The names given by Tod are Ursi, Hamir, Khaitsi,

Lakha Rana, and Mokul. *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 267-277.

<sup>11</sup> From an impression, prepared by Dr. Führer.

<sup>12</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>13</sup> Metre of verses 1—4: Śārdūlavikṛdita.



L. 2.

ता

साक्षी तत्प्रतिभूः पुनर्भवति सन्निवार्यसंदर्शनः ।  
 जाल्यैवेषु<sup>14</sup> विनश्वरेषु सकलं दाता विविक्तः फलं  
 देवः स्वस्तिकरः परः स सततं स्तादेकलिंगाभिधः ॥ २ ॥  
 भूमीभृत्स्वयमे[धि]तस्थितिरियं गुर्वी नगा बंधवो  
 विंध्योगस्त्यचरित्वतो न चकितः प्रास्थापयद्वाङ्मणान्<sup>15</sup> ।  
 कन्या मान्यतमा महोत्सवविधा-

3.

वित्येकमंत्रोक्तितो

यामानीनयदर्चनाय गिरिजा विंध्यालया सावतात् ॥ ३ ॥  
 कालिंदीतटकुंजबद्धवसतिः सेयं प्रिया राधिका  
 स्मर्त्तव्यं ननु क्विण्णी न भवती हुं चारुहासिन्यसि ।  
 युक्तं ना[सि] कलावती सुविदितं त्वं सत्यभामेन्यथा  
 नोक्तासीति विनिष्कृतोक्तमुदितश्लेषोच्युतः पातु वः ॥ ४ ॥  
 स्फारन्यायोन्ववायो गुहिलनरपतेर-

4.

स्ति जाग्रत्प्रशस्ति-

व्यंस्तीभूतांतरायो वसतिरिह युगे धर्म्यकर्मोदयस्य ।  
 शश्वद्यागानुरागे(ग)स्थिरविमलनिधौ भूरिभोगोनभागां<sup>16</sup>  
 भूयो नूनां विधत्ते सपदि शतमखी<sup>17</sup> यत्र संभूय शक्रः ॥ ५ ॥<sup>18</sup>  
 वाक्सेतो रचलन्मतिर्दिशि दिशि प्रस्थातमानोन्नति-  
 निर्यन्निस्वनवाहिनीपरिवृतो नानाधनैकाकरः ।  
 अत्यक्तचित्तिविग्रहो मुनिकथागीतादिगोत्रस्थिति-  
 विंध्यो बं-

5.

धुरबंधुतां वितनुते यस्योपपन्नश्रियः ।[॥] ६ ॥<sup>19</sup>

वंशे तत्रारिसिंहः क्षितिपतिरजनि क्षत्रनक्षत्रलक्ष्मी-  
 वीक्षादक्षोर्युत्स्माबहुलजरजनिध्वंसभास्वन्नभस्तिः ।  
 विंध्यावंध्यप्रदेशस्फुरदमलखनिव्यक्तरत्नाकरत्व-  
 स्फारश्रीमेदपाटक्षितिब(व)लयवलङ्घ्यपाथोदचंद्रः<sup>20</sup> ॥ ७ ॥<sup>21</sup>  
 नरपतिररिसिंहः शस्त्रशास्त्रोपदेष्टा वितरणर-

6.

शकण्णो विश्वविख्यातवर्णः ॥ (1)

स्फुरदमलगुणौघः पुण्यगण्योरुनामा नयविनयविवेकोद्यानपुंस्कोकिलः सन् ॥ ८ ॥<sup>22</sup>  
 विभ्यस्त्रिंशपदादमुष्य सकरी नूनं मघो नो यतो  
 वाजी सत्र(क्ष)द्विस्तताध्वरभुवं<sup>23</sup> नोक्षीः यवा गच्छति ।  
 आहूतः कथमेव<sup>24</sup> वाहनमृते देवाग्रणीर्वृत्रहा

<sup>14</sup> Read जल्यैवेषु.<sup>15</sup> I should have expected प्रस्थापयद्वाङ्मणान्.<sup>16</sup> The reading of this line is perfectly clear in the impression, but the end of it yields no suitable sense.<sup>17</sup> Read शतमखी.<sup>18</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.<sup>19</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>20</sup> पाथोद 'cloud' is apparently used here in the sense of पाथोधि 'ocean.' Originally 'हुग्धा' was engraved.<sup>21</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.<sup>22</sup> Metre: Mālinī.<sup>23</sup> Originally 'सतीध्वर' was engraved.<sup>24</sup> Read कथमेव.



मेघं वाहनमातनोदयमतः सद्योमधूमोद्भवं ॥ ८ ॥<sup>25</sup>  
कीर्त्तिः कौतुकिनी दिगंतमगमत्कर्पू-

L. 7.

रपूरोज्ज्व(ज्ज)ला

खेलंती निजवासिताभ्रमवशादालिंगिता दिग्गजैः ।

क्षीरांभोनिधिगाहनं तु विधिना कृत्वादरादुत्थिता

ब्रह्मादीननुयोक्तुमुत्तमगुणस्यास्य प्रगल्भा दिवं ॥ १० ॥

विशिष्टजनसंगतौ व्यतरदेकलक्ष्यं<sup>26</sup> यतस्ततोधिकतरं यशोलभत भोजभूमीपतिः ।

अयं कथमदःसमः कविभिरुच्यते वाददाद्विशेषविधिनान्वहं<sup>27</sup> विविधलक्ष्मभोजानपि<sup>28</sup> ॥ ११ ॥

निर्व्रीडो न महेच्छ-

8.

रोन कठिनो नाचेतनचिंतितं

दातानेकगवीश्वरः परिवृढो नो भारती दुर्भगा ।

सेनानीर्न विपक्षसंगतिरतो मोक्षैः श्रवा वा हयो

नारामः कतिचित्तरुः कथमदः पुर्याः स धुर्या दिवः<sup>30</sup> ॥ १२ ॥<sup>31</sup>

शूरः सूनृतवागनूनविभ[वो] वंशावतंसः सुत-

स्तस्य न्यकृतरत्नसानुगरिमा हम्मीरबीरो जयी ।

विख्यातः स्मररूपजित्तरवपुर्लक्ष्मीनिवासाच्युतो

वाग्देवीचतुराननो रिपु-

9.

कुलप्रोषोषरूपो महान् ॥ १३ ॥

हम्मीरः किल वेभवोचितविधिर्दित्सुः सहस्रं गवा-

मित्याकर्ण्य सहस्रगू रविशचीनाथौ भयं जग्मतुः ।

शश्वत्तद्रहसि स्थितान्मुररिपोः श्रुत्वा सहस्रं पुन-

र्धेनूनां समुपागतावतिमुदा तद्दानमेवेक्षितुं ॥ १४ ॥

कर्णादीनतिशय्य दिग्जयविधावादाय दिग्मंडली-

दंडं दूरमपास्य कालमसकृद्वाता स्वयं दक्षिणां ।

इत्याकर्ण्य

10.

जनश्रुतीः परिभवं स्वं शंकमानोतक्त-

इष्टुं न क्षमते प्रजा मनुनये यस्मिन्महीं शासति ॥ १५ ॥

प्रासादमासादितशातकुंभकुंभं वसहेवमचोकरथः ।

अचीखनत्सागरकल्पमल्पेतरत्सरश्चूतवनीभिरिष्टं ॥ १६ ॥<sup>32</sup>

संश्रामयामभूमौ सदिदमसिलता संगता पंचशाखे

सच्छाये श्यामलांगी क्षतजलवलत्पुष्टिरिष्टप्रचारा ।

चित्तं सूते विकीशा कुसुम-

11.

मतिमहत्कीर्त्तनीयं दिगंते

धा[न्ना]न्नाता नितांतं दलयति नियतं वारणांगे पतंती<sup>33</sup> ॥ १७ ॥<sup>34</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Metre of verses 9 and 10: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>26</sup> This may have been altered to °लक्ष्यं.

<sup>27</sup> Perhaps altered to वाददादि°; read योददादि° (P).

<sup>28</sup> The meaning of this is not clear to me.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Prithvī.

<sup>30</sup> Perhaps the original has द्विः. Read धुर्यो दिवः (P).

<sup>31</sup> Metre of verses 12-15: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>32</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>33</sup> Read क्षावा (P) and पतंती.

<sup>34</sup> Metre: Bragdhara.



हस्मीरवीरो रणरंगधीरो वाङ्माधुरीतर्जितकोकिकोरः ॥(1)  
 धराधवालंकारणैकहीरस्तत्तद्वनीभूषितसिंधुतीरः ॥१८[॥\*]<sup>35</sup>  
 एतत्पाणी कृपाणी द्विषदसुपवनाहारतोषं दधाना  
 कालाकारोरगीव स्फुरति सचकितं वीक्षिता भीतिहेतुः ॥(1)  
 ना-

- L. 12. धः काये कथंचिद्दशति बहुमता नो विभीते विपक्षा-  
 त्स्वर्गे वासं क्ष[ता]नां वितरति रमते न द्विजिह्वेन चित्रं ॥१९[॥\*]<sup>36</sup>  
 पायं पायं सुपीनः] परभटवधिरं तन्महीगर्भजाता  
 खड्गः कालः कुतोयं कथमियमपरा कीर्तिरत्यज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लास्य ॥(1)  
 एकेनास्त्रायि ननं रुददरिवनितानेनतोर्येजनाढे  
 तासामुद्धर्त्तितेयं मृदुभुजव(व)लयस्वच्छचूर्णैरजस्रं ॥

13. २० [॥\*]

उद्यत्प्रौढप्रतापानलमुषितमहाबिंबशेषो विवस्वा-  
 न्पश्चादुद्दामकीर्त्तिच्छुरिततरतनुः शीतरश्मित्वमेति ॥(1)  
 शंके रूपांतरं स्वं कलयति स वपुर्भेदभीतो रणस्त्रा-  
 धीरे हस्मीरवीरे घृति परसुभटान्गरे संसुखस्थान् ॥ २१ [॥\*]  
 कुर्वन्पद्मे जनुः स्वं विधिरिति विधिदग्दृष्टदृष्टाग्रदिष्टो  
 नो पंके जन्म दोषं व्यजगणदतुलं तस्य रक्तेतरस्य ॥(1)  
 भूत्वा ह-

14. म्मीरदेवक्षितिपतियशसः स्वच्छवर्णोपमेयो  
 गंता पुण्योपमानं दिशि दिशि सुचिरं सत्कवीनां मुखेषु ॥ २२ [॥\*]  
 गौरी गौरीशहासादपि रुचिररुचिखंदनाचंद्रतो वा  
 कांत्या कर्णाटकांतासितदशन[च]तुष्कानुमेया सुगेया ॥(1)  
 शेषस्याशेषवेषस्फुरदमृतवचस्वारसौंदर्यधर्या<sup>37</sup>  
 कीर्तिर्यस्येदुमूर्त्तः किल चरति दशाशांतविश्रांतयात्रा ॥ २३ [॥\*]  
 तस्मात्क्षे-

15. त्वमहीपतिः समभवत्ख्यातो गुणांभोनिधिः  
 शौर्योदार्यमहत्व(क्ष)सत्व(क्ष)मह्वितो<sup>38</sup> धर्मो वपुष्मानिव ॥(1)  
 शक्रार्चासनभाजि येन जनके रत्नाकरालंक्षति-  
 भूर्भुक्ता जितपूर्वराजगरिमप्राप्तप्रभाशालिना ॥ २४ [॥\*]<sup>39</sup>  
 हृदि विनिहितरामो योस्त्रविद्याभिरामो मदनसदृशमूर्तिर्विष्णुविख्यातकीर्त्तिः ।  
 समरहतविपक्षो लीलया दत्तलक्ष्मी नयनजित-

16. सरोजः प्रक्रियाक्रांतभोजः ॥ २५ [॥\*]<sup>40</sup>

संग्रामे दंतिदंतज्वलनकणसुचि प्रोक्षसहीरयोध-  
 स्फारोभुक्ताशुगालीनिविडकवलिताशेषकाष्ठांतराले ॥(1)

<sup>35</sup> Metre : Upajāti.

<sup>36</sup> Metre of verses 19-23: Sragdharā.

<sup>37</sup> Read °र्यधर्या.

<sup>38</sup> Read शौर्योदा°.

<sup>39</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>40</sup> Metre : Mālini.



जित्वा दुर्गं समग्रं नरपतिमहितं साधुवादस्य सम्य-  
 कस्तंभं योधावरितग्रामरिकलप्रतगन्नेषिचंडप्रदीपः<sup>41</sup> ॥ २३ ॥<sup>42</sup>  
 आक्रांता वृषपुंगवेन विलसन्नासा चतुर्भिः घटैः  
 सम्यग्बीक्षणपालिता

L. 17. नवनवप्राप्तप्रकर्षोदया ॥(1)  
 प्रासोष्टामरनैचिकीव बहुयो रत्नान्यनघर्षाणि गौः  
 शूरे कीर्त्तिपयो धराशतमखे यस्मिन्मही शासति ॥ २७ ॥<sup>43</sup>  
 कीर्त्तिंक्षीरोदपूरे बहुविधविषदप्रोक्तसङ्घीचिमाले  
 कृष्णः श्रेतेस्य खड्गः सुखसुखसमरे शेषमासाद्य शत्रोः ।  
 दृश्यते राजहंसा दिशि दिशि न ततो मानसे लीयमा-

18. नाः  
 सीदत्यक्षा विलक्षाः स्फुरति न कमलोन्मेषितापेक्षितैषां ॥ २८ ॥<sup>44</sup>  
 अस्यासिः कालरात्रिः स्फुरति किल भवन्मंडले वैरि- —<sup>45</sup>  
 — — [प्रो]ज्ञासिवेश्म प्रभवदहिभयं भूतराजोरुतार्प ॥(1)  
 पद्मोद्बोधी न चैषां भवति विघटते चक्रयो[गी] नियोगा-  
 हूरिर्जागर्त्तिं भीतिः पतति निजपथो

19. नोजिभूतः पंकपातः ॥ २९ ॥  
 भ्रातः कल्पतरो किमात्य भगवन्हेमाचल श्रूयतां  
 कर्तुं क्षेत्रमहीपतिः प्रयतते दानानि पुण्याश्रयः ।  
 वर्त्ते[हं स्व?]करे गृहागणभुवि त्वं वर्त्तसे नित्यशः  
 क्रीडार्थं यदि [वा] ददाति हि तदा वक्तुं क ईष्टे जनः ॥ ३० ॥<sup>46</sup>  
 इत्थं दानकथा मिथो विजयते चिंतामणिस्त्वर्गवी-  
 सुख्या-

20. नामपि दानशास्त्रविलसन्नानामसुख प्रभोः ।  
 उन्मीलच्छरदं वु(बु)जामलदलस्वच्छायताक्षिस्फुर-  
 त्कोणस्थायुकमित्रवैरिपरिवत्संपद्मिप्रहर्त्मनः ॥ ३१ ॥  
 माद्यक्षेतंडचंडध्वनिभरविगलहोरवर्गोद्बोध्यं  
 स्फूर्जत्कोदंडदंडप्रपतदिषुचयच्छन्नसैन्येप्यनन्ये ।  
 जन्ये प्राणीकपक्ष्ये गणयति न गणं विद्विषां पु-

21. स्वरशि-  
 धन्यः क्षेत्रक्षितीशः प्रतिभट्टपतिष्माकराक्षटिदृष्टिः<sup>47</sup> ॥ ३२ ॥<sup>48</sup>  
 मूर्च्छालं तु जडीभवच्छ्रुतिपथं संशुष्कितैकत्वचं  
 मीलंतं च मुहुर्मुहुः ग्रिथिलितं यातं न[वा]सुखितं ॥(1)

<sup>41</sup> Read °कुल°, and प्रदीपं.

<sup>42</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.

<sup>43</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

<sup>44</sup> Metre of verses 28 and 29 : Sragdharā.

<sup>45</sup> Here four akṣharas are broken away.

<sup>46</sup> Metre of verses 30 and 31 : Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

<sup>47</sup> Perhaps altered to °जट्टदृष्टिः.

<sup>48</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.



दारिद्र्योपहतं विबोधयति यद्दृष्टाद्दृष्टं<sup>49</sup> यथा  
जाप्यं कर्णपथाश्रितं सुविमलं यन्नाममन्त्रा-

L. 22.

चरं ॥ ३३ ॥<sup>50</sup>

तत्सूनुः किल लक्षसिंहनृपतिः<sup>51</sup> ख्यातो गुणग्रामणी-<sup>52</sup>

रघुदानफलामलार्जुनयशोवल्लीमतस्तीतरुः ।<sup>53</sup>

यत्तेजःशिखिनो [वि]पक्षवन्तितानेत्रांभुजातद्युतेः

काष्ठांताक्रमणं [भ]टित्यनुदिनं नाभूद्दिचारास्यदं ॥ ३४ ॥

रामः किं जितदूषणः सुभरतो रामानु-

23.

रागास्यदं

शत्रुघ्नः किमु लक्ष्मणोदयभरः सुधीव इक्ष्वांगदः ।

तारावक्त्रभ उक्तमेन वपुषालंकारमा[या]दत्तो

यो रामायणनायकैकतनुतां द्रष्टुं विधात्रा कृतः ॥ ३५ ॥

दानादुद्दामसामा शरणगतजनत्राणपाषाणसीमा

भीमासीमैकधामा शतमखपुरतो विद्दिषा गी-

24.

तनामा ।

पद्मामारामदामा मखमुखविलसद्भूमधूमोच्चसामा<sup>54</sup>

सङ्गच्छामाशेषरोमा धरणिस्वरतरुर्लक्षसिंहः स धीमान् ॥ ३६ ॥<sup>55</sup>

वैरिच्छोणीद्रमत्तद्विरदमदनुदा<sup>56</sup> सिंहतः शुद्धसारा-

दारादुद्गीतकीर्त्तैरमरपुरभिष[कांति]निर्णयितमूर्त्तः ।

दाने माने कृपाणे यशसि

25.

महसि [वा] साधुवाण्यां कृपाण्यां

वीराङ्गक्षक्षितीशाज्जगति न हि परः ख्यातभक्तिः सु[भु]क्तिः ॥ ३७ ॥

नीतिप्रोतिभुजार्जितानि [लक्ष]शो रत्नानि यद्वादयं

दायं दायममायया व्यतनुत ध्वस्तांतरायां गयां ।

तीर्थानां करमाकलय्य विधिनान्यत्रापि युंक्ते<sup>57</sup> ध-

26.

नं

प्रौढप्रावनिबद्धतीर्थसरसीजाग्रद्यशोभोरुहः ॥ ३८ ॥<sup>58</sup>

संग्रामेषु गतागतानि विद[ध]क्ष्मं परैर्लक्षितो

दत्वा(च्चा) लक्षमपि स्व[यं न] तनुते संतोषमनेक्षणः ।

कुर्वाणः किल कानकीमपि तुलां तत्खण्डबिंबच्छला-

[क्ष]क्षं स्वां तनुमातनोदिति नृपो लक्षप्रथो-

27.

जायन<sup>59</sup> ॥ ३९ ॥

दाने हेम्नस्तुलायां मखभुवि बहुधा शुद्धिमापादि[ता\*]नां

भास्वज्जांबूनदानां कुतुकिजनभरैस्तर्किता राशयोऽस्य ॥(1)

<sup>49</sup> The word बह before दृष्टा° appears rather superfluous.

<sup>50</sup> Metre of verses 33—35: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>51</sup> Originally लक्ष्य° was engraved.

<sup>52</sup> One would expect गुणि°.

<sup>53</sup> Originally °तदयंते° was engraved.

<sup>54</sup> Read °सद्भूमधूमो°.

<sup>55</sup> Metre of verses 36 and 37: Śragdharā.

<sup>56</sup> Read °गुदः.

<sup>57</sup> The sign of anusvāra of युं is very faint.

<sup>58</sup> Metre of verses 38 and 39: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>59</sup> Read °जायत.



संग्रा[मे] लुटितानां प्रतिनृपमहसां राशयस्ते किमेते  
विंध्यं बंधुं समेतुं किमु समुपगताः साधु हेमाद्रिपादाः ॥४०॥<sup>60</sup>

रुद्धा-

- L. 28. शेषपदां शकाधिपकरव्यग्रीभवज्जीवनां  
धीरोन्मूचदर्जुनीमिव गयां मायाविमुक्ताशयः ।  
धर्मसाय समस्तलोकमहितः [का]ष्ठां परामागतो  
निः[सत्त्वी ?] कृतधर्मराजवसतेः पद्मालयासङ्गमः ॥४१॥<sup>61</sup>  
मत्तुल्या [न<sup>\*</sup>]नु नाभवत्किल तुला पूर्वेति गर्व तुला-  
मुत्थ

29. क्षीणिपतेर्ध्रुवं कृतवतो गर्वासहिष्णोः पुरः ।  
तस्यास्तस्य<sup>62</sup> मुदानुदां विदधता धीरेण दत्तापरा-  
सौ मानादधिकाधिकीकृतविधिस्त्रयो वियद्वाटका<sup>63</sup> ॥ ४२ ॥  
संख्यातुं कथमीशते कविजना दानानि नानाविधा-  
न्यस्याकृष्टसमस्तराजवसुधावित्तस्य चित्तोन्नतेः ।  
30. लब्धा<sup>64</sup> नोद्विजते वनीपकगणान्दत्त्वा(च्चा) न यत्कीर्तये-  
त्पात्रं प्राप्य मुदान्वितसृणुतुलां<sup>65</sup> स्वर्णं समारोपयेत् ॥ ४३ ॥  
तस्य क्षावल्यं नयेन नयतः संतोषमायु[ष्म]तः  
[सं]भूतः स्मरसुन्दरो गुरुनतः पुत्रः सुधीर्मौकिलः ।  
शक्त्या भूयति दारुणं वितनु[ति] यत्तत्कुमारः पुरः  
सर्वज्ञोस्ति यतस्ततोचलभुवो नाथ-

31. स्तु पित्रा कृतः ॥ ४४ ॥  
प्रासादा बहुशः समुन्नतियुजः क्षीणीभुजा कारिताः  
शुद्धाभुजसु राजमानकनकप्रस्फारकुंभश्रियः ।  
नागेन्द्रा नु शिरसु हाटकघटाना[धा]य लोलत्सुधान्  
यातुं नाकमिवोत्थिता मखभुजां पीयूषपानोत्सुकाः ॥ ४५ ॥  
अंगाः संग्रासभंगाः स्मृतघनविटपाः कामरूपा विरूपा  
वंगा

32. गंगैकसंगा गतविरुदमदा जातसादा निषादाः ।  
चीनाः संग्रामदीनाः खलदसिधनुषो भोतिशुष्कास्तृष्णा  
भूमीपृष्ठे गरिष्ठे स्फुरति महिमनि क्षापतेर्मौकिलस्य ॥ ४६ ॥<sup>66</sup>  
मूर्ध्नि<sup>67</sup> सिंदूररेखाशतमखधनुषा राजमाना गभीरं  
कुर्वतः शब्दसुखे रदरुचिचपलाः स्निग्धतन्वा कचाभाः ।  
संग्रामग्रामयाता रि-

<sup>60</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>61</sup> Metre of verses 41-45: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>62</sup> I should have expected here तस्यास्तस्य, but am doubtful about the exact sense of the second half of this verse.

<sup>63</sup> This is quite clear in the impression, but the sense of the word is not apparent.

<sup>64</sup> Here again the exact construction of the line is not clear.

<sup>65</sup> Read °शुचतुला.

<sup>66</sup> Metre of verses 46-51: Sragdharā.

<sup>67</sup> Read मूर्ध्नि.



L. 33.

पुकरिजलदा<sup>68</sup> प्राप्तकालोपयोगा

यस्येषुव्रातभिन्नाः खलु रुधिरजलं पूरि<sup>69</sup> वर्षति सद्यः ॥ ४७ ॥  
 अस्य प्रौढप्रयाणक्षणरणर[ण<sup>x</sup>]कक्षेपमानोरुमान-<sup>70</sup>  
 स्फूर्जर्ज्जर्वाव[य]क्रमणभरभवद्वूलिधारांधकारं ।  
 ना[शं ने?]ता विवस्वानिति तु विरमतु ध्वस्तनेत्रप्रकाशः  
 स्वानस्वानस्ववर्णान्यदि परिचिनुते तत्स भाग्यं महीयः

34.

॥ ४८ ॥

वासो नाशासु भास्वत्कररुधिररुचाभासितास्वस्य वैरात्  
 पारावारांतरायादपि न हि गमनं दूरमस्मादकस्मात् ।  
 सेवाहेवाकमेवाचरत बहुमतं दत्त वित्तं नितांतं  
 [मं]त्रोमात्यैरकारि प्रतिविमतसदो भूपतेमोकलस्य<sup>71</sup> ॥ ४८ ॥  
 प्रुष्टप्रौढारिवर्गप्रथितपुरव(व)लङ्गमधूमप्रचारै-  
 धूमं व्र(व्र)क्षां-

35.

डभांडोदरमतिविपुलं वीक्ष्य दक्षेषु मुख्यः ।

कीर्त्यालिपं सुधीत्यं कलयति बलवान्दिग्वधूकिंकराभि-  
<sup>72</sup>स्तारातडिंदुवृंदच्छुरणबहुरुचा यौवरेणावृताभिः ॥ ५० ॥  
 नेता पातीत्तराशां यवननरपतिं लुंठिताशेषसेनं  
 परोजं कीर्त्तिवल्लीकुसुममुखमतिर्योकोत्संगरस्यः ।  
 पक्षीशाक्रांतिवार्त्ता<sup>73</sup>

36.

कलयति कलया कीर्त्तिता यस्य हेली<sup>74</sup>

पंचास्यस्येव माद्यज्ञजदलनरुचेर्लीलया रंकुभंगः ॥ ५१ ॥  
 आरुढः सविता तुलां कलयति द्राड्डीचतां कन्यया  
 दूरं मुक्तपरिग्रही बहुरुचा चित्रोत्तसहस्तया ।  
 धीरोयं पदमुत्तमं तु विधिना प्राप्तस्तुलां गाहते  
 कन्याभिर्व्रियतेतमां क्षितिभुजां श्रीमोकलक्ष्मापतिः ।(॥) ५२ ॥<sup>75</sup>

37.

मानत्राणमना मनागपि मनोरन्यूननीतिव्रती  
 नो जानाति निजप्रतापमतुलं सिंही यथा विक्रमं ।  
 मन्ये भास्वरहेमराशिमिषतो धाता तुलायामधा-  
 देतस्मादपि सोगमच्च गुरुतामद्यापि जा[ना]ति किं ॥ ५३ ॥  
 दृष्ट्वा हाटककोटिकूटमतुलं दानाय मानाधिकं  
 सद्यः शोधित[सूत्र]तैकमतयः संशेरते शाब्दिकाः ।  
 शक्रप्रार्थित-

38.

हेमदे सुरतरौ किं किं नु चिंतामणौ

हेमाद्रौ शकलीकृते किमु तुलाशब्दस्तु संकेतितः ॥ ५४ ॥

<sup>68</sup> Read °जलदाः.<sup>69</sup> Read भूरि.<sup>70</sup> Read °इषमासी?<sup>71</sup> Read भूपतेमो°<sup>72</sup> Here, again, the reading is quite certain, but the sense

is not clear. Perhaps the intended reading may be तारावर्ति°.

<sup>73</sup> This is not quite clear in the original.<sup>74</sup> Perhaps altered to हेली.<sup>75</sup> Metre of verses 52-54: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.



दीव्यस्तद्दीरतुंगत्तरतुरगवरव्रातजातोऽरुवात-<sup>76</sup>

क्षुभ्यस्तच्छ्रीत्यरेणुक्षतनयनरुजाव्ययसूताः खरांशोः ।  
मंदायंते गतेऽस्मास्तत इव वनिता वैरिणां तद्दिनानां  
यामाञ्जानन्ति<sup>77</sup> दीर्घानवितथविरुदे मोकलेंद्रे रणस्थे ॥५५॥<sup>78</sup>  
को वा नो

L. 39.

वेद विद्वांश्चरमयुगकलावेकपादेव धर्मः

खंजन्नष्टावलंबः किल चरतु कथं पीनपंके जनेस्मिन् ।  
सीयं सङ्गं यष्टिं वहिरवहिरथो शुद्धसारोपपन्नं  
प्राप्य श्रीमोकलेंद्रं प्रविशति विपुलां मंडलीं पंडितानां ॥५६॥  
नूनं द्यूतविधावधान्मखभुजामीशः सुमेरुं पणं  
गण्यस्तत्र मनस्विनां व्यजयत श्रीमोकलक्ष्मापतिः ॥(1)  
तादृ-

40. चाः क[थ\*]मन्यथावनितले हेन्नासमी<sup>79</sup> राशयो  
नैषां दानविधावमुष्य च मनःपीडाकलापि क्वचित् ॥५७॥<sup>80</sup>  
वज्रावज्जाय सर्पिःपतननवरुचौ भूमधूमायमाने<sup>81</sup>  
दूनां—म[च्छि?]पंतौ कथमुपकुर्वते यागभागो मघोनः ।  
पुण्येनास्यैव जाने दिनमणिरयते सत्कराणां सहस्रं  
विभ्रत्सद्योस्ततंद्रः स्थगयति विधिना योयम-

41.

क्ष्णां सहस्रं ॥५८॥<sup>82</sup>

आरुह्यामलमंडलोक्तत तुलां यः पुष्करद्योतनं  
पुण्यश्रीः स कथं तथा प्रथमती गण्यो न तेजस्विनां ॥ (1)  
निःपंका<sup>83</sup> करलालिता वसुमती सद्राजहंसा यतो  
वं(वं)धूनामुदयस्ततस्तदुदये स्यात्संपदामौचित्यी ॥५९॥<sup>84</sup>  
पारावारस्य बेलातटनिकटमनु प्राप्तशैलाधिवासा  
शत्रुश्रेणी समग्रा नि-

42.

वसति सततं भीतभीता नितांतं ।

जेतुं यात्रादसीया यदि भवति तदा वाजिराजीश्वराय-  
द्व्यत्क्ष्माधूलिधारा स्थलयति जलधिं पारयानाय तस्य ॥६०॥<sup>85</sup>  
आसाद्यातिथिमाश्रयं त्रिजगतां श्रीहारकानायकं  
प्रासादं रचितोपचारमकरोद्भूमीपतिर्मोकलः ॥(1)  
देवेनांबुजबांधवेन चकितं यो वीक्षितः शंकया  
विंध्याद्रेर्गि-

<sup>76</sup> The word तुंगत् is apparently used here in the sense of लंगत्.

<sup>77</sup> Read यामाञ्जो.

<sup>78</sup> Metre of verses 55 and 56 : Sragdharā.

<sup>79</sup> Read हेन्नासमी.

<sup>80</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>81</sup> Read °भूमिषु(P).

<sup>82</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.

<sup>83</sup> Read निपंका.

<sup>84</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>85</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.



L. 43.

रिसत्तमस्य नियते<sup>86</sup> सुक्तस्य वाग्बन्धनात् ॥६१॥<sup>87</sup>यस्य प्रत्युत्तकर्मद्रवदखिलमहाधातुसंभारधारा-<sup>88</sup>पातस्मातापशुथल्लिलविलसल्लोललाला<sup>89</sup> फणींद्रः ।

व्याचष्टे स्यष्टमिष्टं ध्रुवमयमधुना भाष्यमाभाष्य शिष्यं ।

स श्रीभर्तुः ध्वरस्ताज्जयति<sup>90</sup> खगपतिर्मोर्कलेंद्रस्य कीर्तिः<sup>91</sup> ॥६२॥<sup>92</sup>

सोढुं नेशः पयोधिः क्षणमपि वि-

44.

रहं द्वारकानाथ(य)कस्य

प्रेम्णा पादोपमूलं स्वयमुपगतवान्यत्तडागच्छलेन ।

नोदन्या कुंभयोनेरतिपततितरामंतरेणैनमेथन्

शापांति<sup>93</sup> मे विदध्यादयमिति विनयाद्विध्य<sup>94</sup> एवानयद्यं ॥६३॥

विंध्यस्कंधैकबंधुर्निजविततिभरादंधुतानीतसिंधु-

नीरक्रीडत्पुरंभिप्रसभकुचतटाघातसीदत्तरंगः ।

सतुथत्तोयजंतुर्विविधनगन-<sup>95</sup>

45.

दीवेगसंरोधतंतुः<sup>96</sup>

सन्नेतुर्नेतुरस्य स्फुरति वसुमतीसिद्धिहेतुः सुकेतुः ॥६४॥

अमुष्य धरणीभृतो विषयमध्यवर्त्ती महादरीवृतवपुष्टया [वि]वृतदूरगंभीरतः ।

म[हो]दर इवापरः परमनोनगम्यांतरः<sup>97</sup> पवित्रतरकीर्त्तनो जयति चित्रकूटाचलः ॥६५॥<sup>98</sup>

जायंतां नाम कामं कुलधरणिभृतः सप्त शृंगौघतुंगा

वैचित्र्या चित्रकूटं तुलयि-

46.

तुमनलं तीर्थभूतप्रदेशं ।

मा भूवनिर्भरिण्यो<sup>99</sup> मदुदितजनुषो नीचगामानशौडः ।<sup>100</sup>शृंगे यः क्षीरवारांनिधिमधिततरामुद्यदंभोजवासं ॥६६॥<sup>1</sup>उद्दामग्रावनिर्यङ्गरभरकणिकाजातसेकातरेक-<sup>2</sup>

स्त्रिह्यच्छालप्रवालप्रभवदुद्धतराभोगसूनप्रसूतात् ।

मध्वासारादपारादुप[हृ]तजनुषो दाववक्त्रेर्निदाघे

विष्वग्द्रींघो<sup>3</sup> वनानि प्रसभपरिभवं ने-

47.

ह शैले विदंति ॥६७॥

एतस्मिन्सरिदस्ति निर्मलजला यस्यां निवापांजला-

वुष्मीलत्तिलजातपातकवलव्यथाः शफर्यशलाः ।

क्रीडासंभ्रमविस्मृतान्मुबहुशो मज्जद्भूनामहो

नेत्राणीव विलोपिकज्जलकणांश्चेतुं स्फुरंति स्फुटं ॥ ६८ ॥<sup>4</sup><sup>86</sup> Read नियते.<sup>87</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>88</sup> Originally प्रत्युत्ति<sup>o</sup> was engraved.<sup>89</sup> Read °इल्लविल° and °लालः°.<sup>90</sup> Read पुर°.<sup>91</sup> Read कीर्तिः.<sup>92</sup> Metre of verses 62-64: Sragdharā.<sup>93</sup> Read शापांति.<sup>94</sup> Read °विध्य.<sup>95</sup> Read संतुथ°.<sup>96</sup> Originally °संरोधितंतुः was engraved.<sup>97</sup> Read परममान°(?).<sup>98</sup> Metre: Prithvī.<sup>99</sup> Read भूवनि°.<sup>100</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.<sup>1</sup> Metre of verses 66 and 67: Sragdharā.<sup>2</sup> Read °कातिरेक-.<sup>3</sup> Read विष्वग्द्रींघो.<sup>4</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.



लंका किं नाम दुर्गं जलनिधिरविता<sup>6</sup> यत्र सा काल[काका?]<sup>0</sup>  
[प्रा]वृट्का[ले] विवर्गेरपि गलितमदैर्या त्रियेतेति मा-

L. 48.

नी ।

यो धत्ते क्षीरवारांनिधिसुपरि परै राजहंसैरगम्य-  
स्तद्गुर्गं चित्रकूटो जयति वसुमतीमंडनं भूरिभूमिः<sup>7</sup> ॥ ६८ ॥<sup>8</sup>  
सौभाग्यैकमहौषधिर्भगवती यस्मिन्भवानी स्वयं  
जागर्त्ति प्रियसन्निधानवसतिः साध्वीजनानां गुहः ॥(१)  
देवः सोपि समस्तनाकरमणीसंतानदामव्रज-  
प्रचरोत्तमकरंदबिंदुसुरभिप्रस्फारनृत्यांगणः ॥ ७० ॥<sup>9</sup>  
सेवा-

49.

हैवाकदेवस्तुतहरचरितप्रोक्तसद्भावसंप-<sup>10</sup>त्सद्यःस्त्रियद्भवानीकृतसुरवसवनस्फारसौरभ्यहारि<sup>11</sup>।

यहारि प्रातिभाष्यं वहति मृगदृशां मज्जतीनामजस्रं

पातिव्रत्ये समंतात्समधिकसुभगंभावुकत्वेपि शश्वत् ॥ ७१ ॥<sup>12</sup>

गिरिः कैलासो यद्दशमुखभुजोच्छ्वासनदिनाहलभूलस्थामा प्रभवति न नायं विषद्वितुं ॥(१)

50. प्रदेशप्राग्भारप्र[क्त\*]तिरमणीये तदधुना समिद्देशः<sup>13</sup> श्रीमानिह वसति गौरोसहचरः ॥७२॥<sup>14</sup>

एकैकप्रावतावत्कृतिमुषितमहासर्वकर्मिणमानं

कृत्वा प्रासादमाशामुखमुकुरमतिथ्योमसीमानमस्य ।

यस्याशेषोपचारक्षमधनमुदितारी-<sup>15</sup>क्षीरः श्रीमोकलेंद्रो धनपुरमुचितं ग्राममायामिसीमं ॥ ७३ ॥<sup>16</sup>

अन्दे बाणाष्टवेदक्षितिपरिकलिते

51.

विक्रमांभोजबंधोः

पुण्ये मासे तपस्ये सवितरि मकरं याति जीवे घटस्थ ॥(१)

पक्षे शुक्लेतरस्मिन्सुरगुरुदिवसे चार्यमर्चे तृतीया-

तिथ्यां देवप्रतिष्ठामयमकृततरां मोकलो भूमिपालः ॥ ७४ ॥

उन्मीलद्यागयात्रोद्यतसुरतरुणीगीतसंग्रामधामा

सुत्रामा यावदीष्टे त्रिदशपरपरीपालनस्यष्टनीतिः ।

पर्यायोपात्तभूनां स्फुरति दशशती शेषमूर्ध्नां च याव-

52. तावप्रस्फारलक्ष्मीरवतु<sup>17</sup> वसुमतीं मोकलेंद्रस्य बाहुः ॥ ७५ ॥

श्रीमद्दशपुरप्रातिर्भट्टविष्णोस्तनूद्भवः ।

नान्नैकनाथनामायमलिखत् कृतिमुज्ज्व(ज्ज)लां ॥ १ ॥<sup>18</sup><sup>6</sup> Read °रचिता.<sup>7</sup> The *aksharas* in these brackets are damaged.<sup>8</sup> Read भूतिभूमिः(?)<sup>9</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.<sup>10</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>11</sup> Read सेवाहैवाकि° ; originally देवाकु° was engraved.<sup>12</sup> Read °कृतसुखवसन°.<sup>13</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.<sup>14</sup> Read समिद्देशः or समाधीशः, which are both names of Śiva.<sup>15</sup> Metre : Śikharinī.<sup>16</sup> Six *aksharas* of this line are omitted ; the last word of the line must have been व्यतारीत्.<sup>17</sup> Metre of verses 73-75 : Sragdharā.<sup>18</sup> Read तावत्°.<sup>19</sup> Metre : Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).



अनेकप्रासादैः परिवृतमतिप्रांशुकलशं गिरीशप्रासादं व्यरचयदग्नौरनुचरैः ॥(1)  
मनास्थो विख्यातः सकलगुणवान् वीजलसुतः सुतः शिल्पी जातो गुणमणयुतो वीसल  
इति ॥२॥<sup>19</sup>

अतिप्रशस्तीरलिख-

L. 53.

तू प्रशस्तिं<sup>20</sup> वर्णैरवर्णनेन बहिःकृतैर्यः<sup>21</sup>।

श्रीमत्समाधीशमहेश्वरस्य प्रसादतोसौ चिरजीवनोस्तु<sup>22</sup> ॥ २(३) ॥<sup>23</sup>

वी[जलस्य] सुतः शिल्पी मनास्थः सूत्रधारकः ।

तस्यात्मजेन वीसेन प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कृता ॥ ३(४) ॥<sup>24</sup>

रुचिराक्षरमुत्कीर्णा प्रशस्तिरियमुज्ज्वला ।

लिलिष<sup>25</sup> वीसलः शिल्पी शमाधीशप्रसादतः<sup>26</sup> ॥ ४(५) ॥

संवत् १४८५ वर्षे माघसुदि [३] गुरुदिने<sup>27</sup> . . . .

### XXXIII.—CHITORGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAULUKYA KUMARAPALA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1207.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on a slab of black marble which is preserved in the temple of Mokajji<sup>1</sup> at Chitorgadh, in the Udaypur state of Rājputāna. I edit it from Dr. Führer's impressions.

The inscription contains twenty-eight lines of writing which cover a space of about 1' 8" broad by 1' 3" high. Lines 1-14 are generally well preserved; but in the subsequent lines part of the writing is entirely gone, in consequence of the peeling off of the surface of the stone, on the proper right side; and from the same cause a number of *aksharas* has also disappeared on the left side, in lines 24-28. In the midst of the writing causing a break in lines 17-23, is an ornamental drawing, about 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " square, which encloses a circle about 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. Near the periphery of this circle and across the square, both vertically and horizontally, there is some writing (apparently a verse) the greater part of which is too faint to be made out. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{5}{16}$ " and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit; and nearly the whole inscription is in verse. It is carefully written and engraved, and in respect of orthography it is only necessary to state that *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is

<sup>19</sup> Metre: Śikharinī.

<sup>20</sup> Read प्रशस्तिं.

<sup>21</sup> Read बहिःकृतैः.

<sup>22</sup> Originally जीविनीस्तु was engraved.

<sup>23</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>24</sup> Metre of verses 4 and 5: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>25</sup> Read लिलिष.

<sup>26</sup> Read समाधीश.

<sup>27</sup> This word is engraved beneath the preceding वर्षे and

appears to have been followed by three or four other *aksharas*, which are illegible.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 408. [I took impressions of the inscriptions at Chitorgadh in January 1873; Mr. H. B. W. Garriok copied several of them in 1884 (*Arch. Sur. Reports*, vol. XXIII, pls. xx, xxi); and again Dr. Führer on a tour in Rājputāna took fresh impressions, one of which is used for this paper.—J. B.]



several times used instead of the palatal and the palatal once instead of the dental sibilant.

The inscription is dated (in line 28) in the year 1207, corresponding, as a year of the Vikrama era, to A.D. 1149-50 or 1150-51; and its object is, to record a visit of the Chaulukya king Kumârapâla to Mount Chitrakûṭa, the modern Chitorgadh, and some donations which on that occasion were made by the king in favour of a temple of the god Samiddheśvara (Śiva) on the hill.—After the words “Om! Adoration to the Omniscient,” the inscription has five verses, three of which glorify the god Śiva under the names of Śarva, Mṛḍa, and Samiddheśvara, while the others invoke the assistance of the goddess of eloquence, Sarasvatī, and celebrate the compositions of poets. The author then (in line 5) eulogizes the family of the Chaulukyas. In that family the king Mûlarâja was born (line 6), and when he and many other kings of the same lineage had gone to heaven, there came the king Siddharâja (line 7), who again was succeeded by Kumârapâladeva (line 9). When this king had defeated the ruler of Śâkambharī (line 10) and devastated the Śapâdalaksha country (line 11), he went to a place named Śâlīpura (line 12), and having pitched his great camp there, he came to view the glorious beauty of the Chitrakûṭa mountain; the temples, palaces, lakes or tanks, slopes and woods are extolled in lines 13-19. Kumârapâla was delighted with what he saw there, and having come to a temple of the god Samiddheśvara (line 22) which was on the northern slope of the mountain, he worshipped the god and his consort, and gave to the temple a village the name of which has not been preserved (line 26). Other donations (a *ghâṇaka* or ‘oil-mill’ for lights, etc.) are spoken of in line 27; and line 28 tells us that this *Prasasti* was composed by the chief of the Digambaras Râmakīrtti, a pupil of Jayakīrtti, and records the date, already given above.

It will be seen from this abstract of the contents that this inscription is not of a very great importance; but it shows at any rate that Kumârapâla’s well-known victory<sup>2</sup> over (Arnorâja), the ruler of the Śapâdalaksha country, whose capital was Śâkambharī (Sâmbhar) in Râjputâna, must have taken place in the Vikrama year 1207, or very shortly before it.—The place Śâlīpura at which Kumârapâla is said to have been encamped, and which must have been near Chitrakûṭa, I am unable to identify.

#### Text.<sup>3</sup>

- L. 1. श्री<sup>4</sup> ॥ नमः सर्व[ज्ञ]ाय<sup>5</sup> ॥ नमो<sup>6</sup> . . . [स]त्तार्चिर्दग्ध(ग्ध)संकल्पजम्बने । शर्वाय परम  
ज्योति[र्हृ]स्तसंकल्पजम्बने ॥ जयतात्स नृडः श्रीमाम्भुडा . . .<sup>7</sup>
2. दनाम्बु(म्बु)जे । यस्य कण्ठच्छवी रेजे से(शे)वालस्येव वल्लरी ॥ यदीयशिखरस्थितोत्तमसदन-  
ल्यदिव्यध्वजं<sup>8</sup> समंडपमहो नृणामपि विदू]
3. रतः पश्यतां । अनेकभवसंचितं क्षयमियत्तिं पापं द्रुतं स पातु पदपंकजानतद्वरिः समिधे  
श्वरः ॥ यत्रोत्तमसत्यद्रुतकारिवाचः<sup>9</sup> स्फुर[न्ति चि]
4. ते विदुषां सदा तत् । सारस्वतं ज्योतिरनंतमंतर्विस्फूर्जतां मे क्षतजायवृत्ति ॥ जयंत्यज  
अ(स)पीयूषविंदुनिच्यंदिनीमलाः<sup>10</sup> । कवीनां [सम

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, vol. I. p. 295.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions prepared by Dr. A. Führer.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Read °ज्ञाय.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh) and of the next verse

<sup>7</sup> The missing *akṣaras* are नीव.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Prithvī.

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next three verses



- L. 5. कीर्त्ती(र्त्ती)नां वाग्विलासा महोदयाः ॥ न वैरस्यस्थितिः<sup>11</sup> श्रीमान्न जलानां<sup>12</sup> समाश्रयः ।  
 रत्नराशिरपूर्वोस्ति चौलुक्यानामिहान्वयः ॥ ततो-
6. दपद्यत श्रीमान्महत्तस्तेजसां निधिः । मूलराजा(ज)महीनाथो मुक्तामणिरिवोज्ज्वल-  
 लः ॥ वितन्वति भृशं यत्र क्षेम(मं) सर्वत्र सर्वथा । प्रजा राजन्वती नून(नं) ज-
7. ज्ञेसी चिरकालतः ॥ तस्यान्वये<sup>13</sup> महति भूपतिषु क्रमेण यातेषु भूरिषु सुपर्वपतेर्निवासं ।  
 प्रीण्य वीधयशसा ककुभां मुखानि श्रीसिद्धरा-
8. जनृपतिः प्रथितो व(व)भूव ॥ जयश्रिया<sup>14</sup> समाश्लिष्टं यं विलोक्य समंततः । भ्रात्वा जगंति  
 यत्कीर्त्तिज(र्ज)गा[हे]मरमंदिरम् ॥ तस्मिन्नमरसाम्रा-
9. जां(ज्यं) संप्राप्ते नियतेष्वसात्<sup>15</sup> । कुमारपालदेवोभूत्प्रापाक्रांतशात्रवः ॥ स्वतेजसाप्रसङ्गेन  
 न परं येन शात्रवः । पदं भूभृच्छिरस्सूचैः कारि-
10. तो वं(वं)धुरप्यलं ॥ आशा यस्य महीनाथैश्चतुरस्रु(स्रु)धिमध्यगैः । ध्रियते मूर्धभिर्बन्धे(न्धे)-  
 देवशेषेव सन्ततम् ॥ महीभृन्निकु(कुं)जेषु<sup>16</sup> शाकंभरी-
11. शः प्रियापुत्रलोके न शाकंभरीशः । अपि प्राप्तशत्रुर्भयात्कंप्रभूतः स्थितौ यस्य मत्तेभवाजि-  
 प्रभूतः<sup>17</sup> ॥ सपादलक्षमामर्द्य<sup>18</sup> नम्रीक-
12. तभयानकः । [स्व]य[म]यान्महीनाथो ग्रामे शालिपुराभिधे ॥ सन्निवेश<sup>19</sup> सि(शि)विरं पृथु  
 तत्र त्रासितासहनभूपतिचक्रम् । चित्रकू-
13. टगिरिपु[ष्क]लशोभां द्रष्टुमार नृपतिः कुतुकेन ॥ यदुच्चसुरसद्वाग्रीपरिष्टात्प्रपतन्मदा<sup>20</sup>  
 रथं नयत्यलं मंदं मंदं भंगभयाद्रविः ॥ य-
14. त्कीधशिखरारूढकामिनीमुखसन्निधौ । वर्त्तमानो निशानाथो लक्ष्यते लक्ष्मलेखया ॥ प्रफुल्ल-  
 राजीवमनोहरानना<sup>21</sup> विवृत्तपाठीनविलोललोच-
15. — <sup>22</sup> — — त[भृं]गावलिरामराजयो रथांगवक्षोरुहमंडलश्रियः ॥ परिभ्रमत्सारसहंसनि-  
 खनाः सविभ्रमा हारिमृणालवा(वा)हुकाः । वृ(वृ)हन्नितंवा(वा)मलवारि-
16. — — <sup>23</sup> सुदे सतां यत्र सदा सरोज्जनाः ॥ स(सु)रभिकुसुमगंधाकृष्टमत्तालिमालाविहित-  
 मधुररावो<sup>24</sup> यत्र चाधित्यकायां । खलिततरणिभानुः सप्त-
17. — — — — — मयिषति शश्वत्कामिनः कामिनीभिः ॥ शुभे<sup>25</sup> यद्वने शाखिशिखांत  
 रालि प्रियाः क्रीडया सन्निलीना निकामं । घने [प]-
18. — — — — — [णां] [त]नूगंधसक्तालयः सूव(च)यंति ॥ प्राप<sup>26</sup> कदापि न या  
 द्दये यं सानुनयं समया द्दयेयं । यदनमेत्य सु[सं?]-
19. — — — — — [र]तरागं ॥ एवमादिगुणे<sup>27</sup> दुर्गे स्वर्गे वा भुवि [सं]-  
 स्थिते । राजा जिष्णुः परप्रीत्या संचरन्निजलोल-

<sup>11</sup> Divide, also, वैरस्य स्थितिः.

<sup>12</sup> i.e., also, जडानां.

<sup>13</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh); and of the next three

verses.

<sup>15</sup> Read तेजसात्.

<sup>16</sup> Metre: Bhujāṅgaprayāta.

<sup>17</sup> Originally मत्तेभ<sup>0</sup> was engraved.

<sup>18</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>19</sup> Metre: Svāgatā.

<sup>20</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh); and of the next verse.

<sup>21</sup> Metre: Varṇastha; and of the next verse.

<sup>22</sup> The akṣaras, here broken away, are probably नाः । प्रम.

<sup>23</sup> The akṣaras, here broken away, are probably राशयो.

<sup>24</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>25</sup> Metre: Bhujāṅgaprayāta.

<sup>26</sup> Metre: Dodhaka.

<sup>27</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh); and of all the following verses.



- L. 20. या ॥ ति . . . . . [ता?] चर्यसंकुलम् । ददर्शागाधगंभीरखण्डं स्वमिव मान-  
सम् ॥ निर्मलं सलिलं यत्र पि-  
21. हितं प[ञ्चि] — ७ — । . . . . . जे नीलाब्ज(ज)राग[भू]म्रियम् ॥ विसृज्य व्योम  
पातालरसा यत्र त्रिमार्गंगा । लोका-  
22. न् पु[नाति] . . . . . ७ — ७ — ॥ [त]स्योत्तरतटेद्राक्षीकम्भामरसमर्चितं । श्रीस-  
मिषेष्टरं देवं प्रसिद्धं  
23. जगती ७ — ॥ . . . . . ७ — ७ — ॥ ते । त्रैसंध्य[तू]र्यनादेन कलि(लि)  
निर्भर्त्सयन्निव ॥ य[त्स्त?]वस्याधिपत्येस्थात्परा भ-  
24. शारिकोत्त[मा।] . . . [वी] नृपाभ्य[र्षा?] . . . ७ — ७ — ॥ तस्याः शिवाभवत्साध्वी  
सुव्रतव्रातभूषिता । गौरदेवीति वि[स्थ] . . . [ता?]कतोद्यमा ॥ सु[मनो?] . .  
25. संसेव्या [मा ?] . . यविनाशिनी । दुर्गा हि . . . . . ७ — ७ — [ता] ॥  
यत्तपः पावनं वीक्ष्य पवित्रीकृतसज्जनं । सस्मरुः पूर्वयमि . . . . . ७ — ७ — ॥  
शिवं प्रपूज्य त[त्प] . .  
26. . . [म]गमत्प्रभुः । प्रणम्य [तावुभौ?] भक्त्या सि(शि)रसा . ७ — ७ — ॥ . . . . .  
[तस्मा?]तः पूजार्थं हरपादयोः । कुमारपालदेवोदात्तमं श्री . ७ — ७ — ॥ <sup>28</sup> . . . स्यां  
दिश्वाराम . .  
27. . टा दक्षिणपूर्वोत्तरपश्चिमतः सरःपालो भूषादित्य . . . . . राज . . . दीपार्थं घाण-  
कमेवं सज्जनोप्यदात् दंडनाथ . . . . . मेतद्दानम् . . .  
28. श्रीज[य]कीर्त्तिशिष्येण<sup>29</sup> दिगंभ(व)रगणेशिना । प्रशस्तिरीदृशी चक्रे . . श्रीरामकीर्त्तिना ॥  
संवत् १२०७ सूत्रधा . . . . . <sup>30</sup>

# XXXIV—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SŪBA OF DELHI.

## No. II.

By PAUL HORN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

The following inscriptions are in continuation of, and in addition to, those contained in a previous paper, *ante*, pp. 130 *seq.* I begin with Fathâbâd, which was there represented by the inscription from Fîrôz Shâh's famous pillar.<sup>1</sup>

## FATHÂBÂD.

1. To the left of the *mihirâb* of what is now an 'Idgâh in the fort of Fathâbâd, is a light-coloured rectangular sandstone, with an inscription of ten lines, measuring 2' 3" by

<sup>28</sup> In the prose passage, from here up to the end of line 27, it is impossible to say exactly how many *aksharas* are broken away in each place.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>30</sup> Below this line some more *aksharas* have been roughly engraved; but they are quite illegible in the impression.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. H. B. W. Garrick, in General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XXIII, p. 11, remarks that Maulawi Ziyâ uddîn Khân has been successful in deciphering the long inscription on the above-mentioned monolith (see plate II there); but, so far as I know, the translation has not yet been published.



1' 2½", of which Mr. Garrick gives a good copy (*Arch. Sur. India Rep.* vol. XXIII plate iii)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وإن المساجد [لله] فلا يدعوا [sic]  
مع الله أحدًا وإنه لما قام عبد الله يدعوا [ا] كادر [ا] يكرنن  
عليه إبدأ قال عليه السلام [من] بني الله [sic] مسجدا يبتغى به وجه الله بني الله له في  
الجنة مثله تمام شد این مسجد در ایام دوات شاه اعظم والحقان المعظم  
مالك الرقاب طرايف الامم من الهند والترك والعرب والعجم رافع رايات [ا] لمجاهدات  
والمغازي محمد همايرن بادشاه غازي خلد الله تعالى ملكه في بحار الطف [sic]  
فلكه بسع [sic] جناب سعادة فرجام زبدة فضلاء الانام نتيجة الامراء العظام امير رستم بيك بن  
جناب المغفور المبرور المختص امير محمد علي الله تعالى محام . . . . . في الثاني: ماه رمضان  
سنة خمس [و] اربعين وتسعمائة كارفرماء فقير عبد الكريم درقد برای جراغ بر مرزوم [؟] تعين کرده شد  
طلاق است اورا هرکه منع کند . .

"In the name," etc. (*Qorán*, Súra lxxii, 18, 19). "The prophet,—upon whom be peace,—says, 'He who builds, etc.' This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî*,—May God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom [*and guide*] his ship in the seas of His favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amîrs, Amîr Rustam Beg, son of his highness the pardoned and purified chosen Amîr Muhammad 'Alî,—God Almighty. . . . . on the 2nd of the month Ramazân A. 945 (*the 22nd January, 1539*). The superintendent of the work (*was*) the poor 'Abdul-Karîm."

The verse at the end of the inscription cannot be fully deciphered. The whole has a striking resemblance to the inscription of Amîr Muhammad's mosque at *Hişâr* (*ante*, p. 155).

2. Into the outer wall of the mosque enclosure in the fort of Fathâbâd a rectangular sandstone is let containing a well-known invocation of 'Alî in Arabic, in four lines, size 1' 2¾" by 6¾"—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ناد عليا مظهر  
العجايب تجده عونالك في النوايب كل  
هم رغم سينجلى بنبرتك يا محمد بولايتك  
يا علي يا علي يا علي تم تم تم

"In the name, etc. Invoke 'Alî, the manifestor of miracles; thou wilt find him



for thy help in adversities. Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish through thy prophetship, O Muhammad, through thy saintliness, O 'Alî, O 'Alî, O 'Alî, O 'Alî!"

### HIŞÂR.<sup>3</sup>

3. Near the Nâgôr-Gate, outside the town, is a sandstone (measuring 5' by 4"), on four sides covered with inscriptions. It belonged to the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Chishtî, but it is now on a wrong grave, where it was placed a short time ago, on being dug up. The inscription, in one line, on the west upper side, runs—

نقل این سلطان المشايخ والاوليا شيخ محمد بن شيخ محمود چشتی فی التاسع من شعبان سنة اثنی  
وتسعين وثمانماية

"The departure of this king of the Shaikhs and the Saints, Shaikh Muhammad, son of Mahmûd, the Chishtî,<sup>4</sup> (took place) on the 9th Sha'bân, 892 (31st July, 1487)."

Since the tomb of so highly revered a man as Shaikh Muhammad Chishtî was may claim some interest, I give also the Arabic inscriptions of the lower west side and of the east face—

يا من بدنياه اشتغل قد غره طول الامل الموت ياتي بغتة والقبر صندوق العمل

Metre: *Rajaz*.

"Ah! He that is occupied with his earthly life and the length of his hope (*i.e.*, his hoped life-time) deceives himself! Death comes unexpectedly, and the tomb is the coffin of his work."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه  
الا اتما الدنيا كمنزل راكب اينام عشيا وهو في الصبح راحل

"In the name, *etc.*, there is no God but, *etc.* Is not the world verily like the station of a camel-rider? Will he sleep in the evening when he is to depart in the morning?"

4. Outside the Nâgôr-Gate is also the enclosure known as Shaikh Junaid's tomb. The stone on the west contains the name of the builder twice, who, in spite of the omission of any title, may nevertheless be identical with the Shaikh named, from his also being

<sup>3</sup> This formula is very popular for amulets all over the East. It is engraved on bracelets just as on swords (see *Proceedings As. S. Beng.* for November 1872, p. 189). Mr. Blochmann gives it in his *Āin-i Akbarī* Translation, p. 507, with an unmetrical alteration in the second line. But see also *Proceedings As. S. Beng.* (*loc. cit.*)

<sup>4</sup> Some of the following inscriptions were published by Blochmann, in *Proceedings As. S. Beng.* for April 1877, pp. 94 seq.

<sup>5</sup> The most extensive essay on the whole branch of the Chishtî Saints (see *ante*, p. 145) is in the *Sawāḥir ul-anwār*, a copy of which work is in India Office library in London. The contents of this large volume (481 pages of 17 lines each) have been copiously described by Prof. C. H. Ethé in his Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts of the India Office Collection (No. 654), for access to the proof sheets of which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. R. Rost. It is known that biographies of single Chishtîs are likewise given in other works and that there are writings treating of single members as the *Maṭlūb uṭṭalibīn*, which is restricted to the life and deeds of *Nizām uddīn Auliya*. Compared with such books those of the princess Jahānārāi about Shaikh Mu'īn uddīn and of her brother Dārā Shukōh (*Safinat ul-awliya*) are very dilettante. I have perused the whole of the first and looked over the latter in the manuscripts at the British Museum. This is not the place to speak at large of the value of the literary products of the two princely authors, but I may mention that I was disappointed with them, and the most by Dārā Shukōh's, which pretends to be more serious than Jahānārāi's unassuming book. They do not furnish us with original information of importance concerning the Chishtîs, as one would be disposed to expect, considering the close relation of both with Shaikh Mu'īn uddīn.



born at Ajôdhan,— the name for Dîpâlpûr,— too striking an accord.<sup>5</sup> But then the date of the latter's death, as given in the *Khazînat ul-asfiyâ*, which Blochmann has extracted, must be too early. The size of the two inscriptions is 7' 6" by 7", and 6' by 4½", respectively.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الغرة من ربيع الاول سنة سبع وعشرين وتسع مائة بانيه جنيد بن چندان

"In the name, *etc.* On the first Rabi'ul-awwal, 927 (9th February, 1521). The builder of it (*was*) Junaid, son of Chandan."

الغرة من شهر ذي القعدة سنة احدى وثلاثين وتسع مائة بانيه جنيد بن چندان بن محمود اچودهنی

"On the first Zi'l-Qa'da, 931 (20th August, 1525). Its builder (*was*) Junaid, son of Chandan, son of Mahmûd, of Ajôdhan."<sup>6</sup>

There are some other inscriptions from the same Mausoleum, but of no value. One, measuring 2' 1½" by 6", contains, in two lines, the *Bismillâh* and the *Kalima*; two others from the north and west sides of the N.-W. pillar of the tomb, each measuring 1' 1" square, bear *Qorân*, Sûra cxii, adorned with flowers.<sup>7</sup>

5. Over the western arch inside a tomb, west of the road leading from Hişâr to Dâna Shêr, outside the town half a mile from the Dihlî-Gate, is an inscription in *stucco*; it measures 1' 2" by 1' 1½", and contains eight lines, but very much damaged—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله . . . . .

در عهد میمون و دولت

همایرن . . . . . خلد ملکه و سلطانه

واعلى امره و شانه این

عمارت ازان و البوخان

. . . . . بن میر . . . . . بن

سلطان ملکبک در سیم [؟] ماه رمضان

. . . . . سنه ثلاث واربعين وتسعمائة تمام شد

"In the auspicious time and reign of Humâyûn (*the king, etc.*)—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, and elevate his condition and dignity!—this building of Waltû Khân . . . . ., son of Mîr . . . . . son of Sultân Malik Bêg, was finished on the third [?] of month Ramzân, A. 943 (13th February, 1537)."

Along the right-hand side, almost in the same line with the above, are the following words:—

این . . . . . بادشاه . . . . . بیست هزار تنکه سیه [؟] باهتمام شیخ منور بن قاسم [؟] اتمام شد

<sup>5</sup> Shaikh Farîd uddîn Mas'ûd was also born at Ajôdhan,—see W. Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, No. 590, p. 556.

Mr. Ghulâm Husain, who prepared the impressions of all these inscriptions with the same care as those of the former Panjâb series, remarks that both have been published by Amîn Chând in his *Settlement Report*, a work which is not to hand.

In the neighbourhood of this Mausoleum also the pre-Muhammadan pillar stands which, according to Captain W. Brown,—*Journal of A. S. Beng.* vol. VII, (1838), p. 429,—“has the appearance of having been partially worked by Feroz's orders, and probably some inscription was cut upon it by his workmen, but of which there is now no trace owing to the peeling off of the exterior surface.” Cf. Gen. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. V, p. 140 *et seq.*



" . . . . . 20,000 copper-tankas (1,000 rupees) was completed under the superintendence of Shaikh Munawwar, son of Qâsim."

Owing to the bad condition of the stone all the words are not certain.

6. The following two inscriptions come from the same place as No. 5. Their sizes are 3' 1½" by 1' 9", and 3' by 1' 6", respectively, each containing seven lines. The tomb itself is in poor condition and greatly neglected, but the inscriptions have been well preserved—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم در عهد میمن و دولت همایون سلطان  
الهند و الخراسان رافع رايات المجاهدات والمغازي محمد همایون  
بادشاه غازي خلد خلافته اين عمارت بتاريخ ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه  
اربع واربعين وتسعمائة تمام شد راین گنبد  
بر تردي كوجك بن مير برنطق مغل شده است  
راين جوان در لشكر گجرات شهادت يافت  
و مبلغ بانزده هزار تنكه سياه خرچ شده است

"In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzî*,—May (God) perpetuate his khalifate!—this building was completed in the month Rajab—May its dignity be magnified!—of the year 944 (*began the 4th December, 1537*). And this cupola (*was made*) for the sake of Tardî Kuchuk, son of Mîr Baranṭaq, the Moghul; and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarât. The cost was 15,000 copper-tankas (750 rupees)."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم در عهد میمن و دولت همایون  
سلطان الهند و الخراسان رافع رايات المجاهدات و المغازي  
طهیرالدین محمد همایون بادشاه غازي خلد خلافته بتاريخ ماه  
رمضان سنه اربع واربعين و تسعمائة اين عمارت از برای [؟]  
میر عاشق محمد بن میر شاه علی شد راین  
جوان در لشكر گجرات شهادت يافت  
و مبلغ درازده هزار تنكه سياه خرچ شده

"In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, *Tahîr*<sup>8</sup> uddîn Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzî*,—May (God) perpetuate his khalifate!—this building was completed during the month Ramazân of the year 944 (*began the 1st February, 1538*). It was made for the sake of Mîr 'Âshiq Muhammad, son of Mîr Shâh 'Alî,<sup>9</sup> and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarât. The cost was 12,000 copper-tankas (600 rupees)."

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Blochmann has wrongly read Humâyûn's common kunya *Nasîr uddîn*; but here *Tahîr uddîn* has been engraved. *Zahîr uddîn* was Bâbar's kunya.

<sup>9</sup> Here 'Alab has been engraved, but this is no name.



Both youths probably served in the Gujarât war that ended with Bahâdur Shâh's victory, A.H. 942. Then, or perhaps in Muhammad Zamân Mirzâ's attempt to overpower the country, their death may have occurred, and they afterwards found a tomb at home, Gujarât being lost to Humâyûn.

7. Over the *mihrab* of an 'Îdgâh at Dâna Sher, one mile south of Hîşâr on the old Hânsî road, is an inscription of four lines in *stucco*, measuring 1' 9" by 4½". It is in very bad condition, being exposed to wind and weather. I try to read it thus—

این مسجد [؟] . . . . . بک ابن بولاد سرانی . . . . . سررا [نی] بن  
ادریس سرانی . . . . . مسند عالی دولتخانه در عهد شیرشاه  
سلطان سنه تسع نع [sic] اربعین سبع . . . . . تمام شد . . . . .  
خرچ شد مبلغ درازده [؟] هزار

"This mosque of . . . Bêg, son of Pûlâd Sarvânî . . . son of Idrîs Sarvânî . . . the high *Masnad* of the *Daulatkhâna*, was finished in the reign of Shêr Shâh, the king, in the year 947 (*began the 8th May, 1540*) . . . The cost was 12,000 . . ."

With Messrs. Ghulâm Hysain and the late E. Rehatsek (who made rough versions of many of these epigraphs) I have supposed that we have here a barbarous construction, contrary to the Arabic usage, the date beginning with the hundreds instead of the units. مع would then be for مائة 'hundred', scarcely for مع; so I read the monarch's name as Shêr Shâh, which is possible. And surely, if مع were only a blunder, perhaps of the stone-cutter, a reiterated *tis*', only with a shortening of the long stroke of the *sîn*, and the date in this case were 749, one could not read the king's name as Muhammad, as would then be necessary, or the word after *sab*' as *mi'at*. Besides, there are some words, especially '*in masjid*', that I cannot warrant as certain.<sup>10</sup>

### HÂNSÎ.

Mr. H. B. W. Garrick (*ut sup.*, pp. 15, 16) gives a list of the principal inscriptions found at Hânsî. Some of them have already been published by Blochmann, that of the Dînî mosque, also *ante*, p. 159. There are several others perhaps also deserving notice that are not mentioned in Mr. Garrick's list, but I miss also some inscriptions of his in Mr. Rodgers's collection.<sup>11</sup>

Because Hânsî was an important place in the times of the early Pathân Sultâns, it is not surprising that numerous old inscriptions of that dynasty are found there. If we do

<sup>10</sup> In the *Ma'âthir ul-Umarâ*, vol. I, p. 583, it is mentioned by the way that the *dârôghagî* of the *daulatkhâna* was bestowed only upon trustworthy men. The author of the *Târikh-i Shêrshâhî*, 'Abbâs Khân, son of Shaikh 'All, was also a Sarvânî, an Afghan tribe tracing its lineage to the mythic Bâtan (see *Âin-i Akbarî*, I, 591), likewise 'Azam Humâyûn (who lived in Sultân Ibrâhîm Lûdî's time, cf. *Bâbar's Memoirs*, pp. 347, 392; *Akbarnâma*, vol. I, p. 103) and therefore also his son Fath Khân Khânjahân (*Bâbar's Memoirs*, pp. 390, 392, *Akbarnâma*, vol. I, pp. 103, 104), and grandson Mahmûd Khân (*Bâbar's Memoirs*, p. 393, *Akbarnâma*, vol. I, p. 104), or Bahâdur Khân, whose tomb Bâbar visited at Sôgandpûr (*Memoirs*, p. 491), and others. For another Shêr Shâh inscription of the same year (at Sakî) see *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* for May 1874, p. 105.

<sup>11</sup> e.g. Nos. 1, 3, 4. I leave it to the reader to correct Mr. Garrick's little mistakes concerning the single inscriptions and their readings.



not take into account the Dihlî inscriptions from the years 587 (E. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Dehli*, p. 22 or *Journal Asiatique*, V<sup>me</sup> série, vol. XVI (1860), p. 274) and of 592 (E. Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 24, and *Jour. Asiat.*, p. 240), we have here the oldest dated Muhammadan one in India, viz. of 593 (of the same year is also a Dihlî inscription,—see *Jour. Asiat. u.s.* p. 240). Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb has no original inscription relating to this pious man, and is a remnant of even an older period for the saint in 559 A.H. became a martyr in Sultân Shihâb uddîn Ghôrî's attack upon the fort of Hânsî (see Mr. Garrick's *Report*, p. 13). Not a few inscriptions evidently are also very old, but they bear no dates.

8. The rectangular sandstone, with the following inscription of one line, measuring 4' 11" by 6", serves now as a lintel to the doorway of the third enclosure of Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb. Formerly it belonged to a mosque built by 'Alî, son of Isfandiyâr; it is of the 5th year of Muhammad ibn Sâm's reign:—

امر بنا هذا المسجد العبد علي بن اسفنديار في عشر ذي الحجة سنة ثلث وتسعين وخمسمائة

"This mosque was ordered to be built by the slave (of God) 'Alî, son of Isfandiyâr on the 10th Zil Hijja, 593 (24th October, 1197)."

9. The *masjid* walls of the second enclosure of Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb contain also other inscriptions that originally had nothing to do with it. Into the outer western wall a rectangular light-coloured sandstone has been built horizontally, bearing one line (size 3' by 1'), and mentioning the monarch's name under whose rule the inscription falls. Originally it was the jamb of a door. It is frightfully decayed, but the following is quite legible:—

[ابر]المظفر محمد بن سام ناصر امير المومنين . . . . .

"[Abu'l] Muzaffar Muhammad, son of Sâm, the helper of the Khalif of the faithful."

The other jamb contains also one line (measuring 3' 7½" by 11"); the lintel has not been found:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من بنا لله مسجداً في الدنيا بنا [الله له] قصر [ا في الجنة] . . . . .

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! Who builds a mosque in this world for God, God will build for him a castle in paradise....."

Other inscriptions from Muhammad ibn Sâm's reign, besides the above-mentioned Dihlî ones, have been published by E. Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings*, pp. 24 (A.H. 594) and 25 (A.H. 596).

Of no historical value are the inscriptions over the doorway inside (1' by 11"), only a fragment, in large characters, containing two words, being a part of a king's title [رك والعجم]; over the northern window in the outer wall (2' 5" by 3½"), the first half of *Qorân*, Sûra ii, verse 215—, and in the northern inside wall (1' 7" by 6"), a fragment, *Qorân*, Sûra ix, verse 9). But there is no reference to the age of all.

10. South-east of the town, about 150 yards from the walls, is the tomb of the four *Qutbs* or Saints (cf. Mr. Garrick's *Report*, p. 14, and plate vii). In the wall of the



enclosure is the following inscription, which originally belonged to the grave of some unnamed noble lady. It consists of two lines and measures 4' 3" by 11"—

تمت القبر المستورة الجليله نور الله قبرها وغفر الله لها في جنة الماري  
يا ارحم الرحمين [sic] وذلك بالتاريخ الحادي غرت ذوالقعدة سنة اثني عشرين ستملية

“Finished was the tomb of the veiled noble lady,—May Allâh illuminate her tomb and may Allâh pardon her in the garden of the asylum (*Paradise*)! O most merciful of the merciful! This took place on the 1st Zil Qa'da, 622 (*4th November, 1225*).”

It is curious that the word *qabr* is used as feminine, of course only from its being occupied by a woman. The year 622 falls in the reign of Shams-uddîn Altamsh, as does that of the following inscription, No. 11.

Entering the courtyard of the tomb one meets an undated fragmentary inscription, which has found a place in the wall, facing south, its original position not being known. It is much decayed, and consists of two lines (1' 10½" by 1' 1½"). A complement of it must be Mr. Garrick's sixth one—

گید[لانی] و بفردرس سلطانی  
بندہ مسعود محمد صفهانی برد

“[Gî]lânî and to Firdâus Sultânî. He was a slave of Mas'ûd Muhammad of Isfahân.”

In the wall of the mosque of the four *Qutbs* is a fragmentary inscription of two lines, measuring 1' 4" by 1'—

بترفیق حضرت  
کمال [جمال] ابن . . . . .

“By the grace of his highness Kamâl, son of.....”

11. At the mosque of Bû Âlî Bakhsî in the Moghulpâra-Quarter of Hânsî is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 2' 6" by 6", with two lines—

هذا عمارة المسجد العبد الضعيف احمد بن محمد اسمندي  
في المنتصف ربيع الاخر سنة ثلث والعشرين وستماية

“This building (*is*) the mosque of the feeble slave (*of God*) Ahmad, son of Muhammad, of Asmand. In the middle of Rabî' II, 623 (*began the 1st April, 1226*).”

Mr. Blochmann remarks that Asmand is a small place near Samarqand.

There are also two other inscriptions over the north and south arches of the same mosque, the first (1' ½" by 7½") containing the *Bismillâh*, with the *Kalîma*, the second (1' by 7") being a fragment.

12. Half a mile to the west of the town, in the fields, is an 'Idgâh and on the left of its central arch (*mihráb*) is an old fragmentary inscription of two lines (measuring 2' 10½" by 1'), very much damaged. It runs—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عيسى ابن مريم اللهم ربنا انزل علينا مائدة  
ناصر الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر [?] محمود بن السلطان . . . . .

“In the name, *etc.* Jesus, the son of Mary, has said, “O God, our Lord, send down to us a table from heaven [*to be to us as a festival, etc.*],—*Qorân*, Sûra v, verse 114.



Because the inscription is so worn there may be doubts about the king's name. I think it was Nāṣir uddīn Mahmūd, second son of Altamsh of *that* name, who reigned A.H. 644-664, of whose time only one inscription has yet been published, *vis.* by Blochmann in the *Jour. As. Soc. B.*, vol. XLII, p. 248, note [A.H. 652, at Aligarh]. In spite of the want of any date we are scarcely allowed to think of his elder brother, owing to Mr. Thomas' remarks in his *Pathān Kings*, p. 84.

In the central arch of the same 'Idgāh another old inscription of two lines of Altamsh's reign is said to be, size 2' 9½" by 1'.

13. On a loose stone in the courtyard of Bū 'Alī Bakhsh's mosque is a fragment, (the right half not being found) of three lines, size 1' 4" by 1' 2½":—

شاه گیاه معزالدنيا

سلطان خلد ملکه در نوبت

بهرل بن مهرباک الانی بر . . . . . محرم سنه سبع وثمانین وستمائة

"The king of the world Mu'izz uddunyā,.....the Sultān,—May (God) perpetuate his reign!—in the time of.....Bahlūl, son of Mihrā (?) Bēg, Alānī... Muharram, 687 (*began the 6th February, 1288*)."

The name of the grandee is not certain. For other inscriptions of Kaiqobād see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 158, and note 42.

14. About a quarter of a mile north of the fort of Hānsī is the tomb of Walāyat Shāh Sultān Shāhid. Here are two inscriptions of no value; one mentioning the date 713, measuring 1' 10½" by 1' 2½", in three lines, the other measuring 1' 10½" by 5½", in one line, being a portion of *Qorān*, Sūra ii, verse 256.

15. At the mosque of the *Qutbs* (see No. 10) a rectangular sandstone bears eight lines in coarse and indistinct characters; size 3' 8" by 11":—

الملك لله

بتوفیق الله تعالى بنده درگاه سبحانی ابا بکر نام جلوانی که یکی

از مریدان پیر دستگیر سلطان المشایخ شیخ ابرالفتح قدس الله سره العزیز است

در پایان قطب اقطاب عالم شیخ جمال الحق والشرع والدين طاب ثراه وجعل

الجنة مثواه ونور الله مراقده در وقت جلوس سجاده بندگی سلطان المشایخ

شیخ فرید مد الله عمره این مسجد راس کنایید هر که درین مسجد نماز بگذارد بدعاى

اینان [?] یاد کند کاتب حرورف رضی قطب نایب قاضی هانسی . . . . .

الخامس والعشرين من ماه رجب قدره سنه ست وتسعين وثمانماية سنکتراش امین [?] بیرلال [?]

ناگوری

"The Kingdom belongs to God!"

'By Almighty God's grace, the slave of the glorious court, Abā Bakr by name, Jalwānī,<sup>13</sup> one of the disciples of the guiding spiritual chief, the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh

<sup>13</sup> In *Bābar's Memoirs* occur also *Jalwānīs*, by name Ima'īl (pp. 338, 496, 497) and Mubārak Khān (p. 491), or Rāi Husain, a partisan of Shēr Khān (*vide Akbar-nāma*, vol. I, p. 164), and others. I have read *Jadā* (first word of the 7th line) instead of *īdān*, as has been engraved on the stone.



Abu'l Fath,—May God sanctify his dear secret!—has laid the foundation of this mosque at the feet of the pole of the poles of the world, Shaikh *Jamâl ul-haqq washshar' waddîn* (i.e. Shaikh Jamâl uddîn),—May his grave be fragrant! May (God) make Paradise his mansion, and may God illuminate his resting-place!—at the time when the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Farîd,—May God lengthen his life!—ascended to the throne of the spiritual rule. Every one who prays in this mosque should remember these men in his prayer.

“The writer of the words (*was*) Razâ Qutb, the representative of the judge of Hânsî . . . On the 25th Rajab,—May its power increase!—896 (*3rd January, 1491*). The stone-cutter (*was*) Amîn(?) Bîr Lâl of Nâgôr.”

In the first line, to the left of the words “The kingdom belongs to God,” in smaller characters, the name of the reigning king is given—

در عهد بادشاه زمان [?] سکندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه

“In the time of the king of the age, Sikandar Shâh, son of Buhlûl Shâh, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!”

16. In the north inner wall of the Barsî gate in Hânsî is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 1' 5" by 1' 1", on which are five lines—

بناء عمارت این دروازه متین علوی با مرمت حصن حصین علائی

که مرورخست سنه اثني وسبعماية در عهد سلطان السلاطين ابرالمظفر

ابراهيم شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و در عمل مسند عالي حميد خان

[1] مانتخان کمال و در شقداری خواجه شيخ [9] محمد و بفرمایش موکل بن کمال

. . . . . في الخامس من شهر ذي القعدة سنة ثمان وعشرين وتسعمائة كاتب خانزاده نصر مفتي هانسي

“The building of the edifice of this solid, high gate, together with the repairs of the strong upper fort,<sup>13</sup> dated 702 A.H. (*began 26th August, 1302*), (*took place*) in the time of the king of kings, *Abu'l Muzaffar Ibrâhîm Shâh*, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—and during the governorship of the high *Masnad* Hamîd Khân, son of Amânat Khân Kamâl and during the *shiqdârî* of Khwâja Shaikh Muhammad, and by order of Muwakkal, son of Kamâl...., on the 5th Zi'l Qa'da, 928 (*26th September, 1522*). The writer (*was*) Khânzâda Nasr, the Muftî of Hânsî.”

Hamîd Khân is known to have been governor of Hisâr Fîrôza; he was defeated in battle by Prince Humâyûn A.H. 932 (*Akbarnâma*, vol. I, p. 94, and *Bâbar's*

<sup>13</sup> As we learn from an inscription on the same gate, to the left of the entrance, published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. B.*, for May 1877, p. 122, and mentioned by Mr. Garrick (No. 6), the correct year of the first fortification of Hânsî was 703, not 702. The repairing of the fort which most probably Muhammad Shâh had intended be an outpost against the Moghuls, was useless against their final invasion under Akbar.



*Memoirs*, p. 339, where he is styled *Hamîda Khân Khâssa Khailî, shiqdâr* of Hisâr Fîrôza).

The following inscription refers also to Muhammad Shâh's fortification of the place.<sup>14</sup> Originally it consisted of three parts that are now scattered. The larger portion, given here, is at present doing duty as the headstone of a grave near the Husain Gate; a smaller one has been let into the brick wall of a well, near the same gate, and is fast being destroyed. The inscription, in heavy characters, is a very fine one, and ought to be preserved. Two lines, size 3' 3" by 1' 6"—

بناء عمارت این حصن حصین و دروازه متین در عهد [سلطان السلاطین]

جم نشان و سلیمان تمکین سکندر زمان ابرالمظفر محمد شاه السلاطین

"The building of the edifice of this strong fort and solid gate (*was*) in the time of (*the king of kings*) celebrated like Jamshêd, of high dignity like Solomon, the Alexander of the period, *Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shâh*, the king....."<sup>15</sup>

17. Inside of the *mihrâb* of the mosque of the Makhdûm Şâhib Asbraf in the Weavers' Quarter of Hânsî, is a very old inscription in square Kufic characters that must be of the first Pathân period. It measures 1' 1" by 9" and consists of the *Kalima* only. Over the outer gateway of the enclosure of the same mosque is found a poor inscription of three lines (9½" by 6"), giving the date, "Month Şafar 989," (*began 7th March, 1581*). The old mosque therefore was repaired in Akbar's time.

18. Outside the stables of Haidar Bêg, high up in a wall is a rectangular sandstone, bearing an inscription of nine lines (size 1' 9½" by 1' 7"). It is frightfully worn and can be deciphered only with the greatest difficulty. But the following is certain:—

بعنايت . . . . .

در عهد دولت سلطان السلاطین

ابرالمظفر شهاب الدین محمد صاحب

<sup>14</sup> Perhaps also to the Barsî Gate (Blochmann No. 3, Garrick No. 6).

<sup>15</sup> Other inscriptions of 'Alâ uddîn Muhammad Shâh's reign (A.H. 695-715) have been published in General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XX, p. 76 (A.H. 705, at Bayâna), by E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings*, p. 173 (A.H. 710, at Dihlî), and by Blochmann, *Proceedings of As. Soc. B.*, for August 1873, p. 156 (A.H. 711, at Râprî), (also No. 22 below). I would here call attention to a work that may be very important for the history of another monarch of the Khiljî tribe, viz. of Mahmûd Shâh I. of Mâlwa. The Royal Library at Berlin possesses a MS. that seems to be unique; at least I have found no second copy in the accessible catalogues of manuscripts, and the late Mr. E. Rehatsek did not know of one elsewhere. Its title is *Ma'âthir-i Mahmûdshâhî wa siyar-i khilâfat-pandâhî*, written in the lifetime of Mahmûd Shâh I. of Mâlwa, as the author 'Alî Ibn Mahmûd ul-Kirmânî states, by Mahmûd's own order. The writer shows himself well acquainted with many private adventures of his sovereign, especially with his dreams before the occupation of the throne, and he describes fully these inviting divine messages as justifying the rebellion of the subject against his former master. Although partly composed in a very bombastic style, it would still be worth publishing, all the more as it is a proof of the taste then reigning at the court of Mâlwa. Mahmûd is related to have been always a favourer of learned men. It is stated in this work that for the engraving of the inscriptions on the splendid *Madrasa Bâmi Bihisht*, built by Shâh Mahmûd A.H. 845 in his capital, he employed Persian artists because of their higher dexterity, and these applied the *thulth* and *muhaggaq* kinds of writing (Fol. 89). This may be a hint in cases where nothing is related concerning the nationality of the stone-cutters. It is remarkable how many of the 'modern' Indian caligraphists mentioned in the 34th chapter of the first book of the *Ain-i Akbarî* (cf. also Mr. Blochmann's translation, p. 100, *et seq.* and notes) were strangers by birth and only afterwards settled in India. The Kufic style that has flourished in Arabia, Egypt and Spain has produced only some scanty flowers in India, but this is easily explained by the later date of Islâm in India, the Kufic period then already having passed. Some remarks about the caligraphy of the inscriptions are to be found in the *Jour. of As. S. B.*, vol. XL, p. 267-8, and in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*.



قران ثاني شاه جهان بادشاه غازي  
 خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه  
 . . . . . اين جاه زنان شد . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 بتاريخ هفتم ماه شعبان المعظم  
 سنه سبع وخمسين والف

“By the favour of . . . in the time and reign of the king of kings, *Abu'l Mu-  
 zaffar Shiháb uddín* Muhammad, second lord of the conjunction, *Shâhjahân*,  
*Bâdishâhi Ghâzi*—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! . . . of this well  
 for women . . . on the 7th of the honoured month *Sha'bân* in the year 1057 (7th  
*September*, 1647).”

The words *châh-i zandn*—“well for women,” seem to be certain, so that there can be no  
 uncertainty about the establishment the inscription refers to. In the fourth chapter of the  
 third book of the *Áin-i Akbarí*, vol. I, p. 284, it is stated amongst the duties of  
 the *Kotwal*, to reserve separate ferries and wells for men and women.

19. On the east wall of the enclosure of a tomb in the court-yard of *Makhdûm*  
*Şâhib Ashraf's* mosque is an inscription, measuring 1' 2" by 8½", in a very bad con-  
 dition; only the date الف ثمانين سبع سنه 'A.H. 1087' (*began the 16th March, 1676*) and  
 the name of the architect بسعي معمار شريف 'by the effort of the architect Sharif' are  
 legible. The reigning monarch was Aurangzêb Âlamgîr.

20. There are also some fragments of inscriptions, found at Hânsî, that for want of  
 any characteristic indications, cannot be ascribed to a certain epoch, e.g. a portion of the  
 so-called throne-verse (*Qorân*, Sura ii, 256) engraved on a sandstone that has found a  
 place above the outer doorway of the courtyard of the mosque, a little west of the fort, or  
 a part of the well-known *hadîth* about the building of mosques, on the well in the  
 Dâk Bangla compound (size 8" by 20", one line).

#### BHAṬINḌA.

21. Bhaṭinḍa, the Bhatti's city, according to the very probable etymology of Mr.  
 Garrick, p. 5, has always had a strong fort.<sup>16</sup> There is preserved a large cannon of  
 Aurangzêb's time bearing two inscriptions:—

هر الغالب  
 در عهد ابوالظفر محى الدين محمد  
 اورنگ زیب بهادر عالم گیر  
 بادشاه عازى توپ اورنگ شاهى  
 مرتب شد سنه يک هزار و هفتاد و سه هجرى  
 باهتمام مرید فدري باخلاص  
 معتمد خان فى سنه ۵ جلوس  
 مبارک ولا

<sup>16</sup> Bhaṭinḍa is mentioned in the *Áin-i Akbarí* amongst others as a place where Akbar often hunted leopards vol. I,  
 207, and near which camels were numerous, vol. I, p. 146.



"He (*God*) is the conqueror! In the time of *Abu'l Zafar Muhyi'ddîn Muhammad Aurangzêb Bahâdur 'Âlamgîr, Bâdishâh-i Ghâzî*, the *Aurangshâh-cannon* was set up in A.H. 1073 (*began the 16th August, 1662*). By the efforts of the devoted and sincere subject *Mu'tamid Khan*, in the 5th year of the blessed reign."

در عمل متبراداس دلارامجی

..... ترب .....

در قلعه گوالیار مرتب شد

"During the office of *Mathurâdâs Dilârâmjî*..... the cannon has been placed in the fort of *Gwâliâr*."

The cannon, consequently, was placed at first at *Gwâliâr*, where *Mu'tamid Khân* was commandant from the 24th *Jumâdî I*, 1071.<sup>17</sup> Afterwards it was brought to *Bhatînda*.

Inscriptions from other cannons have been published by Major St. G. D. Showers,—*Shâhjahân's gun Jahânkushâ* by name, see *Jour. As. Soc. B.*, vol. XVI, (1847), p. 589,—and by Blochmann—a trophy gun formerly belonging to the Bengal Artillery, A.H. 1186 (*began 4th April, 1772*),—see *Proc. As. Soc. B.*, for November 1872, p. 169.<sup>18</sup>

#### ROHTAK.<sup>19</sup>

22. Over the *mih râb* of the *Âdîna* mosque in the town of *Rohtak* are two lines, size 4' 6" by 1' 2"; the letters partly are very much damaged:—

تبرکات حضرت بردانی در خراب ..... محمدی ..... بالمله مسلمانان ..... حاوی [بی] حامی

ملک حوالی علا الدین والدین ..... سلاطین جهان

نائب نجات ابوالطهر محمد شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه ..... ابن مسجد مرمزان و بر ..... حای اهل امان

عمار فرمود بنارنج عره ماه رمضان سال هفصد هشت از هجری برد

"Through the grace of the sublime God.....  
*Alâ uddunyâ waddîn*,.....of the kings of the world,.....*Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shâh*, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom!—has deigned to build this mosque of the true believers and.....place of the people of the faith. It was on the 1st *Ramazân* A.H. 708 (*12th February, 1309*)."

23. Over the outer archway of a small mosque in the fort of *Rohtak*, near the *Dihli* Gate of the town is a rectangular sandstone, with an inscription of two lines, size 3' 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ " by 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ", the right end of which is missing:—

بادشاه غازي سلطان السلاطين غياث الدنيا والدين سكندر زمان ابوالمظفر تغلق شاه السلطان

[خ] دایگانی محمد علی سلطانی غره ماه مبارک رمضان عم برکاته سال بر هفصد بیست و چهار

"(In the time) of the *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzî*, the king of kings, *Ghiyâth uddunyâ waddîn*, the Alexander of the period, *Abu'l Muzaffar Tughluq Shâh* (*this mosque has been*

<sup>17</sup> See the particulars concerning this officer given by Blochmann from the *Ma'dithir-i 'Âlamgîr* in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* for August 1874, p. 179.

<sup>18</sup> I have collected considerable materials respecting the artillery of the Moghuls, for an essay on their army and warfare, now in the press (E. J. Brill, Leiden).

<sup>19</sup> See *E. I.*, vol. II, pp. 143 *et seq.*



*built, through the grace of the Lord, by) Muhammad 'Alî Sultânî. On the first of the blessed month Ramazân,—May its blessings be general!—A. 724 (22nd August, 1324).'*

This inscription is the second as yet published of Tughluq Shâh's reign (see Blochmann, *Proc. As. Soc. B.*, for August 1873, p. 157; A.H. 722, at Mahôbâ).

Perhaps the mosque was repaired in Bâbar's time; there is at least an inscription over the central archway (measuring 1' 10" by 1' 1") outside, that seems to mention such a fact, but it is too much injured to allow a decisive judgment. The first line is nearly altogether gone, also the beginning of the second and the whole third of the line are illegible; almost all dots are missing.

بسم [الله الرحمن الرحيم] . . . .

. . . . این مسجد . . . . در عهد . . . . حضرت ظہیرالدین محمد بابر بادشاہ غازی خلد اللہ ملکہ

. . . . رمضان . . . . . تثنین و تسعمایہ . . . . .

"This mosque.....in the time of.....His Majesty *Zahîr uddîn Muhammad Bâbar, Bâdishâh-i Ghâzî*.....Ramazân.....93."

The date, of course, must be between 932 and 937.

### XXXV.—SRIDHARA'S DEVAPATTANA PRAŚASTI.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER AND VAJESHANKAR G. OZHA.

The subjoined inscription is the same as that noticed by Colonel Tod in his *Travels in Western India*, p. 513 f. and by Mr. Postans in the *Journal Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 16 f. According to both these authors it was found at Devapattana or Somnâthpâtan near Verâval on a pillar near the Qâzi's house. At present the slab on which it is incised is built into the wall of the fort, to the right of the great gate of the town. Both Colonel Tod and Mr. Postans give what is said to be a translation of the document, prepared, "with the assistance of a learned Jain priest," by Mr. Wathen, according to an eye-copy made by Râmdatt Krishnadatt Purâṇî. Mr. Wathen's translation teems with the most extraordinary statements regarding the Chaulukya kings of Anhilvâd, which, however, fortunately have received little attention. The present edition has been prepared according to a rubbing by the late Pandit Girjâshankar Sâmaljî, which Mr. V. G. Ozha forwarded for publication to the first-named editor, together with a transcript,<sup>1</sup> a Gujarâtî translation and some explanatory notes in the same language.

The slab measures according to the rubbing 30 inches in breadth and 27 in length, a space of 5 inches having been left blank at the lower end. At the upper left-hand corner a piece has been broken off. To the right considerable portions of a good many

<sup>1</sup> This transcript seems to have been done according to the original on the stone, as it contains much that is not readable in the rubbing. All this, as well as a number of misreadings, has been given in the footnotes to the edition with the signature V. G. O.—[G. B.]



lines have been half or entirely effaced,<sup>2</sup> the injured spots becoming larger and larger towards the end of the inscription.

The workmanship is good. In the first line some of the *anuvāras* have been made highly ornamental, being surrounded by three semi-circles, to the uppermost of which a stroke resembling a *mātrā* is attached. At the end there are two signs of good omen, the second of which is a Svastika. The name of the first is not known to me. It consists of an oblong with two small circles at the top and one in the centre and a triangle attached below. The characters are ordinary Devanāgarī of the 13th century. It must be noted that *va* does duty for *ba* and *va*, and that the groups like *jy*, *tva*, *dy* are invariably spelt *jy*, *tva*, and *dya*. In verse 45 we have the curious word *Gūrjarātrāḥ* corresponding to the modern *Gujarāt*. In my opinion it has been coined out of the latter just like *Suratrāna* out of *Sultan* and *Garjanaka* out of *Ghaznav*. *Gujarāt* itself is probably a hybrid formation, the Arabic collective affix *āt*, being added to the name of the Gurjara or Gujar clan.

The contents of the inscription, which, with the exception of the first and last words, is throughout metrical, are as follows :—

(1) A *maṅgala*, verses 1-3, the first two being addressed to Śiva, identified with the supreme Brahma.

(2) A eulogy of the temple and town of Somanātha, which the Moon founded in order to escape from the intolerable disease of consumption, verses 4-5.

(3) A eulogy of certain members of the Vastrākula race and of the Chaulukya kings of Anhilvād, verses 6-25.

(4) A eulogy of Śrīdhara, the representative of the Vastrākula family in Vikrama Samvat 1273, who built several temples at Devapattana, verses 26-51.

(5) A eulogy of an ascetic, Vimalaśiva (?), who seems to have been the spiritual head of the Śaivas or priest of the temple, verses 52-57.

(6) A notice of the author of the poem, whose name is lost, a prayer for the duration of the new temples and a notice of their architect (name lost) verses 58-60 and the date.

The eulogy of the Chaulukya kings teaches us nothing new. They are all there from Mūlarāja I. to Bhīmadeva II. with the exception of Bhīmadeva I., whose name has been lost by a break in the first Pāda of verse 16. Their description is almost entirely conventional. The only historical fact mentioned (verse 23) is that Bhīmadeva II. built a *Someśvaramandapa*, or a hall connected with the temple of Śiva, which bore the name Meghadhvani. The description of the Vastrākula family possesses greater interest. Verse 7 informs us that its Vedic gōtra was that of Śāndilya, and that its home was Nagara, *i.e.* Vāḍnagar in northern Gujarāt. To this race belonged Ūyābhata (verses 7-8) a pious astrologer, through whose benedictions king Mūla, *i.e.* Mūlarāja, I., enjoyed, untroubled by foes, for a long time his kingdom, which might raise envy in Indra's breast. Possibly this may mean that Ūyābhata was Mūlarāja's Joshi or court-astrologer. This man had three sons, Mādhava, Lūla and Bhābha, whom the king charged with the supervision of his charities and commissioned to look after the digging of square and round wells and tanks as well as after the erection of houses of

<sup>2</sup> Those letters, which are very faint or doubtful, have been enclosed between brackets.—[G. B.]



refuge, colleges, temples and alms-houses, gilt flagstaffs, arches, markets, towns, villages, drinking-foams and halls (verses 9-10). King Ohāmunda continued to show them favour and bestowed "the village of Kanheśvara on the great councillor (*mahāmāntava*) Mādhava," "his father's friend" (verse 12). The line of the Vastrākulas was continued further through the offspring of Ūyābhaṭṭa's second son, Lūla. The latter had a son, called Bhābha or also Lūla(?) (verse 24), who was a friend of King Bhīmadeva I. Bhābha-Lūla begat Śobha, "the dear friend of him who was called Jayasimha" (verse 25). His son Valla became an official (*sachiva*) under Kumārapāla (verse 25) and married Rohiṇī. "She bore to him Śrīdhara, who caused his race to unfold just as the moon makes the night-lotuses open their blossoms" (verse 26), and "was honoured among the officials of illustrious King Bhīma," i.e. of Bhīmadeva II. (verse 27). The poet then goes on to lavish the most extravagant praises on this person with which are mixed a few apparently historical statements. Verse 40 inform us that Śrīdhara was much married and had three wives, Sāvitrī, Lakshmi and Saubhāgyadevi. According to verse 42: "He quickly made again stable by the power of his *mantra* (i.e. his political wisdom or charms) the country, that had been shaken by the multitude of the [impetuous] war elephants of Mālvā resembling a forest of dark Tamāla trees, and he protected glorious Devapattana by his own power."

From this statement it would appear that he somehow assisted his sovereign to get over the troubles with King Arjunavarman, who some time before A.D. 1216 effected the *bhanga* of Gujarāt, and that he was governor of Devapattana. The latter point seems to be hinted at also in the next following verse, where it is asserted that "Śrīdhara the pride of the fort" made like to much grass the host of heroic Hammira, that moved like the high rising waves of the ocean which on the dissolution of the world inundate the shores,—that smashed the hills by the impetus of the mere movement of its feet and that split in twain the circle of the earth."

"Heroic Hammira" is probably one of the Musalman generals, who more than once attacked and temporarily conquered Gujarāt during Bhīmadeva's reign. How great and important these successes in politics and war really were, must remain doubtful, as a little goes a long way with the composers of *Prasastis*. Verse 44 informs us that Śrīdhara built in Somnāthpāṭan two temples, at Rohiṇisvāmin, sacred to Vishnu, in memory of his mother and a temple of Śiva, called after his father Valla. The remaining verses are so badly mutilated that it is impossible to speak with any certainty as to their contents. The date Vikrama Samvat 1273, Vaiśākha śudi 4 Friday corresponds, according to Professor Jacobi's Tables (*ante*, volume I, p. 403, ff.) to Friday, April 22, A.D. 1216.

## TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. — — — शिवाय ॥

मनीमन्वादिभूम्यंततत्वमालावर्धनं ।

उपस्थिते परं तत्वं पंचकृत्यैककारणं ॥ १ [॥\*]॥

विद्ययायुर्वर्जितमवनिरिंदुर्दिनकर-

चिदाधारवेति विभुवनमिदं यन्मयममूत् ।

स वः त्रेयो देवा-

possibly, "he whose pride was the fort."

\* Restore श्री नमः शिवाय । Metre, Anushtubh.



L. 2.

— — — — रनाथः सुरनदी

सरूपां विभ्राणः शिरसि गिरिजाक्षेपविषयः ॥ २ [॥\*<sup>5</sup>]

पुष्पातु स्फुरदभ्रविभ्रमभृतः कृष्णस्य वक्षस्यल-

प्रेखत्कौस्तुभकांतिभिः कवचिता लक्ष्मीकटाक्षावलिः ।

या संभोगभरालसा तनुत-

„ 3.

— — जन्यविन्यासभू-

दार्द्रिद्रुमदावपावकशिखाकारानिशं वः श्रियं ॥ ३ [॥\*]<sup>6</sup>

श्रीसोमनाथायतनस्य रेखा भूमेरिवोर्द्धागुलिरत्र भाति ।

अनन्यसाधारणशोभमेतत्पुरं पुरारैरिति सूचयंती ॥ ४ [॥\*]<sup>7</sup>

महीवदनपंकजं भुवन-

„ 4.

— — भूषाविधि-

निधिः सकलसंपदां त्रिपुरवैरिणः सम्प्रतं ।

तदेतदतिदुःसहस्यविनाशसिद्धौ पुरा

शशांकरचितं पुरं जयति वारिधेः सन्निधौ ॥ ५ [॥\*]<sup>8</sup>

अस्ति स्वस्तिमदंबुजासननिभैरध्यासितं यज्वभि-

धूमध्यामलिता-

„ 5.

— लांवरतलं स्थानं त्रयीकेलिभूः ।

अभ्यर्थं द्विजपुंगवाक्षगरमित्यर्हेदुचूडामणिः ।

प्रादादष्टकुलान्वयापरचतुःषष्ट्यस्तुष्टौ च यत् ॥ ६ [॥\*]<sup>9</sup>

शांडिल्याख्योदग्रवंशाग्रकेतुर्गोत्रं ख्यातं नाम वस्त्राकुलं यत् ।

कया-

„ 6.

— हा देवयुस्तत्र जज्ञे दैवज्ञत्वं यस्य सान्वयमासीत् ॥ ७ [॥\*]<sup>10</sup>

यदीयाशीर्वादैरभरपतिकार्ष्ण्यजनकं

भुनक्ति स्नायत्तं निहतरिपु रान्यं चिरतरं ।

निहत्य आपालानणहिलपुरे मूलनृपतिः

प्रभुत्वं तत्पुत्रेष्वकृतं सुकृतार्थव्यवसितं ॥ ८ [॥\*]<sup>11</sup>

गंगाप्रवाह-

„ 7.

प्रतिमा बभूवुस्तस्यात्मजा माधवलक्ष्मभाभाः ।

ते मूलराजेन पुस्कृताश्च भगीरथेनेव यशोऽवतसाः ॥ ९ [॥\*]<sup>12</sup>

वापीकूपतडागकुट्टिममठप्रासादसत्रालयान्

सौवर्णध्वजतोरणापणपुरग्रामप्रपामंडपान् ।

कीर्त्तिश्रीसुकृतप्रदाक्षरप-

<sup>5</sup> Metre Śikharinī.— Restore दीयात्परमसुरं.—[V. G. O.]

°क्षेप-विषया erroneously.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>6</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.— Restore तनुवटे सौजन्म°.—[V. G. O.]<sup>7</sup> Metre, Upajāti.— Read °वीर्णानुधि°.<sup>8</sup> Metre, Prithvī.— Restore सुवर्णवाह°.—[V. G. O.]<sup>9</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.— Restore °ध्यामजितामला°.—  
Delete stop after °चूडामणिः<sup>10</sup> Metre, Śālinī.— Restore कयाभरी;—कया(व)य erroneously  
—[V. G. O.]<sup>11</sup> Metre, Śikharinī.<sup>12</sup> Metre, Upajāti.— Delete Avagraha in यशोवतसाः



L. 8.

तः श्रीमूलराजस्त्रिभि-

स्त्रैरग्रासनिभैर्व्यधापयदयं चौलुक्यचूडामणिः ॥ १० [॥\*]<sup>13</sup>

यद्यावास्तु तुरंगमोषुरखुरक्षुन्नक्षमामंडल-

क्षोदच्छब्ददिगंतमंवरमभूदेकातपत्राकृति ।

आशाकुंजरकर्णकोटरतटीरप्य-

,, 9.

अगंडोपला-

ग्निभंदानः पटहृध्वनिः क्षितिधरश्रेणीषु वभ्राम च ॥ ११ [॥\*]<sup>14</sup>

तस्मिन्भूभुजि नाकनायकसभामध्यासिते भूपतिः

प्रत्यर्थिर्क्षितिपालशैलकुलिशसामुंडराजो ऽ भवत्

प्रीत्या ग्रामवरं ददौ निजपितुर्मित्रा-

,, 10.

य कण्डेश्वरं

यः श्रीमाधवनामधेयकृतिने तस्मै महामंत्रिणे ॥ १२ [॥\*]<sup>15</sup>

यस्योत्तुंगतुरंगतांडवभवः पांशुत्करः सैनिकः

स्वःसीमास्तु मरुहणाभयमहावप्रप्रकारोभवत् ।

शक्रेणासुर — ि — कप्रशमनं दृष्ट्वातितुष्टा-

,, 11.

त्मना

निःशंकं निदधे शचीकुचतटे चेतस्त्रिरेण ध्रुवं ॥ १३ [॥\*]<sup>16</sup>

तस्यात्मजस्तदनु दुर्लभराजनामा

यस्यारिराजमकरध्वजशंकराख्या ।

पृथ्वां वभार परिपंथि — — — — —

— — — — — णितभद्रपीठः ॥ १४ [॥\*]<sup>17</sup>

तदनु तदनु-

,, 12.

जोभूदक्षभो भूर्भुवःस्व-

स्त्रितयपठितकीर्त्तिर्मूर्त्तिमद्विक्रमश्रीः ।

यदरिनृपपुरेषु स्थूलक्ताफलांका

मृगपतिपदपंक्तिर्लक्ष्यते चत्वरेषु ॥ १५ [॥\*]<sup>18</sup>

क्षोणीचक्रैकशक्रे — — — — —

— — प्रेक्ष्यतापप्रतिहतनि-

,, 13.

खिलारातिराजन्यसैन्यः ।

तस्मिन् देवांगनानास्त्रिविडतरपरोरंभभाजि क्षितीये

कर्णः कीर्क्षाभियातिर्भुवमभृत भुजे भोगिभृन्मसरेण ॥ १६ [॥\*]<sup>19</sup>

तस्मिन् — — — — —

— — — — — रभूजयसिंहदेवः ।

यस्य क्षपाक-

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Read °नरपतिः.—[V. G. O.]<sup>14</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Read °क्षुब्ध.—[V. G. O.]

क्षीतर° erroneously.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>15</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—कण्डेश्वरे erroneously.—[V. G. O.]

O.]

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—शक्रेणासुरगोष्टिक°.—[V. G. O.]

गोष्टिक° to be read.

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.—परिपंथिभिरःक्षीरीटरवधृतिश्चरित शीर्षित° [V. G. O.], which is against the metre.<sup>18</sup> Metre, Mālinī.—Read स्थूलक्ताफलांका.—[V. G. O.]<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śragdharā.—V. G. O. reads after °शक्रे [मृत — — — चंद्रकाते — — से।]. Read °मसरेण.—[V. G. O.]. The same corrects erroneously कर्षीजित्या°.



- L. 14. रकप्रतिमङ्गमूर्तिः  
कीर्त्तिर्जगत्सु नरिनर्त्तिं नटांगनेव ॥ १७ [॥\*]<sup>20</sup>  
पाणौकृत्य जयत्रियं क्षितिभुजामये समयां मही-  
मेकच्छत्रपरिच्छदां विदधता वीरेण वि-रितः ।  
येनारातिनृपा- — — — — — वृढाभिर्धुं  
संधुष्य शुभि-
- „ 15. तौर्वसंनिभससुत्क्षेपः प्रतापानलः ॥ १८ [॥\*]<sup>21</sup>  
तस्मिन्नुपेद्रत्वमनुप्रवृत्ते त्रैलोक्यरक्षाक्षमविक्रमांकः ॥  
लोकपृथैरात्मगुणैरलंघ्यः कुमारपालः प्रबभूव भूपः ॥ १९ ॥\*]<sup>22</sup>  
यदरि — — — — — स-त-  
प्रस्रमरपटुकी-
- „ 16. लालीढदिकः प्रतापः ।  
क्षययति घनफेनस्फारकलोललोलं  
जलनिधिजलमद्याप्युत्पतिष्णु प्रकामं ॥ २० [॥\*]<sup>23</sup>  
आखंडलप्राङ्गणिके च तस्मिन् भुवं वभाराजयदेव — — ।  
— — — — — तदप्रकांडानुवाप यो
- „ 17. नैगमधर्मवृक्षान् ॥ २१ [२१\*]<sup>24</sup>  
यत्खड्गधाराजलमग्ननानानुपेद्रविक्रांतियशःप्रशस्तिः ।  
वभ्राज तत्पुष्करमालिकेव श्रीमूलराजस्तदनूदियाय ॥ २२ [\*]<sup>25</sup>  
[तस्यानुजन्मा जयति क्षितीशः] श्रीभीमदेवः प्रथितप्रतापः ।  
अ-
- „ 18. कारि सोमेश्वरमंडपोयं येनाऽत्र मेघध्वनिनामधेयः ॥ २३ [॥\*]<sup>26</sup>  
लूलात्मजः समजनिष्ट विशिष्टमान्यो  
भाभाख्यया सुभटभीमनृपस्य मित्रं [ । ]  
लूला — — — वजीवन — — — —  
— — — — — पतिसभाख्यवपूष्णचंद्रः ॥
- „ 19. २४ [॥\*]<sup>27</sup>  
तस्याभवद्भुवनमंडलमंडनाय  
शोभाभिधः प्रियसुहृज्जयसिंहनाम्नः ।  
यस्यात्मजः सचिवतामधिगम्य वक्त्रः  
स[म्मान]यां सुचिरमास कुमारपालं ॥ २५ [॥\*]<sup>28</sup>  
अथोप — — — — — द्विणी-  
सुमामिवेशः कम-

<sup>20</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā. — V. G. O. reads after तस्मिन्-  
[सन्धुष्यनासि जय — — —]; read क्षपाकरकर. — [V. G. O.]

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. — V. G. O. reads विदा(सा)  
रितः. वपा. — — — — र- वि — — —

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Mālinī. — यदरिपुरेषु व्याघ्रविनासवात°. — [V. G. O.]

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Upajāti. — °राजयदेवभूपः । उच्छारयन्नुपसर्ग°. —  
[V. G. O.]

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Upajāti. — The first Pāda is very indistinct.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā. — लूलाख[य]या तु भवजीवनपूर्वकुम्भः  
श्रीभीमभूप°. — [V. G. O.] The same corrects लूलात्मजः to  
लूलात्मजः ।

<sup>28</sup> Metre, first three Pādas Vasantatilakā. सुचिर stands at  
the end of the inscription with the figure 19 added.



L. 20.

लामिवाच्यतः ।

अजायतास्यां कुलकैरवाकर-

प्रबोधकः श्रीधरनामचंद्रमा : २६ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>29</sup>

क्षीरोदपूरपरिपांडुरपुष्पकीर्त्ति-

नीरोगमेष पुर — — समातमोति ।

— — — — — नमंत्रशक्तिः

✓ श्रीभीमभू-

,, 21.

पतिनियोगिजनैकमान्यः २७ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>30</sup>

आशीःपरंपरा सेयमूयाभट्टस्य तायते [।]

✓ क्षीलुक्थवस्त्राकुलयोराकल्पं प्रीतिरक्षता ॥ २८ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>31</sup>

कांत्या चंद्रति तेजसा — — — — —

— — तानपदात्मजत्यखि-

,, 22.

लसंपत्त्या धनाध्यक्षति ।

[वृत्त्या] सागरति प्रभावविधिना नित्यं विरंचत्यसौ

कीर्त्या रामति रूपसंदरतया कंदर्पति श्रीधरः ॥ २९ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>32</sup>

निःसीमसं — — — — —

— — — — — गुरुभिर्निबद्धः ।

सौजन्यनी-

,, 23.

रनिधिरुद्रतसत्वसीमा

जागर्त्ति चास्य हृदये पुरुषः पुराणः ॥ ३० [ ॥ \* ]<sup>33</sup>

श्रीधरोपि न वै कुंठः सर्वज्ञोपि न नास्तिवित् ।

ईश्वरोपि न कामारिरि — — — — — [ ॥ ३१ ॥ \* ]<sup>34</sup>

त[त्त्वानिशं विबुध]पादपकामधेनु-

मुख्याःस-

,, 24.

मस्तजनवांछितदा भवंतु ।

किंत्वस्य संत्यभयदानवशंवदत्व-

विस्मैरवक्लविनयप्रमुखा विशेषाः ॥ ३२ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>35</sup>

जंबालस्तुहिनायते [पिकततिः श्रीराजहंसायते]

[कालिंदी] — — दायते हरगलः क्षीरोदवेला-

,, 25.

यते ।

श्रीरिः सीरधरायते ऽ जंनगिरिः प्रालियशैलायते

यत्कीर्त्या सुपयस्यते क्षितिगवी राहुः शशांकायते ॥ ३३ [ \* ]<sup>36</sup>

निर्माख्यं [चंद्रदेवो] — — — — —

क्षीरोदः पादशौचाम्-

<sup>29</sup> Metre, Vamśasthā.—अशीपयेमि दयितां च रीक्षणी.—  
[V. G. O.]

<sup>30</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.—पुरुषायुधमा°,—भूपालराजपरि-  
जतनमंज°.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>31</sup> Metre, Anuṣṭubh, सीयंमयाभूदशतायते (जय्याभूदश  
दशते).—[V. G. O.]

<sup>32</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—मुख्यीतानपदा°.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>33</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.—निःसीमसंपदुदयेकनिधानैतुरा-

कल्पमानजनतायुध°.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>34</sup> Metre, Anuṣṭubh.—रिंद्रीपि न च उवडा.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>35</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>36</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—कविंदी जलदायते.—[V. G. O.]



- L. 26. तमचक्षपतिर्देहसंवाहपंकः ।  
 उच्छिष्टं पांचजन्यं सुरसरिदमक्षस्वेदतोयोदययो-  
 रित्वेवं यस्य कीर्त्तं स्वयमज्ञत नुतिं सोम — — — [३४ \*]<sup>37</sup>  
 — — — — — सीं त्रिलोकीमालोका
- „ 27. संकीर्णनिवासमस्याः [ \* ]  
 वेधा विलक्ष्य स्तुतिमाततान तवास्ति नान्या सदृशीति नूनं ॥ ३५ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>38</sup>  
 असौ वीरो दान्तः सुचरितपरिखंदसुभगः  
 — — — — — परिणवगिरां कोपि मुञ्जती [ । ]  
 अमुं पूर्वं ज-
- „ 28. अन्यखिलगुणविस्तारमधुरं  
 नुमाव स्वच्छंदं विमलमिव वासमीकिरसज्ञात् ॥ ३६ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>39</sup>  
 यदीयगुणवर्णनश्रवणकौतुकोच्छेदया ।  
 — — — — — गमा ।  
 मनः किमिव रज्यते-
- „ 29. मुचितवंदिभिर्वेधस-  
 स्तदस्य कविमानिभिर्न च चरित्रमुद्योतते ॥ ३७ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>40</sup>  
 दिग्दंतावलकर्षतालविलसत्तत्कंभरंगांगणे  
 यत्कीर्त्तिर्नन्दमत्त — — — — — नृत्यति [ । \* ]  
 रोदःकंदरपूरण-
- „ 30. प्रणयिनी निःशंकमात्मभरि-  
 र्भिदंती तमसां कुलं कलिमलप्रध्वंसवद्योत्सवा ॥ ३८ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>41</sup>  
 लोकालीकालवाला जलनिधिसलिलासिता [मुक्ता वक्षंती]  
 [शंभोर्मूर्धा]वलंविन्यखिलगुणमयी-
- „ 31. रंकुरैः कीर्त्तिवल्ली  
 यस्य प्रालेयभानुप्रविकचकुसुमीदारतारापरागै-  
 र्दिक्कां व्यापयंती जयति फणिपतिप्रांशुमूला जगत्यां ॥ ३९ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>42</sup>  
 — — — — — सावित्रीलक्ष्मीसौभाग्यदेव्याख्याः [ । \* ]
- „ 32. इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाख्येया यद्ददीशस्य शक्तयः ॥ ४० [ ॥ \* ]<sup>43</sup>  
 ताभिर्भुवनवंद्याभिः संध्याभिरिव वासरः [ । ]  
 [अधरः शोभते शशज्जोकव्याप्येकदीपकः ॥ ४१]  
 — — — [मालवतमाल]वनायमान-  
 सेनागज-
- „ 33. प्रकरभंगुरितां भुवं यः [ । \* ]  
 [भू]यः स्थिरां सपदि मंत्रवलेन ज्ञत्वा

<sup>37</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.—चन्द्रदेवी रघुपतिरचितः सितुबंधः प्रसादी  
 —[V. G. O.]; कीर्त्तः — — सीमनाथी ५ तिरयत् — [V. G. O.]

<sup>38</sup> Metre, Upajāti.—(यत्कीर्त्तनाश्रु) इयसी (सि) त्रिलोकी  
 मासी°.—[V. G. O.] Read विलक्षः—

<sup>39</sup> Metre, Śikharinī.

<sup>40</sup> Metre, Prithvī.— — — कमल — — वासी — — खयता

— मिगमान्.—[V. G. O.] Read °सुहृत्सोतरी.

<sup>41</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—°मत्त(शारवनिदातपदा).—  
 [V. G. O.]

<sup>42</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.

<sup>43</sup> Metre, Anuṣṭubh (मल पद्यसु) सावित्री°.—[V. G. O.]



श्रीदेवपत्तनमपालयदात्मशक्त्या ॥ ४२ [॥\*]<sup>44</sup>

प्रलयजलधिवेलोल्लोलकल्लोललोलं

— — — — — संपिष्टशैलं [ 1 × ]

दलितधरणि-

L. 34. चक्रं वीरहमीरचक्रं

वहुतृणमकरोद्यः श्रीधरो दुर्गदर्पः ॥ ४३ [॥\*]<sup>45</sup>

मातुः कैवल्यहेतोर्भुररिपुभवनं रोहिणीस्वामिनाम्ना

— — — — — केशवाद्यः [॥\*]

नाम्ना ता-

„ 35. तस्य तद्विच्छिन्नभवनमपि — — — — —

[धाम] श्रीमच्छिवस्य प्रतिहतदुरितं कारितं भूरिशोभं ॥ ४४ [॥\*]<sup>46</sup>

वक्त्रो दीवारिकोभूद — — — — —

— — — गूर्जरात्रा निजनिपुण-

„ 36. गुणैः सनुना — — — [॥\*]

[येने[ह] श्रीधरीयो ह]रनगरपदे योजितस्तस्य नाम्ना

प्रासादः श्रीधरेणाप्ययमवनिजयः कारितः — — — [४५॥\*]<sup>47</sup>

— — — — — धनस्तोमाच्चमत्कारिणः

„ 37. किञ्चिच्छीनृपनायिकाभिरभित — — — — — [ 1 × ]

गीर्वाणाधिपचा[पसा]दरमहारत्नस्फुरज्योतिषां -

नैते मेरुमहोदधर — — — — — [॥४६॥\*]<sup>48</sup>

— — — मा-द्विजवृद्धिभाजः

„ 38. समानदीर्घाः सगुणाः — — — [॥\*]

— — — — — माहेश्वरव्याकरणोपमानाः ॥ ४७ [॥\*]<sup>49</sup>

— — — — — [॥\*]

— — — — — वैशेषिका इव ॥

„ 39. ॥४८ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>50</sup>

चित्तवृत्ति — — — — — [ 1 \* ]

— — — — — सुनयो यथा ४७ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>51</sup>

वि — — — — — गर्गः

सततविहित-

„ 40. धूपोद्भूतधा — — — — — [ 1 \* ]

— — — — — देते ॥ ५० [ ॥ \* ]<sup>52</sup>

— — — — — [कथात्रयाय मठं वि — — — — — [ 1 ]

— — — — — चेतः ॥ ५१ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>53</sup>

अथ क-

<sup>44</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.—उत्तानमालवत°.—[V. G. O.]  
Probably उत्ताव° to be read. °भंगुरितावुदं य। सूर्यः स्थिरा(रं)  
erroneously—[V. G. O.]

<sup>45</sup> Metre, Mālinī.—चरणधरणमात्रापातसंपिष्ट°.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>46</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.—गुणैः—[V. G. O.];—°मपि — — — — — जयाप्यं  
ममिती मंदिरं कै°—[V. G. O.];—°मपि — — — — — जयाप्यं  
[V. G. O.]

<sup>47</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.—°भूदरिगिरि — — — — —  
— — — दाक्षणा गुर्ज°—[V. G. O.]; °गुणैः Om—[V. G. O.];  
सुनुनास्वामिनाम्ना कारितः शंकरस्य.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>48</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita °पद्मतपन°; तः—प्रीयकुल्यातरा  
°महोदधरः शशिद्विभूमाकार — — — [V. G. O.]

<sup>49</sup> Metre, Upajāti.—द्विजीतमीभूद्विज°; तारका माहेश्वर°  
—[V. G. O.]

<sup>50</sup> Metre, Anuṣṭubh.—Beginning of first line, चासीदयाः  
कैपिसुधा वैद्वे°;—[V. G. O.]

<sup>51</sup> Metre, Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>52</sup> Metre, Mālinī. विभवा; भवगांः चाराध°.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>53</sup> Metre, Trisṭubh.—एषां सुविज्ञाय कथात्रयाय मठं विधाय  
स्वपदेन वक्ता ।—[V. G. O.]



- L. 41. यमवि दैवादागतः — — — —  
 — — — — — श्रीधरेण [ १ \* ]  
 — — — — —  
 — — — जलधि — — — — — [ ॥ ५२ ॥ \* ]<sup>64</sup>  
 — — — — — भूपालकुलसङ्ग-
- „ 42. ऋः [ १ \* ]  
 जीमूतवाहन — — — — — [ ॥ ५३ ॥ \* ]<sup>65</sup>  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — — [ १ \* ]  
 — — — — — पावनो यतिपति-
- „ 43. र्यस्याङ्घ्रिपूजावि[धिः]  
 — — — — — ॥ ५४ [ १ \* ]<sup>66</sup>  
 श्री — — — — दूरे प्रसरपरिणते — — — — —  
 — — — — — चणिकमतमहाध्याल-
- „ 44. संरंभसिंधुः [ १ \* ]  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — [तदादिर्विमलशिवसुनि]र्माननीयो [नवेदुः] ॥ ५५ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>67</sup>  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — — च पादप-
- „ 45. ह्री [ १ \* ]  
 अंगीकृता — — — — —  
 — — — — — [ ॥ ५६ ॥ \* ]<sup>68</sup>  
 — — — — —  
 [निःशेषपाषंडिमृणालपण्डः]  
 [भक्त्यास्य तुष्टः प्रतिपन्नदर्प्यः]  
 [प्रशस्तिमेतामयमुद्धार] ॥ ५७ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>69</sup>  
 याव-
- „ 46. द्विणोरुरसि — — — — —  
 — — — — — [ १ \* ]  
 [यावद्वाणी विहरतिवि] — — — — —  
 ता — — — — — ॥ ५७ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>70</sup>  
 [एते] — — — — वेन प्रासादाः
- „ 47. सूत्रिताः शुभाः ।  
 लिखि — — — — — [ ॥ ६० ॥ \* ]  
 श्रीमद्विक्रमनृपसंवत् १२७३ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ४ शुक्ले [निःपा]दितमितिशिवमस्तु ॥ ६ ॥  
 मंगलं महाश्रीः॥

<sup>64</sup> मतः (श्रीनिवासी); प्रविनृपतिमतं यः एंडितमन्त्र—(third pāda); निवजलधि—[V. G. O.] Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>65</sup> Metre, Anuṣṭubh.—

<sup>66</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. — — — — — दधिपरि

— — — सचिवः सुधीः सचिवा — — — कवीजित  
 —[V. G. O.]

<sup>67</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.— दक्षद्वारे; चणिकमत.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>68</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā P—वीर्यपादपदी—[V. G. O.]

<sup>69</sup> Metre, Upajāti. At the end of pāda 1 प्रसूत—[V. G. O.]

<sup>70</sup> Mandākrāntā विहरति विधुर्वक्तृपिडातराज्ञेता — — —  
 वलयमखिलं गंडयती यमल—[V. G. O.]



# XXXVI.—ASOKA'S ROCK EDICTS ACCORDING TO THE GIRNAR, SHÂHBÂZGARHÎ, KÂLSÎ AND MANSEHRA VERSIONS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the four full versions of the Rock Edicts the following materials have been used :—

(1) *Girnâr*, a new most excellent estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess during the working season 1887-1888, from which the accompanying facsimiles have been prepared.

(2) *Shâhbâzgarhî*, a very fine estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in 1886,<sup>1</sup> and a second estampage (B) of Edicts XIII—XIV, prepared by him in 1888. Both have been collated afresh with the text, published formerly.

(3) *Mansehra*, an estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in March 1887,<sup>2</sup> as well as a second one (B) prepared by Ghulam Husain in 1889. The latter has been collated for all those passages where its state promised good results.

(4) *Kâlsî*, an excellent estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in October 1887, according to which the accompanying facsimile has been prepared. With respect to the latter it must be noted that the readings of the transcript occasionally, though rarely, differ. And it must be borne in mind that in difficult passages the reverse of the estampage has been consulted, where the letters appear in high relieve and where sometimes those superficially damaged on the obverse are perfectly plain. In the most important cases the discrepancies between the facsimile and the transcript have been pointed out in the notes.

The gain which the new collations yield for the texts is most considerable in the case of the Kâlsî version. There a good many alterations had to be made, which mostly however refer to very minute points, such as *â*-strokes, Anusvâras and the like. In some cases new word-forms have come out, but only very little that affects the sense. The new transcript gives for this version also the grouping of the words, indicating by short strokes between the words, those which have been written continuously by the scribe, and there are some cases where the grouping is important for the translation. Thus, in Edict V, l. 14, the position of the syllables *desam-pi hâpesati*, proves that we have to transliterate *deśam api hāpayishyati*, not *deśam apihāpayishyati*. Unfortunately the grouping becomes irregular in the more negligently written lower portions of the inscription where in some lines vertical strokes, sometimes placed wrongly, have been used to show which words belong together. Next, the new estampage B has furnished some valuable new readings for the thirteenth Edict of Shâhbâzgarhî version. Quite a number of new letters, not recognisable in the earlier estampage or not included owing to the shortness of the sheets, are readable on Ghulam Husain's squeeze B. of the Mansehra version. It is now perfectly certain that the Mansehra version is most closely related in its wording to that of Kâlsî.

<sup>1</sup> This was used for my German article in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 128ff.

<sup>2</sup> Also used for my German articles in the *Zeitsch. der D. M. Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 274, and XLIV, p. 702ff.



The new facsimiles of the Gīrnār and Kālsī versions, which give the letters in rather larger size than any others published before, are also very instructive for the palæography of the 3rd century B.C. Everybody who pays even slight attention to the alphabet, will now see that the Southern Maurya characters certainly do show a good many various forms, and among them cursive ones or such as are usually considered marks of later periods. Thus, an initial *a*, consisting of two verticals and a crossbar or of a curved line open to the left, and a vertical on the right connected by a crossbar, occurs occasionally in the Kālsī inscription (see, *e.g.*, Ed. XIII. 2, l. 15 *pāpotā me a*). The second form is observable also in the Indo-Skythic documents, and perhaps is the parent of the modern Devanāgarī *a* of Western India. Andhra forms are found in *ka*, which has the dagger-like form, (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. IV, l. 11, *putā-cha kaṁ*); in *chha*, which sometimes consists of two circles with a vertical line standing on the point of the junction (*e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. V, l. 14, *kachhati*) in *ja*, which is angular (*e.g.*, Gīrnār Edict IX, l. 1, *rājā*); in *ḍa*, which is round in *atapḍāṁḍe*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 31, and occasionally shows acute angles in other words of the same line; in *ta*, which very commonly has a rounded left-hand limb, both in the Gīrnār and in the Kālsī inscriptions; in *va*, which is triangular in the superscribed *vijaye* Kālsī Ed. XIII, 2, l. 13. As peculiarities of the vowel-notation commonly observed in the later inscriptions may be noted (1) *ā*-strokes running upwards or downwards (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. XIV, 2, ll. 21-23 *passim*, (2) *e*-strokes, slanting downwards, much like the modern *mātrās* (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. XIII 1, l. 39, *śatabhāge*, and Ed. XIV, 2, ll. 21-23 *passim*); and (3) a looped *o* in *no hutapuluvā*, (Kālsī Ed. V, l. 14). Finally, the Anusvāra is occasionally placed above the letter to which it belongs, (see, *e.g.*, the first of *dhammaṁ*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 33, *dhammamahāmātā*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 34), and it seems not improbable that the short strokes which sometimes (*e.g.*, in the third syllable of *sālavadhī*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 34, and in the second syllable of *śatabhāge*, Kālsī Ed. XIII, 1, l. 39) are attached to the tops of the consonants, in reality are *serifs*. These points, to which others might be added, in my opinion leave no doubt that in Aśoka's times much more developed forms of the Southern alphabet were used in everyday life, which conclusion has an important bearing on the question whether the art of writing had then been newly introduced into India or had been cultivated for a long period. With respect to the Northern or Kharoshthī alphabet, it may also be safely asserted that its characters show numerous vacillations.<sup>3</sup>

## TRANSCRIPTS.

## EDICT I.

## Gīrnār.

fyam dharmmalipī devānarī priyena [1] Priyadasinā  
rāñā lekḥapitā [:] idha na kim-[2]chi jīvaṁ  
ārabhitpā prajūhitayvaṁ [3] na cha samājo  
katayvo[.] Babukarṁ hi dosarṁ [4] samājamhi pasati

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

[A]ya[rh]<sup>4</sup> dhramadipi devana priasa  
rañā likhapitu[:] hida no kichi jive  
ara[bhi]t.<sup>5</sup> prayuhotave<sup>6</sup> no pi cha samaja  
kaṭa[va]<sup>7</sup>[.] [Ba]huka hi dosarṁ sama. sa

<sup>3</sup> For the present I will only point to the introductions of my two articles in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 12 ff, and 276 ff, where some remarks on the Kharoshthī *lips* have been published.

<sup>4</sup> The Anusvāra is probable according to the reverse, but not certain.

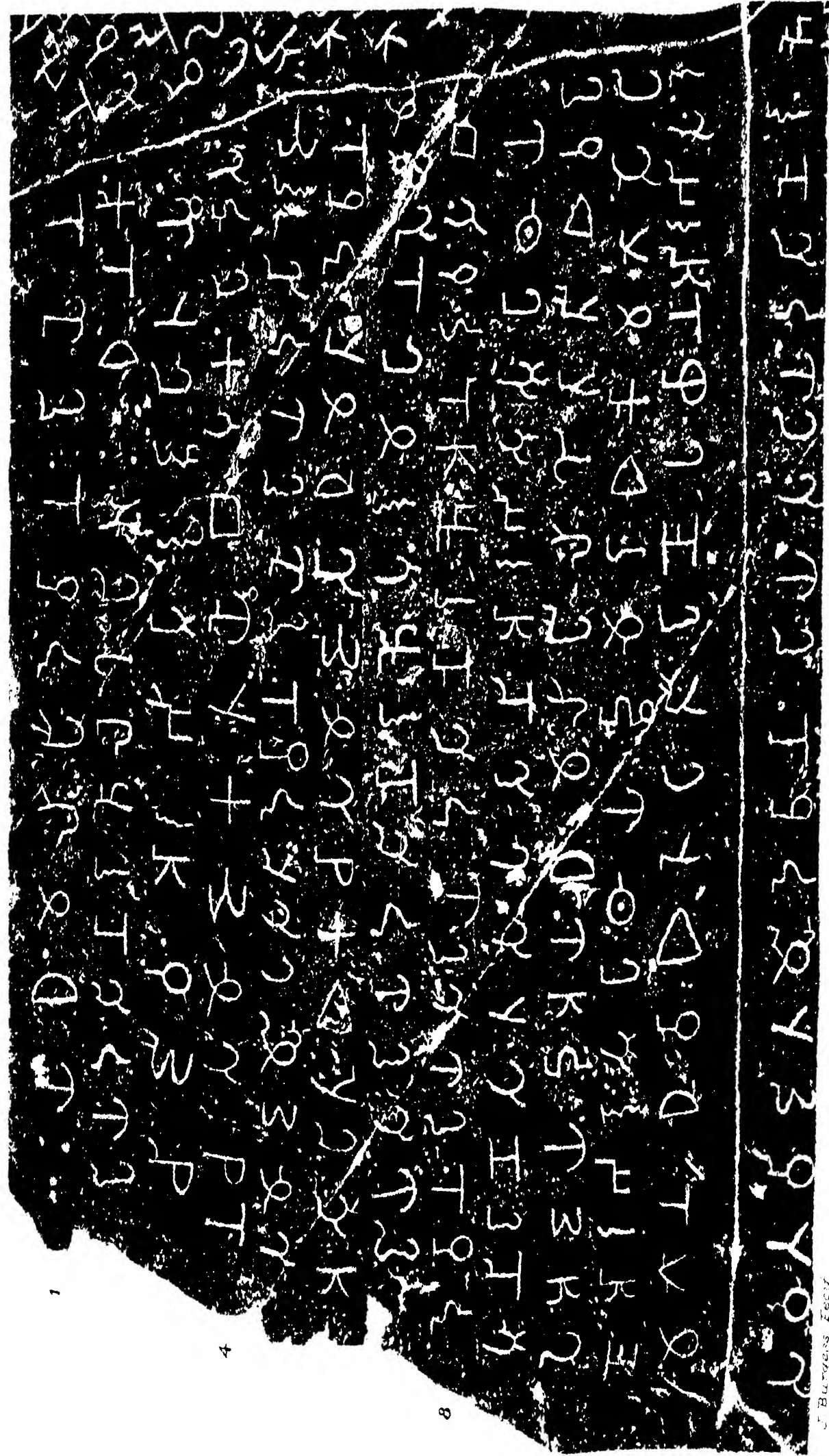
<sup>5</sup> Read *arabhitu*; the last vowel has been lost.

<sup>6</sup> The vowel of the second syllable has been placed too high but to read *ye* is not correct.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly *kraṭava*.



GIRNAR ASOKA EDICTS: No. I.



Scale: 7-5th.

J. Burgess Feiler







*Girnar.*

devānaṃ priyo Priyadasi rājā[.5] Asti  
pi tu ekachā samājā sādhumatā devānaṃ [6] priyasa  
Priyadasino rāño[.] Purā mahānasamhi<sup>10</sup>[7] devānaṃ  
priyasa Priyadasino rāño anudivasam ba-[8]hūni  
prāṇasatasubhasrāni ārabhisu  
sūpāthāya[.9] Se aja yadā ayaṃ  
dhammalipī<sup>14</sup> likhitā tī eva prā-[10]nā<sup>16</sup> ārabhare  
sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago[.] So pi [11]  
mago na dhuvo<sup>16</sup>[.] Ete pi trī prāṇā pabhā  
na ārabhisare<sup>17</sup>[.12]

*Mansehra.*

Ay[i]<sup>18</sup> dhramadipi [de]vana [pri]yena [Pri]yadra-  
[śi]na<sup>19</sup> ra. na. ikhapita[.] hida no kichi jiv[e]  
arabhi[t.] pra[yu]-[1] [ho]taviye no pi cha  
sama[ja] kaṭaviya[.] Bahuka hi [dosha  
samajasa<sup>22</sup> deva]naṃ priye Pri[yadraśi ra]ja  
.kha. [.] Asti pi chu[2] [e]katiya samaja  
sa[dhu]ma[ta] devana priyasa [Pri]yadraśi[ne]<sup>24</sup>  
rajine[.] Pura maha[nasa]si [devana] pri. sa  
Pri . . śisa ra-[3]jine anudiva . bahuni prāṇasa-  
[tasa]hasrani . a[ra].isu supa[th]raye[.] Se[i. ni]<sup>25</sup>  
. . ayi dhrama[dipi li]khita ta[da] ti[ni]  
ye. prāṇani a . bhi. ti du[v]e 2 maju-[4]ra  
eke l m[r]ige[.]<sup>27</sup> Se[pi] chu[mrige]<sup>28</sup> no dhruvaṃ [.]  
[Etāni] pi chu [tini prāṇani pacha no arabhi . . [.]

*Shāhbāzgarhi.*

devana priy[o] Priadraśi raya d.khati<sup>8</sup>[.] Asti  
pi cha ekatie<sup>9</sup> samaye srestamati devana priasa  
Priadraśisa rāño[.] Pura mahanasasi devanaṃ  
priasa Priadraśisa rāño anudivaso bahuni  
pra[ṇasatasa]has[r]ani<sup>11</sup> a[rabb]i[yisu] su-  
[pāthay]e<sup>12</sup>[.] So ida[n]i yada a[ya]<sup>13</sup> [2]  
dhramadipi likhita tada tra[yo] vo prāṇa  
hamñamti majura duvi 2 mrugo 1 [.] so pi  
mrugo no dhruvaṃ[.] Eta pi prāṇatrayo pacha  
na arabhiśamti [.]

*Kālsī.*

Iyaṃ dhammalipi devānaṃ-piyenā Piyada-  
sin[ā] lekhi[ti]ā [.] hidā nā-kichhi<sup>20</sup> jive  
ālabhi[tu] pajohitaviye [1] no-pi-chā  
samāje kaṭaviye [.] Bahuk[ā]-hi<sup>21</sup> dosā  
samājas[ā]<sup>23</sup> devānaṃ-piye Piyadasī lājā  
dakhati [.] Athi-pi-chā ekatiyā sa[m]āja  
sādh[u]matā devānaṃ-piyasā Piyadasis[ā]  
lājine [2] Pule-mahānasasi devānaṃ-piyasā  
Piyadasisā lajine anudivasam bahuni  
pānasahasāni ālabhiyisu supāthāy[e.] Se-idāni  
yadā [iya]m dhammalipi lekhitā tadā tirni<sup>26</sup>  
yevā pānāni ālabhi[ya]mti [3] duve majulā  
eke mige[.] Se-pi-cha mige no-dbuve [.]  
Etāni pi-cha<sup>29</sup> tini pānāni no-ālabhiyisamti[.]

## EDICT II.

*Girnar.*

Sarvata vijitamhi devānaṃ priyasa Priya-  
dasino<sup>30</sup> rāño[1] evamapi prachamtesu yathā  
Chodā Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo  
ā Tamba- [2] paṇṇi Amṭiyako Yonarājā ye vā  
pi tasa Amṭiyakasa sāmīpaṃ<sup>32</sup> [3]

*Shāhbāzgarhi.*

Savratra vijite devanaṃ priyasa Priyadraśisa  
ye cha [a]mṭa<sup>31</sup> yatha [Cho]da [3]  
Paṇḍiya Satiyaputra Keralaputra  
Tambapamni Amṭiyokon nama Yonaraja ye cha  
amñe tasa Amṭiyokasa samamṭa[ra]jano

<sup>8</sup> The top of the letter *da* has been destroyed and it is impossible to say whether the word was *dekhati* or *dakhati*.

<sup>9</sup> The obverse seems to show *akatie*, while the very thin e-stroke is visible on the reverse.

<sup>10</sup> The *sa* has a *serif* which makes it look like *se*. At the end of the line a second *mhi* has been scratched in.

<sup>11</sup> The second *ra*-stroke is not certain.

<sup>12</sup> Possibly *supāthraye*.

<sup>13</sup> Possibly *ayaṃ*.

<sup>14</sup> The long *ī* is probable, but owing to an abrasion not absolutely certain.

<sup>15</sup> Owing to an abrasion the second *d*-stroke is somewhat abnormal.

<sup>16</sup> Possibly *dhūvo* is to be read.

<sup>17</sup> It is possible to read *ārabhisamre*, as there are two deep holes after *sa*. But both are probably accidental.

<sup>18</sup> The last vowel is uncertain, as the upper portion of the apparent *i*-stroke is abnormal and less deep than the lower one. Hence the reading may have been *ayo*.

<sup>19</sup> Only the right half of the *sa* of *Priyadrasina* is visible on the reverse.

<sup>20</sup> Possibly *na* or *no* to be read.

<sup>21</sup> Possibly *bahuka* to be read.

<sup>22</sup> *Dosha samajasa* is very indistinct.

<sup>23</sup> *Samājasā* is more probable than *samājasi*.

<sup>24</sup> The last syllable of *Priyadrasine* is not certain; it may have been *sa*.

<sup>25</sup> *I. ni*, i.e. *idāni* is uncertain; the reading may be *a. n.* i.e. *adhuna*.

<sup>26</sup> The Anusvāra is at least probable.

<sup>27</sup> The *ra*-stroke of *mrige* is not quite certain.

<sup>28</sup> The *ma* has besides the *i*-stroke two little horizontal lines to the right and to the left, which, strictly interpreted, would give the nonsensical form *mrūige*. The left one has probably been added by mistake.

<sup>29</sup> *Etāni-pi-cha* is distinct on the reverse of the impression.

<sup>30</sup> Possibly *Piyadasino* is to be read.

<sup>31</sup> Only the lower part of the first sign of *amṭa* has been preserved.

<sup>32</sup> The reverse of the impression shows distinctly that the last syllable is *paṃ*.



*Girnar.*

rājāno sarvatra devānam priyasa Priyadasino  
rāño dve chikīchha katā [4] manusachikīchhā  
cha pasuchikīchhā cha[.] Osudhāni cha  
yāni manusopagāni cha<sup>34</sup> [5] pasopagāni cha  
yata yata nāsti sarvatra hārāpitāni cha  
ropāpitāni cha<sup>34</sup> [6] mūlāni cha phalāni cha  
yata yata nāsti sarvatra hārāpitāni cha  
ropāpitāni cha<sup>34</sup> [7] Pamthesū kūpā cha  
khānāpitā vrachhā cha ropāpitā paribhogāya  
pasumanusānam [8]

*Mansehra.*

Sa.tra . jitasi devana priya[sa Pri-  
ya]drāsisa rajine ye cha amta a[tha] [5] [Cho-  
dā] Pa[m]ḍiya<sup>39</sup> Satiya[putr.] Keralaputr[e]  
. bapaṇi . tiyo[ke] nama<sup>40</sup> Yona. .  
ye cha . sa . . . . . samamta  
raja . . . . . priyasa  
Priya[dra]śisa rajine [6] duve 2 chikisa  
kaṭa manuśachi[kisa cha] paśuchikisa cha[.]  
Osha[dhi]ni manu. . ka[ni cha] pa . .  
ka[ni cha ya]tra yatra na . . . . . vratra  
harapi[ta cha] ropapi[ta cha] [7] [Eva]me-  
va mulani cha phalani cha atra atra  
nasti . . . . . tra harapita cha ro[papi]ta  
cha [.] Ma[geshu] ru[chha] . . . . . pita-  
[ku] . . . . . tani [pa]ṭibhogaye  
paśum[a]nuśana<sup>43</sup> [8]

*Skāhbāzgarhī.*

savratra<sup>33</sup> devanam priyasa Priyadrasisa' raño  
duvi 2[chiki]sa ki[tra] manuśa[chiki]sa .  
paśu[chiki]sa cha[.] [Oshudh]ani<sup>36</sup>  
manuśopakani cha pa[śo]pakani cha  
yatra yatra nāsti savatra har[o]pita<sup>36</sup> cha  
vuta cha kupa cha khanapita pratibhogaye  
paśu-manuśanam [.]

*Kālsī.*

Savatā<sup>37</sup> vijitasi devānam-piyas[ā] Pi-  
yadasi[sā] lājine ye-cha-amtā athā Cho-  
dā Pam[ḍi]yā Sātiyaputo Kelalaputo<sup>38</sup>  
Tambapamni [4] [Am]tiyoge-nāma Yonalājā  
ye-chā amne tasā [Am]tiyogasā samamta  
lājāno savatā devānam-pi[ya]sā  
Piyadasisā lājine duve chikisakā<sup>41</sup>  
kaṭa manusachikisā-chā pasuchikisā-chā[.]  
Osadhān[i] manusopagāni-chā pasopa-  
gānicha a[ta]tā nathi [5] savatā  
hālāpitā-chā lopāpitā-chā [E]vame-  
vā mulāni-chā phalāni-chā ata[tā]  
nathi savatā hālāpitā-chā lopāpitā-  
chā [.] Magesu lukhāni lopitāni udu-  
pānāni-chā<sup>42</sup> khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye  
pasumunisānam [.]

## EDICT III.

*Girnar.*

Devānam priyo Piyadasi rājā evam āha[:]dbāda-  
savāsābhisitena mayā idam ānāpitam[:1] sarvata  
vijite mama yutā cha rājūke cha prādesike cha  
pamchasu pamchasu vāsesu anuśam-[:2]  
yānam niyātu etāyeva athāya imāya  
dhammānusastīya yathā añā-[:3]ya pi kammāya [:]  
sādhu mātari cha pitari cha susrūṣā mitāsamstutāñā-  
tīnam<sup>47</sup> bāmbhāna-[:4] samānānam sādhu

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

Devanam priyo Priyadrasī raja aha ti [:] [bada]-  
yavashabhisitena<sup>44</sup> . . . . . sava.[5]  
vijite yuta rajuko pradeśik[e]  
pa[mcha]shu pa[mcha]shu 5 vash[e]shu anuśam-  
yanam nik[r]amatu<sup>45</sup> etisa vo karaṇa imisa  
dhramānusasti yatha<sup>46</sup> añāye pi kramaye [:]  
sadhū matapitushu susrūṣa mit[r]asamst[u]tāñā-  
[ti]kanam bramāṇa[śra]maṇa[nam] sa. pra. . .

<sup>33</sup> Possibly *savratra* to be read, as there is a hook above the *ta*, which, however, looks very abnormal.

<sup>34</sup> At the end of each of the lines 5, 6 and 7 the word *cha* has been inserted as a correction.

<sup>35</sup> The first and the third signs of *oshudhani* are uncertain; likewise the vowel of the second.

<sup>36</sup> *Haropita* is the apparent reading, but the *o*-stroke may be accidental. The reading *harapita* has, in any case, to be restored.

<sup>37</sup> *Savatā*, not *savata*, is the reading of the new impression.

<sup>38</sup> The reverse of the new impression makes the two *la* exceedingly probable. It confirms also the curious nominatives in *n*.

<sup>39</sup> The Anuvāsa is doubtful.

<sup>40</sup> The first sign of *nama* has erroneously an upstroke to the right of the lower end.

<sup>41</sup> *Chikisakā* is the distinct reading of the new impression (facsimile *ki*), which also shows that no other sign, but a hole, exists between *kā* and *kaṭa*.

<sup>42</sup> *Chā*, not *cha*, is the plain reading of the reverse of the impression.

<sup>43</sup> Possibly *pasumunisana*.

<sup>44</sup> The first two signs of *badaya*<sup>o</sup> are indistinct, but the reading *baraya*<sup>o</sup> seems impossible. Possibly the correct form was *badata*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> The *ra*-stroke of *nikramatu* is not certain.

<sup>46</sup> The *tha* is somewhat abnormal, the upright line being slightly bent.

<sup>47</sup> Read *mitra*<sup>o</sup>. An *d*-stroke was probably not intended but in its stead the short upward-turned *ra*-stroke.



Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is written in a dark ink on a light-colored, aged paper. The script is dense and fills most of the page, with some lines appearing to be part of a larger, possibly torn, document. The text is written in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is dense and fills most of the page, with some lines appearing to be part of a larger, possibly torn, document.

Reed: 1-514

J. BURGESS RECIT



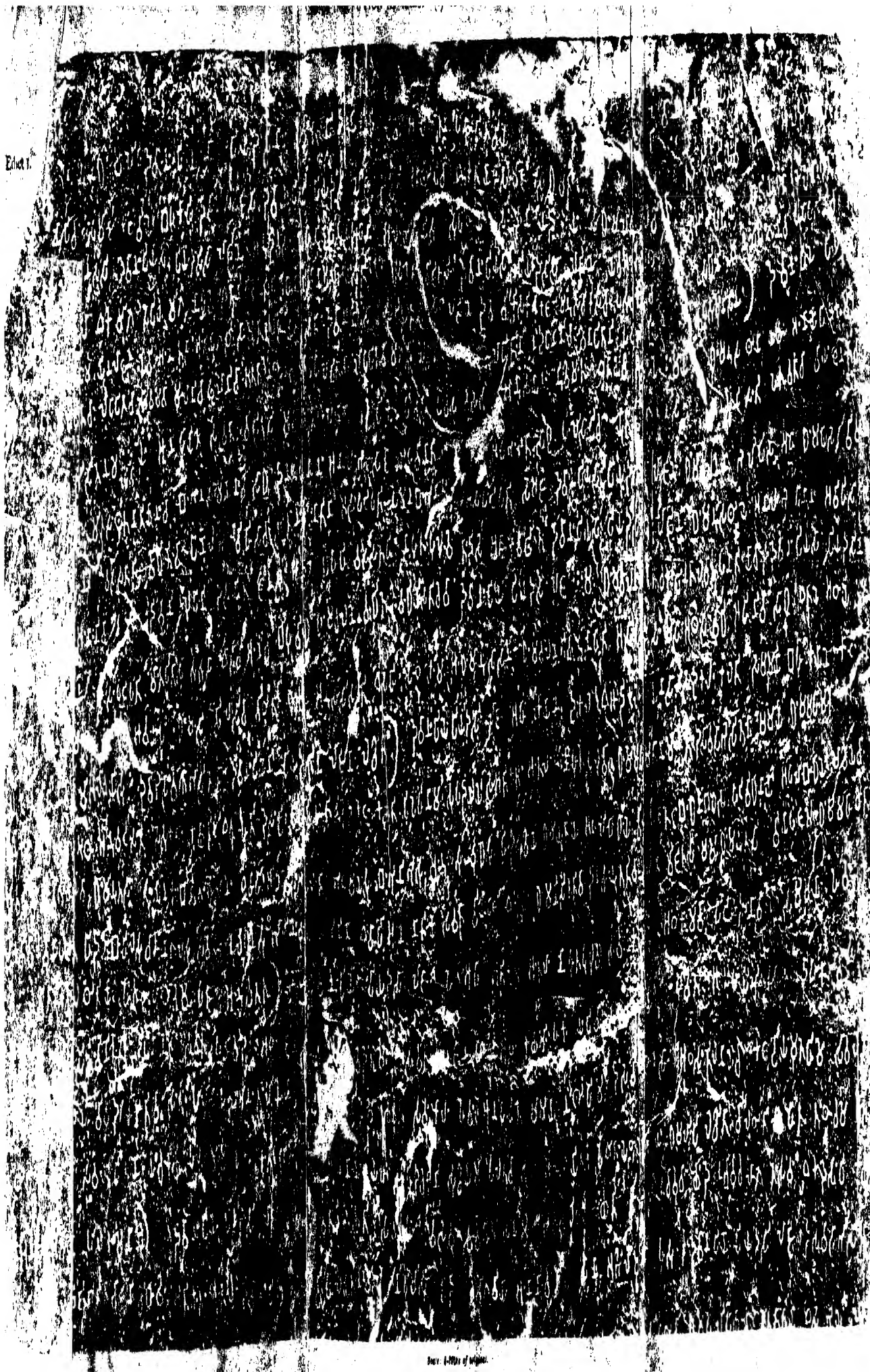








Ed. 1.





*Girnar.*

dānam prāṇānam sādhu anārambho  
apavyayatā apabhāṃdatā sādhu[.5] Parisā pi  
yute ānapayisati ganānāyam hetuto cha  
vyamjanato cha[.6]

*Mansehra.*

[De]vana priye [P]riyadasi raja eva aha [:]  
duva[da]śavashabhisetena<sup>61</sup> me ayam  
[a]napayi[t]e [:] savatra vijitasi [me]. ta raju.  
[pra]desike . chashu par[chashu] 5 vasheshu [9]  
anusamyānam nikrama[m]tu,<sup>62</sup> etaye<sup>63</sup> varṇa athraye  
imāye dharmānusastīye ya . am anāye pi  
kramane [:] sa . matapi . shu  
suśru[sha][mi]trasamstuta-[10] fiatikanam cha<sup>64</sup>  
bra[ma]ṇasramananam sādhu dane prāṇa  
a . rabhe sādhu apa[va]yata<sup>65</sup> apabhaḍa[ta]  
sādhu[.] Parisha pi cha yutani ganānasi  
[ana]payisati hetu[te] cha viya . [11] nate cha[.]

*Shāhbāzgarh.*

[6] apavayata apabha[m]data<sup>66</sup> sādhu[.] Pari[pi]<sup>67</sup>  
yuta[ni] ga[nanasi] anapeśanti hetuto cha  
vañanato cha[.]

*Kalsi.*

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā [ho]varṇa<sup>68</sup>-āhā [: 6]  
duvādasavasābhisitena-me iyaṇ  
ānapayite[:] savatā vijitasi mama yutā lajuke  
pādesike pamchasa pamchasa vasesu  
anus[a]yānam,<sup>69</sup> nikhamantu etāye-vā athāye  
imāy[e],<sup>63</sup> dharmmanusathiyā<sup>60</sup> yathā amnāye-pi  
karmāye [:] sādhu [.]7] mātapitisu<sup>67</sup>  
sususā<sup>68</sup> mitasamthutanātikyānam-chā  
bambhanasamanānam-chā sādhu dāne<sup>69</sup> pāṇānam  
anālambh[e] sādhu apaviyātā<sup>61</sup> apabhāṃdatā  
sādhu [.] Palisā-pi-cha yutā[ni] ganānasi  
anapayisanti hetuvatā-chā viyamjanat[e]-cha[.]

## EDICT IV.

*Girnar.*

Atikratam amtarām bahūni vāśasatāni vadhito eva  
prāṇārambho vihimsā cha bhūtānam nātisu [1] asam-  
pratipati brāhmaṇasramaṇānam asampratī-  
pati<sup>62</sup>[.] Ta aja devānam priyasa Priyadasino<sup>66</sup>  
raño [2] dharmacharaṇena bherighoso aho  
dharmaghoso vimānadasaṇā cha hastidasaṇā cha [3]  
amkhamdhāni cha añāni cha diyvāni rūpāni  
dāsayitpā janam[.] Yārise bahūhi vāśasatehi [4]  
bhūtapuve tārise aja vadhite devānam priyasa  
Priyadasino raño dharmānusastīyā anāram-[5]  
bhū prāṇānam avihisā<sup>67</sup> bhūtānam nātīnam  
sampratipati brāhmaṇasamaṇānam  
sampratipati mātari pitari [6] susrusā thairā-  
susrusā[.] Esa aṇe cha bahuvidhe dharmma-

*Shāhbāzgarh.*

Atikratam amtarām bahuni vāśasatāni vadhito vo  
prāṇārambho vihisa cha bhutanam nātīnam [asa]m-  
pa[ti]pati<sup>63</sup> śramaṇab[r]amaṇānam [asampratī]-  
pati<sup>64</sup>[.] [So aja devānam] priyasa [Pri]ya[drāsisa]  
raño [7] dharmacharaṇena bherig[h]osha aho  
dharmaghosha vimānānam draśanāni [ha]stino  
jotikamdhani añāni cha divani<sup>68</sup> rupani  
dāsayitn<sup>69</sup>janasa[.] Yadiśa[m]<sup>70</sup>bahuhivāśasatehi  
na bhutaprue tadiśe aja vadhite devānam priyasa  
Priyadrasisa raño dharmmanusastīya<sup>71</sup> anāram-  
[bho] p[raṇānam] avihisa bhutanam nātīnam  
sa[mpratipati] bramāna-[8] śramaṇānam  
sampratipati matapitushu [vuḍhanam]  
suśrusa[.] E[ta]aṇam cha bahuvidha[m]dharmma-

<sup>61</sup> The Anusvāra is not certain.

<sup>62</sup> Read *parisha pi*.

<sup>63</sup> *Āhā*, not *āha*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>64</sup> The third letter of *duvaḍaṣa*<sup>60</sup> is not certain and may have been *da* or an abnormal *ra*. Perhaps *abhisitena* to be read.

<sup>65</sup> Possibly *anusamyānam* to be read.

<sup>66</sup> Possibly *imāya* to be read.

<sup>67</sup> The Anusvāra is very probable, but not absolutely certain.

<sup>68</sup> The second sign is abnormal and might be read *tru*.

<sup>69</sup> Read *dharmmanusathiyā*.

<sup>70</sup> The last syllable of *mātapitisu* is distinct on the reverse.

<sup>71</sup> *Susrusā* alone is the possible reading to the reverse of the impression.

<sup>72</sup> *Cha* ought to stand, not before, but after *bramaṇas-*  
*ramaṇānam*.

<sup>73</sup> *Dāne*, not *dānem*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>74</sup> The reverse of the impression decidedly speaks in  
favour of *ōtā*, not of *ōti*.

<sup>62</sup> The vowel of the third syllable is not certain.

<sup>63</sup> Only the lower portions of the first two signs are distinct; the fourth looks like *hi*.

<sup>64</sup> The first four signs are very indistinct. The same remark applies to the following bracketed words and syllables with exception of the vowel of *so*, of the word *aja* and of the last vowel of *raño*.

<sup>65</sup> The syllable *pa* has been inserted afterwards.

<sup>66</sup> The syllable *da* has been inserted afterwards.

<sup>67</sup> The syllable *hi* has been inserted afterwards.

<sup>68</sup> To the right of the lower end of *da* appears a curve, and the letter is probably the fore-runner of the later *da*, which looks like *tra*.

<sup>69</sup> The reading *dāmsayitu* is not impossible, but a combination of the *ra*-stroke with the upstroke on the left is more probable.

<sup>70</sup> The Anusvāra is not certain.

<sup>71</sup> The form *dharmma*<sup>60</sup>, which occurs also below Ed. X 1. 21, seems to be owing to a mixture of the Northern *dhrama*<sup>60</sup> and the Magadhi *dharmma*<sup>60</sup>.



## Girnar.

charaṇe vaḍbite vaḍhayisati cheva devānaṁ  
priyo [7] Priyadasi rājā dharmma[cha]raṇaṁ idaṁ[.]  
Putrā cha potrā cha prapotrā cha devānaṁ  
priyasa Priyadasino rāño [8] vaḍhayisaṁti idaṁ  
dharmmacharaṇaṁ āva saṁvaṭakapā[.] Dharmmamhi  
sīlambi tistānto dharmmaṁ anusāsisaṁti [9]  
Esa hi seṭṭhe kaṁme ya dharm-  
mānusāsanaṁ [.] Dharmmacharaṇe pi  
na bhavati aśilasa [.] Ta imamhi athamhi [10] vadhi  
cha ahinī cha sādhu[.] Etāya athāya idaṁ lekḥāpi-  
taṁ [.] imasa athasa vadhi yujamtu hīni cha<sup>72</sup> [11]  
mā lochetayvā[.] Dhādasavāsābhisitena  
devānaṁ priyena Priyadasinā rāñā idaṁ  
lekḥāpitaṁ[12].

## Mansehra.

Atikr[a]taṁ<sup>77</sup> a[m]ta[raṁ]<sup>78</sup> bahuni vashaśa.ni  
vaḍbite vaṁ praṇara[m]bh[e] vi[h]i[sa]<sup>79</sup> cha bhu-  
tanam fiatina asapa[t]ipati śramaṇabramaṇaṁ  
asaṁpa[t]ipati[12] Se aja devana priyasa  
Priyadraśine ra.ne dhrama[cha]raṇena bherighoshe  
aho dhramagoshe<sup>80</sup> vimanadraśana hastine agikaṁ-  
dhani aña[ni] cha divani rupani draśeti  
janasa [13] [A]diśe bahuhi [va]sha[śatehi] na hu[ta]-  
pruve tadise [aja]vaḍbite [de]vana priyasa  
Priyadraśine rajine dhramanusāstiya anarabhe  
praṇanaṁ avihisa bhutana fiatina [14] saṁpaṭipati  
ba[maṇāśramaṇaṁ] saṁpaṭipati matupitushu  
suśru[sha] vuḍhrana suśrushu[.] Esha aña cha ba-  
huvidhe dhramacharaṇe vadhrate[.] Vadhrayisati yeva  
devana priye[15] Priyadraśi raja dhramacharaṇa  
ima[.] Putra pi cha ku natara cha paṇatika  
devanaṁ priyasa Priyadraśine rajine  
pavaḍhayisaṁti dhramacharaṇa imaṁ ava  
kapam dhrame śile [cha] [16]  
[ti]stitu [dhramam] anusāsisa[m]ti<sup>81</sup>[.] Esha hi  
sre[th]e am dhramanu[śa]śana[.]  
Dhramacharaṇe<sup>82</sup> pi cha na hoti aśilasa[.] Se

<sup>72</sup> It is impossible to read *chā*.

<sup>73</sup> The bracketed letters at the end of the line are very indistinct.

<sup>74</sup> The Anusvāras of this and of the two preceding words are uncertain.

<sup>75</sup> The second and third letters are not distinct; the fourth may have been *vra*.

<sup>76</sup> The first omitted sign looks somewhat like *chu*, *no* or *di*, but I am unable to find a suitable word. The Dhauli version has in the same place two illegible signs.

<sup>77</sup> Possibly *atikraṁtaṁ*.

<sup>78</sup> The two Anusvāras are not certain.

<sup>79</sup> The third sign of *vihisa* is not quite distinct and the reading *vihimsa* not absolutely impossible.

<sup>80</sup> Possibly *ndtind* to be read, but the abnormal shape of the apparent *d*-stroke points to its original form, an Anusvāra joined with the *na* by an exfoliation of the rock.

<sup>81</sup> Read *vimānadāsanā*.

<sup>82</sup> The unaspirated *ga* is very distinct.

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

charaṇaṁ vaḍhitaṁ vaḍhiṣati chayo devanaṁ  
priyasa Priyadraśisa rāño dhramacharaṇo im. [.]  
Putra pi cha ku natara cha pranatika cha devanaṁ  
priyasa Priyadraśisa ra[ño] vaḍhe[saṁti]  
. ma[charaṇaṁ] imaṁ avakapaṁ dbra[me]  
śi[le] cha<sup>73</sup> [9] tistiti dhramam anusāsisaṁti [.]  
Eta h[i] sre[th]am[am] k[r]am[am] ya[m]<sup>74</sup> dhra-  
[ma]n[u]śasanaṁ [.] [Dhrama]charaṇaṁ pi cha  
na bhoti aśilasa [.] So imisa athrasa vadhi  
ahini cha sadhu[.] Etaye aṭhaye ima[m] dipi-  
sta [.] imisa aṭhasa vadhi yujamtu hini cha  
ma loche[sh]u [1.] Ba[daya]vasha[bhi]sitena<sup>75</sup>  
devanaṁ priyena Priyadraśina raña [id]am. nam<sup>76</sup>  
dipa[pi]taṁ [.]

## Kālsī.

Atikraṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ bahuni vasasatāni va[dhi]-  
te-vā pānālabhe vihisā-chā bhutānaṁ  
nātinam<sup>80</sup> asaṁpaṭipati satanabambhanānaṁ  
asaṁpaṭipati[.] Se-ajā devanaṁ-piyasā Piyadasine  
lājine dharmmachalanenā bhelighose aho dharmma-  
ghose vimanadasana<sup>81</sup>[9] [ha]thini agikaṁdhāni  
aṁnāni-chā divyāni lupāni dasayitu  
janasa[.] Ādis[e] bahuhi vasa[sa]tehi nā-huta-  
puluve tadise ajā vaḍhite devanaṁ-piyasā  
Piyadasine lājine dharmmanusathiye<sup>82</sup> anālabhe  
pānānaṁ avihisā bhutānaṁ nāti[su]<sup>84</sup>[10] saṁpaṭi-  
pati bāmbhana[sa] manānaṁ saṁpaṭipati mātāpitisu  
sususā[.] Esha-chā<sup>85</sup> aṁne-chā bahuvidhe  
dharmmachala[n]e vadhite vadhiyisati-chevā  
devanaṁ-piye Piyadasi lājā<sup>86</sup> imaṁ dharmmachala-  
naṁ [.] Putā-cha-kaṁ<sup>87</sup> natāle-chā pa[ā]ti[kyā]-  
chā devanaṁ-piyasā Piyadasine lājine[11]  
[pa]vaḍhayisaṁti<sup>88</sup>-chev[a]<sup>89</sup> dharmmachalanam  
i[ma]m avakapaṁ dharmmasi silasi-chā  
[chi]thi[tu]<sup>90</sup> dharmmaṁ anusāsisaṁti[.] Esha-  
hi seṭṭhe kaṁmam<sup>91</sup> aṁ-dharmmanusāsanaṁ[.]  
Dharmmachalane-pi-chā \*no-hoti aśilasa[.] Se-

<sup>83</sup> Read *dharmmanusathiye*.

<sup>84</sup> The new impression seems to offer *ndtisu*, instead of *nātinam*.

<sup>85</sup> *Esha-chā*, not *eshe-chā*, is the reading of the new impression.

<sup>86</sup> *Lājā* looks exactly like *lājā*.

<sup>87</sup> *Kam*, not *ka*..., is the distinct reading of the new impression.

<sup>88</sup> The additional *pa* is badly mutilated, but certain; compare also the Mansehra version.

<sup>89</sup> *Cheva*, not *eva*, seems to be the reading of the impression.

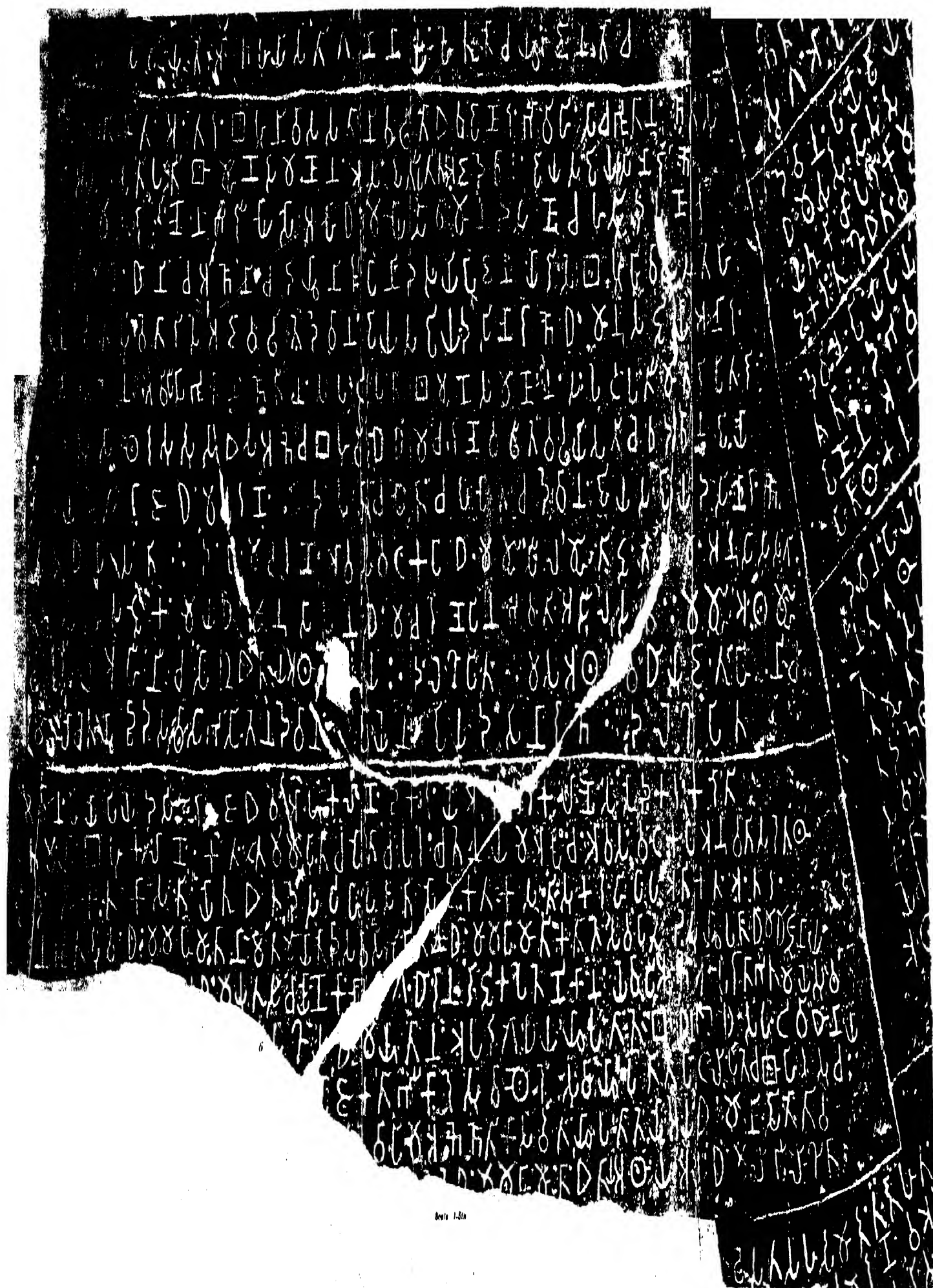
<sup>90</sup> The first badly mutilated syllable may have been *chā*; the second is, according to the reverse of the impression, distinctly *thi*, not *tham*; the third seems to be *tu*. Compare the reading of the Mansehra version.

<sup>91</sup> *Kamam* is now more probable than *ame*.

<sup>92</sup> The Anusvāra is doubtful.

<sup>93</sup> The *na* is abnormal, and similar to a *na*.











*Manshra.*

imasa athrasa vadh[r]i ahini cha sadhu[.]  
 Etayo[17] athraye i[ma]m li[khi]te[:] e[ta]sa [a].  
 sa vadhra<sup>94</sup> yujantu hini cha ma anu[lo]chayisu<sup>95</sup>[.]  
 Duvadaśavashabhisitena devana priyona  
 Priyadrasīna rajina iya<sup>97</sup>m likhapite [18]

*Girnār.*

Devānam priyo Piyadasi rājā evaṁ āha[:]  
 kalāṇaṁ dukaraṁ[.] ye<sup>2</sup> a . . .<sup>3</sup> kalāṇesa<sup>4</sup>  
 so dukaraṁ karoti [1] Ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṁ  
 kataṁ[.] Ta mama putā cha potā cha paraṁ  
 cha tona ya me apacham āva samvatakapa  
 anuvatisare tathā [2] so sukataṁ  
 kāsati[.] Yo tu eta desam pi hāpesati so  
 dukataṁ kāsati[.] Sukaram hi pāpaṁ[.]  
 Atikātaṁ antaram [3] na bhūtapurvam<sup>9</sup> dhamma-  
 mahāmātā nāma[.] Ta mayā traidasavāsābhisit. na  
 dhammamahāmātā katā[.] Te savapāsaṁ-  
 desu vyāpatā dhāmadhiśāṇāya<sup>14</sup> [4] . . . .  
 . . . . . dhammayutasa  
 cha Yona-Kambo . Garudhārānam Ristika-Petenikā-  
 nam ye vā pi amñe aparātā[.] Bhutamayesu va [5] .  
 . . . . . [s.]khāya  
 dhammayutānam aparigodhāya vyāpatā te[.]  
 Baridhanabadhasa<sup>17</sup> paṭividhāṇāya [6] . . . .  
 . . . . . [pra]jākatā-  
 bhikāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te [.] Pāṭalipute  
 cha bahiresu cha [7] . . . . .  
 . . . . . e vā pi<sup>23</sup> me añe nātika  
 sarvata vyāpatā te[.] Yo ayaṁ dhammanisrito  
 ti va [8] . . . . .  
 . . . . . e  
 dhammahāmātā[.] Etāya<sup>27</sup> athāya ayaṁ dham-  
 malipī likhitā [9] . . . . .  
 . . . . .

<sup>94</sup> Read *vadhri*.<sup>95</sup> Read *alochayisu*.<sup>96</sup> The reading *Piyadasi* is distinct also on the rubbing.<sup>97</sup> The form of the Anuvāra is abnormal.<sup>1</sup> The second *ra*-stroke of *Priyadasi* is abnormal.<sup>2</sup> Possibly *yo* to be restored, as there is an abrasion at the top of the *ya*.<sup>3</sup> The tails and tops of the lost letters are visible, and it is not difficult to see that the first was *dī*.<sup>4</sup> Read *kalānasa*.<sup>5</sup> Read *kalānam*.<sup>6</sup> Read *tena*.<sup>7</sup> Read *anuvatisanti*.<sup>8</sup> Read *ekam*; *kaṁ* and the following bracketed letters are very indistinct.<sup>9</sup> Read *bhūtapūrvam* or *pūrvam*.<sup>10</sup> The first and second letters are doubtful. The reading *tira*<sup>o</sup> or *toda* is possible.<sup>11</sup> The *ra*-stroke is doubtful.<sup>12</sup> The second *ra*-stroke is doubtful.<sup>13</sup> Possibly *vapaṭra*.*Kālsī.*

imasā athasā vadhi ahini-cha sādhu[.]  
 Etāye athāye i[ya]m likhite[: 12] imasā a[th]asā  
 vadhi yujantu hini-cha mā-alochayisu[.]  
 Duvādasavāsābhisitenā devānam-piyenā  
 Piyadasi<sup>98</sup> lājina lekhitaṁ[.]

## EDICT V.

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

Devana priyo Priyadasi<sup>1</sup> raya evaṁ āha ti[:]  
 ka[la]ṇaṁ . ukaraṁ[.] Yo a . . [ro] ka[la]ṇasa  
 so dukaraṁ karoti[.] So maya bahu kalāṇaṁ  
 kiṭṭam[.] Tam ma[ha] putra cha natara cha paraṁ  
 cha t. . .<sup>6</sup> [ya] me apacha [a]chhamti avaku-  
 paṁ tatham ye anuvatisanti<sup>7</sup> to sukitt[ra]m  
 kashanti[.] Yo chu ato . [kaṁ pi hapesati]<sup>8</sup> so  
 [du]kattam kashati[.] Pappam hi sukaram[.] So  
 atik[ra]m[.] tam antaram na [bhu]tapuva dhama-  
 mahamatra nama[.] So [tiddasavasha]bhisitena<sup>10</sup> [11]  
 maya dhramamahamatra kiṭ[ra]a<sup>11</sup>[.] Te savrap[r]-  
 asharideshu<sup>12</sup> vapat[ra]a<sup>13</sup> dhramadhithanaye [cha]  
 dhramavadhiy[e] hidasukhaye cha dhramayutasa  
 Yona-Kamboya-Garudharanam Rastikanam Pitini-  
 kanam ye vā pi aparanta[.] Bhattama[ye]shu  
 bramabibheshuanatheshu v[u]dheshu<sup>15</sup> hitasukhaye  
 [dhra]may[u]tasu apalib[odhe]<sup>16</sup> vapatā [te] [12]  
 Baridhanabadhasa paṭividhanaye apa[li]bodhaye  
 mo[chhay]e<sup>18</sup> iyaṁ a[ra]n uba[dh]am<sup>19</sup> prajava kiṭṭa-  
 bhikaro va mahalaka<sup>20</sup> vā viyapaṭra[.] In<sup>21</sup> bahiresu  
 cha nagaresu savreshu orodhaneshu bhratunam  
 cha me spasunam<sup>22</sup> cha ye vā pi amñe nātika  
 savatra viyaput[ra]a[.] Y[am<sup>24</sup>i]yam dhramanirite  
 ti va dhramadhithan[e]<sup>25</sup> ti va danas[a]yute<sup>26</sup> ti va  
 savatra vijite ma[ha] dhramayutasi viyapaṭa te  
 dhramamahamatra[.] Etāye athāye ay[am]  
 dhramadipi dipist[ra]a<sup>28</sup>[:] chirathitika  
 bhotu tatha cha praja<sup>29</sup> anivata<sup>30</sup> [13]

<sup>14</sup> Read *dhāmadhiśāṇāya*. The single *ma* is to be read as double.<sup>15</sup> Possibly *vadhesu*.<sup>16</sup> The last sign has apparently also an Anuvāra.<sup>17</sup> The *na* has been added later as a correction.<sup>18</sup> The second sign of *mochhaye* is not quite distinct.<sup>19</sup> The last syllable of *anubaddham* stands lower than the others.<sup>20</sup> Possibly *mahalake*.<sup>21</sup> Possibly *hīa*.<sup>22</sup> Regarding the first sign of *spasunam*, see the note to the German edition.<sup>23</sup> Restore *ye vā pi*. Before *e* there is only a vertical stroke, not a *na*.<sup>24</sup> The vowel is not certain.<sup>25</sup> The last vowel is not certain.<sup>26</sup> The third vowel is not certain.<sup>27</sup> The *ya* has been added later.<sup>28</sup> The lower end of the last syllable has been destroyed.<sup>29</sup> The *ra*-stroke is abnormal.



## Mansehra.

[Devānam]priye Priyadasi raja evam aba [:] kalanam dukaram[.] Ye adikare kayansa se dukaram karoti[.] Tam maya bahu kayane kate<sup>32</sup>[.] [Tam] ma[a]<sup>33</sup> putra [cha] [19] natari<sup>34</sup> param cha tena ye apatiye me ava.pam tatham anuva[t]isati<sup>35</sup> se sukata kashati[.] Ye chu atra desa pi hapesati se dukata kashati[.]<sup>20</sup> Papehinama supadarev[a]<sup>37</sup>[.] Se atikratam antaram na bhutapruva dhramamahamatra nama[.] Se tredasavashabhisitena maya dhramamahamatra kata[.] Te savrapashadeshu[21] vaputa dhramadhithanaye cha dhramavadbriya hidasukhaye cha [dhra]mayutasa Yona-Kamboja-Ga[rn]dharanam Ratrakra-<sup>40</sup>Pitinikana ye va [p]i afe aparata[.] Bhatamaye-<sup>22</sup> shu bramanibhyeshu anatheshu vudhreshu hidamsu[khay]e dhramayutapalibodhayeviyaputa te[.] Badhanabadhasa pativi[dhana]ye apalibodhayemochhayech[a]iyam<sup>41</sup>[23] anubadhapa ja ti va kartabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyapata te[.] Hidam bahreshu cha nagreshu savreshu [o]rodhaneshu<sup>42</sup> bhatana cha spasuna cha [24] ye va pi afe natike savratra viyapata[.] E iyam dhramanisiti ti va dhramadhithane ti va danasamyute ti va savratra vijitasi maa dhramayutasi vaputa[te] [25] dhramamahamatra[.] Etye athraye ayi dhramadipi likhita[.] chirahtitika[ hotu tatham cha me praja anuvata[.]

## Kālst.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā ahā<sup>30</sup> [:] kayāne dukale[.] E-ādik[al]e<sup>31</sup> ka[yā]nasā se-dukalam kaleti[.] Se-mamayā bahu kayāne kate[.] T[ā]-ma-ma [pu]tā-chā natāle-[chā] [13] palam-[chā] te[hi] y[e]- apatiye-me āvakapam tathā anuvāṣanti se-sukata kachhanti[.] E-chu hetā desam-pi [hā]pa-[y] isanti<sup>36</sup> se-dukata kachhati[.] Pāpe-hi-nāma supadālaye[.] Se-atikratam antalam no-hutapuluvā dhammamahāmātā-nāma[.] T[e]dasavasābhisitenā mama[yā] dhammamahāmātā [ka]tā[.] Te-savapāsamdesu viyā[pa]tā [14] dhamnādhitānāye-chā dhammavādhiyā hi[da]sukhāye-chā<sup>38</sup> dhammayutasā Yona-Kamboja-Gamdhā[lā]nam<sup>39</sup> e-vā-pi amne apamitā[.] Bhatamayesu barmhani-bhesu anathesu vudhesu hidasukhāye dhammayutāye apalibodhāye viyāpatā-te[.] Barmdhanabadhasā patividhānāye apalibodhāye mokhāye-chā eyam anuba[dham] pajāva-tivā [15] [katābhikā]le-ti-vā mahālake-ti-vā viyāpatā-te[.] Hidā bāhilesu-chā na[ga]lesu savesu [olo]-dhanesu bhātinam-ch[a]-ne<sup>43</sup> bhagininā<sup>44</sup> e-vā-pi amne natikye savatā viyāpatā[.] E-iyam dhammanisite-ti-vā dānasamyute-ti-vā savatā vijitasi mamā dhammayutasi viyāpatā-te dhammamahāmātā[.] Etye athāye<sup>45</sup> [16] [i]yam dhammalipi lekhitā[.] chirahtitikyā hotu [ta]thā-ch[a]-me pa[jā] anuvata[rn]tu[.]

## EDICT VI.

## Girnār.

Devānam pri<sup>40</sup> . . si rājā evam āha [:] atikratam antaram [1] na bhūtapurva sava . la<sup>49</sup> athakamme \* va pativedanā vā[.] Ta mayā evam kata[m] [2] save kāle bhūmjamānasa

## Shāhbāzagrāh.

Devānam priyo Priyad[ra]si<sup>47</sup> raya eva[rn] āha ti [:] atik[ra]tam<sup>48</sup> antaram na [bhuta]pruvam savram kalam athakramam va pativedana va[.] Tam maya evam kitam [:] savram kalam asamana-

<sup>30</sup> The new impression gives distinctly *ahā* for *āhā*.

<sup>31</sup> The reverse of the impression gives *ādikale*, which is supported by the reading of Mansehra *adikare*.

<sup>32</sup> Possibly *kati* to be read.

<sup>33</sup> Only the foot of the second sign of *maa* has been preserved.

<sup>34</sup> Possibly *natari* to be read.

<sup>35</sup> Possibly *anuvāṣati* to be read.

<sup>36</sup> The impression has the Anusvāra distinctly, which must probably be deleted.

<sup>37</sup> There is a stroke, above *va* which, however, seems not to be a real *e*-stroke, but an accidental scratch.

<sup>38</sup> The impression seems to offer *hida*<sup>o</sup>, with a badly blurred *da* instead of *hita*<sup>o</sup>, and *chā* instead of *vā*.

<sup>39</sup> The impression shows no distinct letters, but merely scratches, between *yutasā* and *Yona*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Read *Rastika*, the second letter has not been written completely.

<sup>41</sup> *Chā* is much defaced and looks like *che* or *je*; the Anusvāra of *iyam* is not certain.

<sup>42</sup> The first letter is much disfigured by several scratches and looks nearly like a deformed *cha*.

<sup>43</sup> The impression offers distinctly *ne* (i.e. *naḥ*) instead *na*, and according to the reverse *cha* is more probable than *che*.

<sup>44</sup> *Bhagininā* is more probable than *onam*.

<sup>45</sup> The lingual of *athāye* is plain both in the rubbing and on the impression.

<sup>46</sup> Only the lower portions of the first letters are distinct.

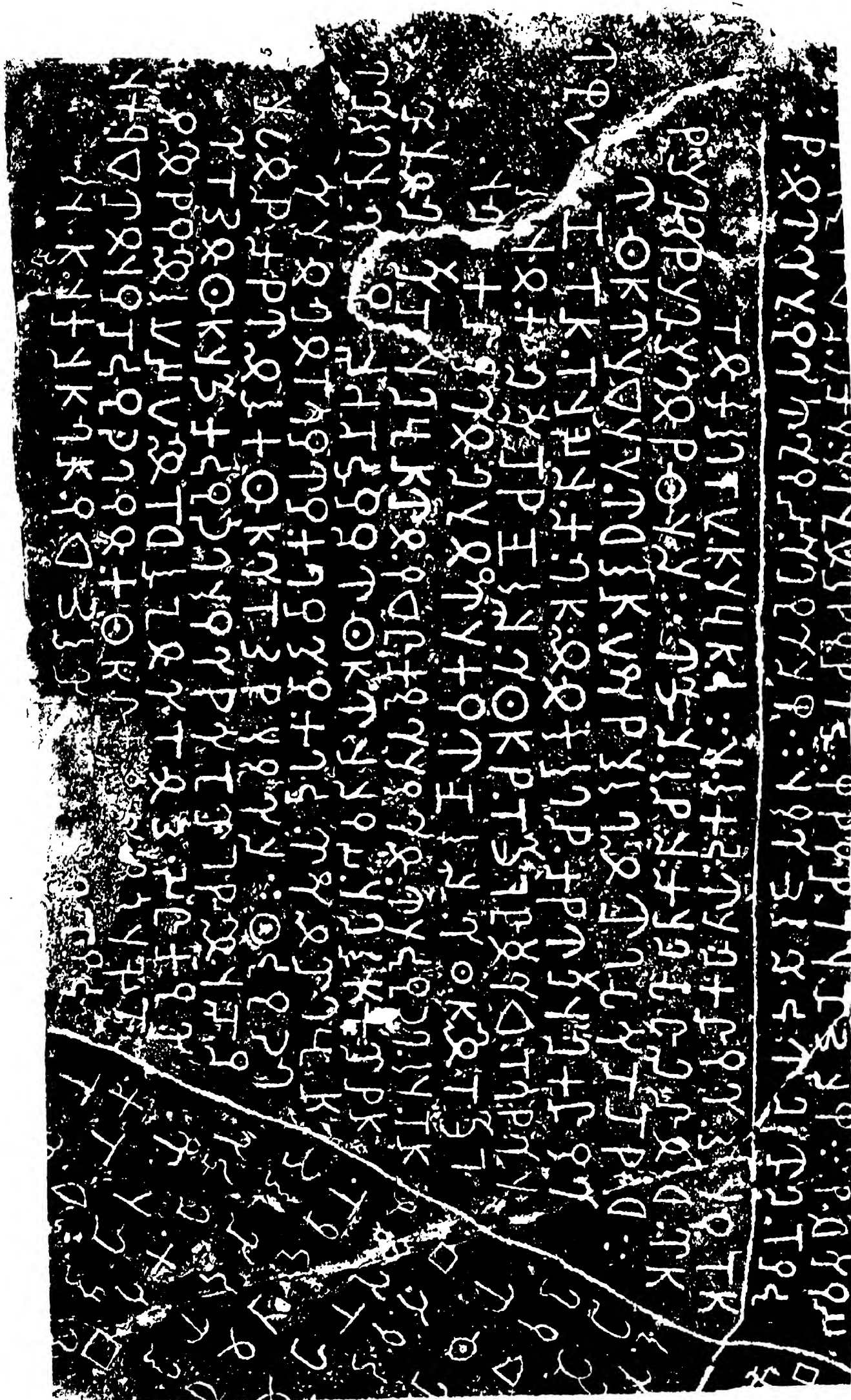
<sup>47</sup> Possibly *Priyadamsi*, but see the notes to the German edition.

<sup>48</sup> The *ra*-stroke is doubtful.

<sup>49</sup> The tops of *rva*, *va* and *la* are gone. Restore *°rvaṁ savam kalam*.



GIRNAR ASOKA EDICTS: No. VI.









## Girnār.

me orodhanamhi gabbhāgāramhi vachamhi va [3] vinī-  
tamhi cha uyānesu cha savatra paṭivedakā<sup>60</sup> stitā athe  
me janasa [4] paṭivedetha iti[.] Sarvatra cha janasa  
athe karomi[.] Ya cha kimchi mukhato [5] ānāpayāmi  
svayam dāpakam vā śrāvāpakam vā ya vā puna  
mahāmātresu [6] āchāyika<sup>61</sup> āropitam bhavati tāya  
athāya vivālo nijhatī va samto parisāyam [7]

ānamtarām paṭivedetayam<sup>62</sup> me sarvatra sarve kāle[.]  
Evam mayā ānāpitam[.] Nāsti hi  
me toso [8] usānamhi athasamīranāya va[.] Kata-  
yvmate hi me sarvalokahitam[.] Tasa cha puna  
esa mūle usānam cha athasamīranā cha[.] Nāsti  
hi karmatarām [10] sarvalokahitapā[.] Ya cha  
kimchi parākramāmi aham[.] kimti [?] bhūtānam  
ānamtarām gachheyam [11] idha cha nāni sukhāpayā-  
mi paratrā cha svagām ārādhayamtu[.] Ta etāya  
athāya [12] ayam dharmmalipī lekḥapitā[.] kimti [?]  
chiram tiṣṭeya iti tathā cha me putrā potā cha  
prapotrā cha [13] anuvatarām<sup>63</sup> savalokahitāya[.]  
Dukaram tu idam añāta agena pārākramena[.] [14]

## Mansehra.

Devana[m] priye Priyadrasī raja eva[m]<sup>64</sup> aha[:]  
atikramtarām amtarām [26] n[o]<sup>65</sup> hutaprūve savarām kalā  
athrak[rama]<sup>66</sup> va paṭivedana va[.] Ta maya evam  
kiṭam [:] savrakalam asātasa me  
orodhane grabbhagarasi vrachaspi<sup>67</sup> vinitaspi uyanaspi  
savratra pa[t]i[veda]ka athra janasa [27] paṭivedetu  
me savratra cha janasa athra karomi aham[.]  
Yam pi kichi mukhati anapemi aham dapakam  
va śravakam va yam va puna mahamatrehi

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

sa me orodhanaspi grabbhagaraspi vrachaspi vinitaspi  
uyanaspi<sup>61</sup> savratra paṭivedaka aṭham janasa  
paṭ[r]ivedetu me savatra cha janasa aṭhra karomi[.]  
Yam pi [cha] kichi mukhato anapayami  
[aham da]pakam va śravakam va yam va pana<sup>62</sup>  
mahamatranam v[o<sup>64</sup> achay]ika a . pitam<sup>65</sup> bhoti  
taye aṭhaye vivade va ni[jha]ti<sup>66</sup> va samtarām parisha-  
ye anamtarīyena paṭivedetavo me [14] savatra<sup>67</sup> cha  
aṭham janasa karomi a[ham] [.] Yam cha ki  
[chi]<sup>68</sup> mukhato anapemi aham dapakam va śra-  
vaka va ya va pana mahamatranam achayikam  
aropitam bhoti taye aṭhaye vivade samtarām nijhati<sup>69</sup>  
va parishaye anamtarīyena paṭivedetavo  
me savatra sav[r]am kalām[.]  
Evam anapitam maya[.] Nasti hi me toso uṭha-  
nasi aṭhasamīranaye cha[.] Katavamatarām bi me  
sav[r]alokahitam[.] Tasa cha mulam et[ra]  
uthanam aṭhasamīranā cha[.] Na[sti] hi  
kramatarām [15] s[r]avalokahite[na]<sup>61</sup> [.] Yam cha  
kichi parakramami [:] kiti [?] bhutanam  
anamtarām vracheyam ia cha [sha] sukhayami  
paratra cha spagam<sup>62</sup> aradhetu[.] Etaye aṭhaye  
ayi dhrama<sup>63</sup> dipista [:] chirathitika bhotu  
tatha cha me putra nataro parakramamtu  
savalokahitaye [.] [D]ukara[m] tu[kho] imam  
amīnatra agre<sup>64</sup> parakramena[.] [16]

## Kālsī.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevarām-āhā[:]  
atikramtarām amtarām no-hutapulūve savarām kalam  
aṭhakammo-vā<sup>65</sup> [paṭ] ivedanā-vā [.] Se-ma[ma]yā  
hevām kaṭe [:] savarām kalam adam[a] nasā-me<sup>70</sup> [18]  
olodhanasī gabbhāgāsi vachasi vini[tasi] uyānasi  
savatā paṭivedakā aṭham janasā [paṭi]vedemtu  
me<sup>71</sup> [.] Savatā<sup>72</sup> janasā aṭham kachhāmi hakam[.]  
Yam pi chā [kiobhi mukha]te āna[payā]mi ha-  
kam<sup>73</sup> dā[pakam]-vā [śāvakam vā] ye-vā-punā

<sup>60</sup> Below *fi* stands a *u*-stroke.

<sup>61</sup> The final sign is probably intended for *spi*; —see the notes to the German edition of the Mansehra text.

<sup>62</sup> Possibly *puna* to be read.

<sup>63</sup> Possibly *achāyikam* or *°ke* to be restored, as there are two large abrasions on both sides of the *ka*.

<sup>64</sup> The vowel of *vo* is very indistinct.

<sup>65</sup> Complete *aropitam*.

<sup>66</sup> The *jha* is indistinct.

<sup>67</sup> The passage from *savatra* down to *parisha* has been repeated by mistake.

<sup>68</sup> It looks, as if another sign had stood between *ki* and *chi*.

<sup>69</sup> A remnant of *va* below the *ya* is visible.

<sup>70</sup> The stroke indicating the aspiration of *jha* is indistinct.

<sup>71</sup> The *ra*-stroke of *srava* is not quite certain.

<sup>72</sup> The initial sign of this word shows the same form as in *orodhanaspi*, above l. 14, and seems to be intended for *spa*.

<sup>61</sup> Possibly *ayo* to be read; read *dhramadipi*.

<sup>62</sup> Read *anuvateram*.

<sup>63</sup> Read *agrena*.

<sup>64</sup> The Anuvāras of *devānam* and *evam* are not quite distinct.

<sup>65</sup> The vowel is doubtful.

<sup>66</sup> Possibly *kumma* to be read.

<sup>67</sup> The lingual in *aṭha*<sup>6</sup> is more probable than the dental.

<sup>70</sup> The new impression shows a tolerably distinct *me* at the end of line 17, and only scratches at the beginning of line 18. In the third syllable of *adamanasā* a short *a* is more probable than *mā*.

<sup>71</sup> The last sign of this word and the next two show the abnormal form, which probably stands for *spi*.

<sup>72</sup> No letters seem to have been lost between *me* and *savatā*.

<sup>73</sup> At least one syllable, probably *cha*, has been lost after *savatā*.

<sup>74</sup> *Hakam*, not *sakam*, is the reading of the new impression.



*Mansehra.*

achayike aropita hoti[28] taye athraye vivade nijhat  
va sarhta parishaye a[nam]taliyena paṭiveditaviye  
me savratra savra kala[.] Eva[m] anapita maya[.]  
Nasti hi me toshe u[ṭhanasi] athrasantirāṇaye  
cha[.29] Kaṭaviyamate hi me savralokahite[.]  
Tasa chu [puna] eshe mule uṭhane athrasatirāṇa cha[.]  
Nasti hi kramatara savralokahitena[.] Yam cha  
[ki]chi para[kra]mami aham[;] kiti[?] bhuta-  
nam[30] anapiyam yeham ia cha sha sukhayami  
paratra cha spagram<sup>81</sup> aradhetu ti[.] Se etaye athraye  
iyam dhramadipi likhita [:] chirathitikam hotu tatham  
cha me putra [nata]re para[k]ramante<sup>80</sup>  
savra-[31] lokahitaye[.] Dukare chu kho añatra  
agrena parakramena[.]

*Kālsī.*

mahāmātehi[18] atiyāyike[ā. pitam] hoti tāyēṭhāye  
vivāde nijhati-vā<sup>76</sup> sarhtam palisāye anantaliyenā  
paṭi . . . viye me savatā savam kalam hevam  
ānapayite mamayā[.] Nathi-hi-me dose-va uṭhānasā  
aṭhasantilanāye-cha[.] Kaṭ[a]viyamute<sup>79</sup>-hi-me  
savalo kahite[.] [Tasā-punā<sup>77</sup> es[e]-mule uṭhāne[19]  
aṭhasantilanā-cha[.] Nathi-hi kammatalā sava-  
[loka]hitenā[.] Yam-cha-kichi palakamāmi hakam  
[;] kiti[?] bhutānam [a]napiyam yeham hida-cha-  
kāni sukhāyāmi palata-cha<sup>78</sup> svagam ālādhayitu<sup>79</sup>[.]  
Se-etāyēṭhāye iyam dhamalipi lekhitā[.] Chila-  
ṭhitikyā hotu tathā cha me putadāle palakamātu  
savalo kahitā[ye][.20] Dukale-cha[a]<sup>81</sup> iyam anata  
agenā palakamenā[.]

## EDICT VII.

*Girnār.*

Devānam piyo Piyadasi rājā sarvata ichhati  
save pāsamḍā vaseyu[.] Save te  
sayamam cha [1] bhāvasudhim cha ichhati[.] Jano tu  
uchāvachachhamdo uchāvacharāgo[.] Te sarvam  
va kāsamṇi ekadesam va kasamṇi[.2] Vipule<sup>83</sup> tu  
pi dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāvasudhitā va  
katamṇatā va dāḍhabhatitā cha nichā bādham [3]

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

Devanam priyo Priyāsī<sup>82</sup> raja savatra ichhati  
savre [1] prashamḍa vaseyu[.] Savre hi te  
sayama bhavaśudhi cha ichhamṇi[.2] Jano chu  
uchavuchachhamdo uchavucharago[.] Te savram  
va okadesam va [3] pi kashamṇi[.] Vipule  
pi chu dane yasa nāsti sayama bhava-[4]śudhi  
kiṭṇatā dīḍhabhatita niche padham [5]

*Mansehra.*

Deva[na priye] Priyadraśi raja savratra ichhati  
savra pashadā vaseyu[.] Savre hi te sayama  
bhavaśudhi [cha] [32] ichhamṇi[.] Jane chu  
uchavuchachhade uchavucharage[.] Te savram  
ekadesam va pi kashati[.] Vipule pi chu  
dane yasa nāsti sayame bhavaśuti  
kiṭṇatā dīḍhrabhatita<sup>89</sup> cha [33] niche bādham[.]

*Kālsī.*

Devānam·piye Piyadasi lājā [sa]vatā [i]chhati[.]  
sav[a pā]samḍa vas[e]vu[.]<sup>84</sup> Save-hi-te sayamam  
bhāvasudhi-cha<sup>85</sup> ichhamṇi[.] Jane-chu  
uchāvuchachchamde<sup>86</sup> uchāvuchalāgo[.] Te-savam  
ekadesam-pi kachhamṇi[.] Vipule-pi-chu  
dān[am]<sup>87</sup> asā nathi [21] sayame bhāvasudh[i]  
kiṭṇatā<sup>88</sup> dīḍhabhatitā-cha niche-bādham[.]

## EDICT VIII.

*Girnār.*

Atikātam aṁtaram rājāno vihāra-  
yātām nāyāsu[.] Eta magayvā añāni  
cha etārisani[1]<sup>91</sup> abhīramakāni ahumṇsu[.] So

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

Atikratnam<sup>90</sup> aṁtaram devanam priya vihara-  
yatra nama nikramishu[.] Atra mrugaya añani  
cha [h]edisani a[bhi]ramani abhavasū<sup>92</sup>[.] So

<sup>76</sup> *Nijhati*, not *nikati*, is the distinct reading of the reverse of the impression.

<sup>77</sup> The absence of the Anuvāra and the reading *imute* are certain from the reverse of the impression.

<sup>78</sup> *Tasā* is more probable than *tasa*.

<sup>79</sup> *Palata*, not *palatā*, is distinct.

<sup>80</sup> Read *ālādhayantu*.

<sup>81</sup> Read *parakramantu*.

<sup>82</sup> Possibly *chu*.

<sup>83</sup> The initial *sa* is again abnormal and the sign must be read *spa*.

<sup>84</sup> Read *Priyadraśi*.

<sup>85</sup> The apparent second *u*-stroke which makes the word look like *vipūle* is, to judge from the impression, an accidental scratch.

<sup>86</sup> The short final of *[pā]samḍa* seems certain, as there is

no stroke or abrasion to the right of the *ḍa*.

<sup>87</sup> *Chā*, not *cha*, is distinct.

<sup>88</sup> The impression shows everywhere distinctly *uchāvucha*, not *uchāvucha*.

<sup>89</sup> *Dānam* is, according to the reverse of the impression, more probable than *dāne*.

<sup>90</sup> According to the impression the reading is *kiṭṇatā*, for which *kiṭṇatā* must be read.

<sup>91</sup> One of the *ra*-strokes in *dīḍhra*<sup>92</sup> is superfluous, and ought to be removed. The form was probably *dīḍhra*<sup>92</sup>, i.e. *dīḍhra*.

<sup>92</sup> This stands for *atikratnam* just like *savra* for *sarva*.

<sup>93</sup> Read *etārisāni*.

<sup>94</sup> The second vowel is not quite distinct, and the reading *abhavasū* is perhaps possible.











*Girnar.*

devānam piyo Priyadasi rājā dasavasābhisito. samto ayāya sambodhi<sup>94</sup> [2] Tenesā dhammayātā[.] Etayam<sup>95</sup> hoti bāmhaṇasamaṇānam dasane cha dāne cha thairānam dasane cha [3] hiraṇṇapatividhāno cha jānapadasa cha jānasa<sup>96</sup> dasanam dhammānusastī cha dhammaparipucchā cha[4.] Tatopayā esā bhuya rati bhavati devānam piyasa Priyadasino rāño bhāge aññe [5.]

*Mansehra.*

Atikratam antaram devana priya viharayatra nama nikramishu[.] I[ha]<sup>97</sup> mrigaviya aññani cha edisāni abhiramani husu[.] Se devana priye Priyadasi [34] raja<sup>98</sup> dasavashabhisite samtam nikrami sambodhi[.] Tenad[am]<sup>97</sup> dhramayadra[.] Atra iya hoti [:] śramaṇabramāṇana draśane dane cha vadhrana draśane [cha] hiṇṇapatividha[ne]<sup>11</sup> cha [35] janapadasa janasa draśane dhramanusastī cha dhramapari-pucchā cha[.] Tatopaya eshe bhuye rati ho[t]i devana Priyasa Priyadasisa [36] rajine bhag[e]<sup>14</sup> añe [37]

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

devanam priyo Priyadasi<sup>99</sup> raja dasavashabhisito satonikramisabodhi[in]<sup>99</sup> [.] Tenand[a]<sup>97</sup> dhramayatra[.] Atra iyam hoti [:] śramaṇabramāṇanam draśane danam vu[ḍha]nam draśane<sup>99</sup> [h]i[ra]ṇṇapatividha[ne] cha [juna]padasa janasa draśanam dhramanusastī dhramapa[ri]pucchā cha[.] Tatopayam esh[a]<sup>1</sup> bhuye rati hoti devanam piyasa Priyadasisa rāño bhag[i]<sup>14</sup> a[m]mī[17.]

*Kālsī.*

Atikratam antaram devānam-piyā vihālayātam. nāma nikhamisu[.] Hidā migaviyā aññāni-chā<sup>4</sup> bedisān[i] abhilāmān[i] husu<sup>5</sup>[.] Devānam-piye Priyadasi lājā dasavasābhisito samtam<sup>8</sup> nikami[th]jā<sup>9</sup> sambodhi [22] Tenatā dhammayātā[.] [He]tā iyam hoti samana-bāmhaṇānam dasane-chā dāne-cha vudhānam dasane-cha hiraṇṇapatividhāne-chā jānapadasa janasā<sup>10</sup> dasane dhammanusastī-chā<sup>12</sup> dhammapalipucchā-cha<sup>13</sup>[.] Tatopayā ese bhuye lāti hoti devānam-piyasā Piyadasisā lājine bhāge aññe [23]

## EDICT IX.

*Girnar.*

Devānam piyo Priyadasi rājā evam āha [:] asti jano uchāvacham maṇḍalam karote ābādhesu vā [1] āvāhavivāhesu vā putralābhesu vā pravāsamhi vā [.] Etamhi cha aññamhi cha jano uchāvacham maṇḍalam karote [2] Eta tu mahidāyo bahukam cha bahuvidham cha chhudam cha niratham cha maṇḍalam karote[.] Ta katayvameva tu maṇḍalam[.] Apaphalam tu kho [3] etarisaṁ<sup>18</sup> maṇḍalam[.] Ayam tu mahāphale maṇḍale ya dhammamamaṇḍale[.] Tata dāsabbatakamhi samya-pratipati gurūnam apachiti s[ā]dhu [4] pānesu sayamo sādhu bāmhaṇasamaṇānam sādhu dānam[.] Eta cha añña cha etārisam dhammamamaṇḍalam nāma[.]

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

Devanam priyo Priyadasi raya evam aha ti [:] jano uchavucham maṇḍalam karoti abadhe avahē vivahe pajupadane pravase[.] Etaye aññaye [cha] edisiy<sup>15</sup>. ja[n]o [ba]<sup>16</sup> maṇḍalam . karoti[.] Atra tu striyaka bahu cha bahuvidham cha putika[m] cha niraṭhriyam cha maṇḍalam ka[rotne]<sup>17</sup>[.] So kaṭavo [cha kh]o maṇḍala[.] Apaphalam tu kho etam[.] Imam [tu] kho mahaphala ye mamamaṇḍala[m]<sup>19</sup> [18] [A]tra ima [:] dasabhaṭakasa sammapratipati garuna apachiti prapaṇam samiyama śramaṇabramāṇana dana[.] Etam aññam cha dhramamamaṇḍalam nama[.]

<sup>92</sup> The *dra* looks very much like *dam*.

<sup>94</sup> The impression makes the second Anusvāra very probable.

<sup>95</sup> *Etayam* stands for *Ēta iyam*. According to the analogy *yenāme* for *yeṇa ime*, etc.;—see E. Müller: *Simplified Pali Grammar*, p. 60.

<sup>96</sup> The Anusvāra is doubtful.

<sup>97</sup> Possibly *tenadra* to be read.

<sup>98</sup> Read *janasa*.

<sup>99</sup> The *dra* looks very much like *dam*.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly *eshe* to be read.

<sup>2</sup> The upper part of the *i*-stroke is very faint.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *ia* is to be read.

<sup>4</sup> *Chā*, not *cha*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>5</sup> The impression shows no Anusvāra.

<sup>6</sup> This looks like *rajam*.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly *tenadra* is to be read.

<sup>8</sup> The obverse of the impression seems to give *sate*, but the reverse shows *samtam* to be the right reading.

<sup>9</sup> Possibly *nikhamithā* to be read.

<sup>10</sup> The impression shows no *cha* after *janasā*, only superficial scratches.

<sup>11</sup> Read *hiraṇṇapatividhane*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *dhammānusastī*.

<sup>13</sup> There is no Anusvāra in *dhammapalipucchā*.

<sup>14</sup> Possibly the reading may have been *bhagi*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *edisiye*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *bahu*; only the lower half of the first letter has been preserved; the second has been omitted.

<sup>17</sup> *Karotne* stands for *karonte*.

<sup>18</sup> For *etarisaṁ*.

<sup>19</sup> Read *dhramamamaṇḍalam*.



## Girndr.

Ta vatayvarin pitā va [5] putena vā bhātrā vā svāmikena vā [:] idam sādhu idam katayvarin marṅgalam āva tasa athasa niṣṭānāya[.] Asti cha pi vutarn [:6] Sādhu

danam<sup>20</sup> iti[.] Na tu etārisam asti dānam va anagaho<sup>21</sup> va yārisam dhammadānam va dhammānugaho va[.] Ta tu kho mitrena va suhodayena vā [7] ūtikena<sup>22</sup> va saḥāyana<sup>23</sup> va ovāditayvarin tamhitamhi pakarane[:] idam kacham idam sādha<sup>24</sup> iti iminā sakam<sup>25</sup> [8] svagam ārādhetu iti[.] Ki cha iminā katayvataram yathā svagāradhi[.9]

## Mansehra.

Devana priye Priyadrasī raja evam aha [:] jane uchavucha[m<sup>26</sup> ma]gala[m<sup>27</sup>] karoti [1] abadh[a]si avah[ha]si vivahasi prajopadaye pravasa<sup>28</sup>pi[.] Eṭaye añāye cha [edi]śa[ye<sup>29</sup>] ja[ne] [2] bahu marṅgalam ka[ro]ti[.] A[tra] tu balika janika bahu cha bahuvīdh[a]<sup>30</sup> cha khud[a]<sup>31</sup> cha nirathriya cha magala[m]<sup>32</sup> karoti[.] Se ka . vi . cha kho [3] [ma]gale[.] Apaphale chu kho e[sh]e[.] Iyam chu kho mahaphale y[e] dhramamagale[.] Atra iyam [:] dasubhata<sup>33</sup>kasi samyapaṭipati guru[na] apa[chi]ti [4] prañāna sa[ya]me āramanābramaṇa[na] [dane] [.] Eṣhe aṇe cha ediṣe dhramamagale nama[.] Se vataviy[o]pit[u]na<sup>34</sup> pi putrena pi bhatuna pi spamikena . [5] mitrasamstute[na] a[va] paṭivesiyena pi [:] iyam sadhu iy[am]<sup>35</sup> kaṭaviye magale ava tasa athasa nivu[t]iya[.]

<sup>20</sup> The first letter, which is badly damaged, seems to have been one of the abnormal signs, occurring Ed. VI in *orodhanaspi* and so forth, and is probably meant for *spa*.

<sup>21</sup> The last sign is the same as in *orodhanaspi* and so forth,

<sup>22</sup> Read *dānam*.

<sup>23</sup> Probably a mistake for *anugaho*.

<sup>24</sup> The *ra*-stroke is not quite certain.

<sup>25</sup> The second and fourth vowels are not quite distinct, and one might possibly read *nivufeyeti*.

<sup>26</sup> The last vowel is not quite certain.

<sup>27</sup> The two signs of this word stand the one above the other.

<sup>28</sup> Read *ñātikena*.

<sup>29</sup> Read *saḥāyena*.

<sup>30</sup> Possibly *pana* to be read.

<sup>31</sup> Possibly *ia* to be read.

<sup>32</sup> Read *sādhu*.

<sup>33</sup> The Anusvāra of *sakam* is at least very probable.

<sup>34</sup> Possibly *pana* to be read.

<sup>35</sup> Read *dhramamagālena*.

<sup>36</sup> The Anusvāra is uncertain.

<sup>37</sup> The Anusvāra is uncertain.

<sup>38</sup> Thus distinct in B, instead of *pravasasi*.

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

So vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi [spa]mikenā<sup>39</sup> pi mi[tra]samstutena ava prati-veṣiyena[:] imam sadhu imam kaṭavo [mam]galaṁ yava tasa athasa nivutīya[.] Nivutāspi<sup>40</sup> va pana [19] imam ke[sha] [?] Ye hi et[ra]ke<sup>41</sup> magale sa[rh]śayike tam[.] Siya vo tam aṭham niv[a]ṭey[a]<sup>42</sup> ti[.] siya pana iālokach[e]<sup>43</sup> vo tithe [.] Iya<sup>44</sup> puna dhramamagalaṁ akalikaṁ[.] Yadi p[u]na<sup>45</sup> tam aṭham na nivāṭe [h]ia<sup>46</sup> [.] [a]tha paratra anantam puṇam prasavati[.] Hamche p[u]na<sup>47</sup> [a]tham nivāṭe ti tato ubhayasa laḍham bhoti ibachaso aṭho paratra cha anantam puṇam prasavati teva dhramamagale<sup>48</sup> [20]

## Kālat.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā āhā [:] jane uchavucham<sup>39</sup> marṅgalam [ka]l[et]i[.] Ābādhasi avāhasi vivāhasi pajopadāye<sup>40</sup> pavāsasi eṭāye amnāye-chā edisāye jane bahu magalaṁ kaletī[.] Heta-chu abakajani[yo]<sup>41</sup> bahu-chā bahuvīdhām-chā khudā<sup>42</sup>-chā nilathiyām-chā<sup>43</sup> magalaṁ kalamti<sup>44</sup> [24] Se-kaṭavi-cheva-kho<sup>45</sup> marṅgale[.] Apaphale-vu-kho es[e] Iyam chu-kho mahāphale yo-dhammamagale[.] He[tā]<sup>46</sup> iyam dāsabhata<sup>47</sup>kasi samyāpaṭipāti-gulunā<sup>48</sup> apachiti pā . ānam sayame samanabarnbhanānam dāne[.] Eṣe amne-chā heḍise tam-dhammamagale-nāmā<sup>49</sup> [.] Se-vataviye pitinā-pi putenapi<sup>50</sup> bhātinā-pi svāmiken[ā]-pi mitasamthutenā āva-paṭivesiyenā-pi [:25] iyam sādhu iyam kaṭaviye [ma]gale āva-tasā athasā nivutiyā<sup>51</sup> [.]

<sup>39</sup> The *vu* in the third syllable is distinct.

<sup>40</sup> The lower stroke is nearly straight and *pajopaddāne* a possible reading, but see the Mansehra version.

<sup>41</sup> The first and last syllables of *edisāye* are very indistinct.

<sup>42</sup> This is the reading of the reverse, distinct except in the last syllable.

<sup>43</sup> *Khudā*, not *khudam*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>44</sup> Read *nilathiyā* or *°yam*.

<sup>45</sup> Possibly *bahuvīdhe* to be read.

<sup>46</sup> Possibly *khude* to be read.

<sup>47</sup> The Anusvāra is uncertain.

<sup>48</sup> *Kalamti*, not *kaletī*, is distinct.

<sup>49</sup> Read *kaṭaviye*.

<sup>50</sup> The existence of this word is certain, the quantity of the last syllable doubtful.

<sup>51</sup> *Gulunā* not *°nam*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>52</sup> *Nāmā*, not *nāma*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>53</sup> *Putena*, not *putend*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>54</sup> Possibly *pitina* to be read.

<sup>55</sup> The *ya* has besides the Anusvāra an apparent *e*-stroke, which must be accidental.

<sup>56</sup> The third syllable of *nivutiyā* is superficially damaged. The reverse leaves no doubt regarding the reading.

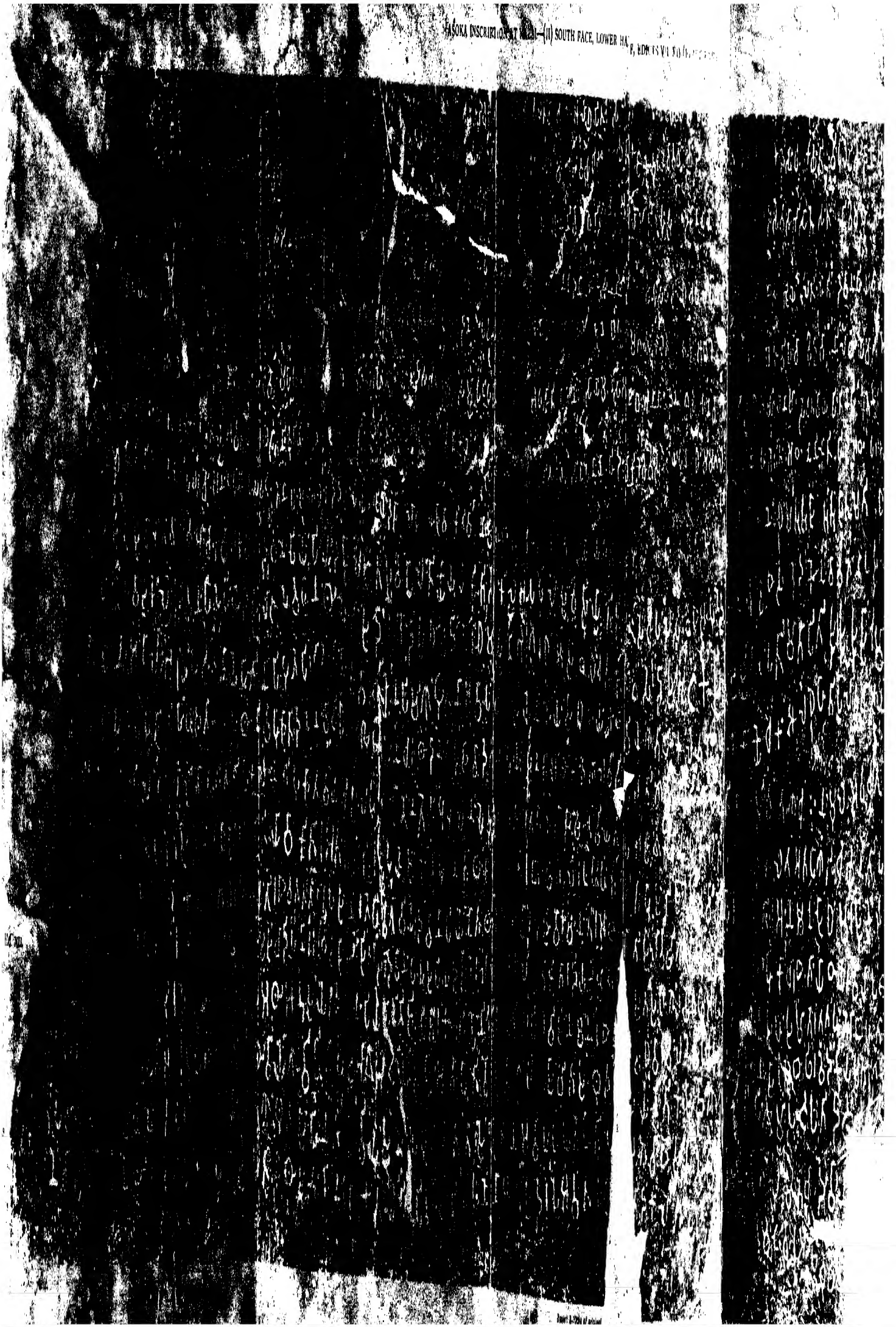






This image shows a fragment of a stone inscription from the Ashoka Edicts, specifically the 13th and 14th. The inscription is written in a highly stylized, ancient script, likely Brahmi, and is arranged in multiple horizontal lines across the surface of the stone. The stone itself is dark and heavily weathered, with the inscription appearing as a lighter, textured area. The image is oriented vertically, showing the top and right sides of the stone fragment.











*Mansehra.*

Nivṛṭṭasi va puna ima k[e]sh[a]miti [?] E hi  
[a]trake<sup>68</sup> ma . . [6] śaśayiko<sup>69</sup> so[.] [Si]ya  
[va] ta[m] athraṁ nivaṭṭeya[.] siya pana no  
i[ha]ch[a]loki[cha]<sup>69</sup> vase[.] Iyaṁ puna dhrama-  
magal[e] akalike[.] Hache pi taṁ athraṁ na  
nivaṭṭ[e] ti [hida] [a . paratra . . . [7]  
an[am]taṁ puṇaṁ<sup>64</sup> prasavati[.] Hache [puna  
taṁ a].ra nivaṭṭe ti hida tato ubhayasa [va  
la]dhe [ho]ti hida cha se athre paratra cha  
ana[m]ta[m]<sup>70</sup> punaṁ prasa[va]ti tena  
dhramagalena<sup>71</sup>[.8]

*Kālsī.*

Imaṁ ka[tha]m-iti [?] E-h  
ivale<sup>67</sup> magale saṁsayikye-se [ho]ti<sup>60</sup>[.]  
Siyā-va-taṁ aṭhaṁ<sup>61</sup> nivaṭṭeyā siyā-punā-no  
hidalokike-cha-va-e[.] Iyaṁ-punā dhammagale  
akālikye[.] Hameho-pi taṁ-athaṁ no-niṭe-ti  
hida aṭhaṁ<sup>63</sup> palata anantaṁ-punā pavasati<sup>66</sup>[.]  
Hamehe-punā-taṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭṭe-ti hida<sup>66</sup> tato<sup>67</sup>  
ubhaye<sup>68</sup>[.26] [la]dhe ho]ti hida-chā<sup>69</sup> se-athe  
palatā-chā anantaṁ-punaṁ pasavati  
tenā dhammagalena[.]

## EDICT X.

*Girnar.*

Devānaṁ priyo Priyadasi rājā<sup>72</sup> yaso va kīti va na  
mahāthāvahā maṇṇate añata tadātpano dighāya cha

me jano [1] dhammasusurūṣā<sup>73</sup> susurūṣatāṁ dhamma-  
vutaṁ cha anuvīdhiyatāṁ[.] Etakāya devānaṁ piyo  
Priyadasi rājā yaso va kīti va ichhati[.2]  
Yaṁ tu kimchi parākamato devānaṁ Priya-  
dasi<sup>70</sup> rājā ta savāṁ paratrikāya [;] kīnti [?]  
sakale appaparīsrave asa[.] Esa tu parīsrave ya  
apūṇaṁ<sup>77</sup>[.3] Dukaraṁ tu kho etaṁ khudakena  
va janena usatena va añatra agena parākamena<sup>79</sup>  
savāṁ parichajitpā[.] Eta tu kho usatena  
dukaraṁ [4]

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

Devana priyo Priyadasi raya yaso va kītri va no  
mahathavaha maṇṇati añatra yo pi  
yaso kītri va ichhati tadattaye<sup>74</sup> ayatiya cha [jan]e  
dhramasuśrūṣa<sup>75</sup> suśrūṣatu me ti dhammavū-  
taṁ cha anuvī[dhiyatu] [.] Etakaye devanaṁ priyo  
Priyadasi raya yaso va kītri va [21] [ichha]ti[.]  
Yaṁ tu kīchi parakramati devanaṁ priyo Priya-  
dasi raya taṁ savraṁ paratrikaye va [;] kīti [?]  
sa[kale]<sup>78</sup> aparīsrave siya ti[.] Eshe tu parīsrave  
yaṁ apūṇaṁ[.] Dukaraṁ t[u] kho ehe khudra-  
kena vagrena usatena va añatra agrena parakramena  
savāṁ paritijitu[.] Etaṁ chu usate<sup>80</sup>  
. . . . [22].

*Mansehra.*

. . . [8] priye Pri . draśi raja yaso va kīti va  
n[a] mahathravaham maṇṇati anatra yaṁ pi ya[śo  
va] kīti va ichhati tadattaye<sup>83</sup> ayatiy[a]<sup>84</sup> cha jane  
dhramasuśrūṣa su . [sha]tu me ti

*Kālsī.*

Devānaṁ-piye Piyadashā<sup>81</sup> lājā yasho-vā kīti-vā  
no-mahathāva<sup>82</sup> maṇṇati anata yaṁ-pi yaso-  
vā kīti-vā ichhati tadatvāye ayatiye-chā jane  
dhammasusushā susushātu-me-ti<sup>85</sup>

<sup>67</sup> This may be read *ichale*.

<sup>68</sup> Possibly *etrake* or *etake* according to B., which also shows the *ma*.

<sup>69</sup> This is plain in B.

<sup>70</sup> The existence of this word, which is not found in the closely corresponding Mansehra version, is very doubtful.

<sup>71</sup> The lingual of *aṭhaṁ* is plain in the impression both here and in the next sentences.

<sup>72</sup> This may also be read *ihache loki cha* or *ihachalokike*.

<sup>73</sup> Read *nivaṭṭe-ti* and *atha*.

<sup>74</sup> Thus according to B.

<sup>75</sup> Read *pasavati*, as suggested by M. Senart.

<sup>76</sup> *Hida*, not *hidā*, is the distinct reading of the impression.

<sup>77</sup> *Tato*, not *tatā*, is the reading of the impression, though the *e*-stroke is short (compare Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhī.)

<sup>78</sup> *Ubhaye* is distinct on the reverse, but the following omitted syllable is very doubtful. It looks most like an original *nam* or *nām*. I would conjecture *ubhayesam* in accordance with the Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhī versions.

<sup>79</sup> *Hida*, not *hidā* is the reading of the impression.

<sup>70</sup> The two Anusvāras are probable, but not certain.

<sup>71</sup> Read *dhramamagalena*.

<sup>72</sup> The syllable *de* has been inserted between *si* and *rd* and the syllable *rd* between *rd* and *jā*.

<sup>73</sup> The apparent Anusvāra after *srū* is too irregular in shape to be read. It is probably due to a flaw in the rock.

<sup>74</sup> Regarding the sign see the remarks to the German edition. It is, of course, possible to read *tadatmaye* or *tadatraye*.

<sup>75</sup> Read *dhramasuśrūṣa*.

<sup>76</sup> Restore *priyo* before *Priyadasi*.

<sup>77</sup> The Anusvāra is faintly visible on the impression.

<sup>78</sup> The *ka* has been added as a correction.

<sup>79</sup> Possibly *parākramena* to be read, as the top of the *ka* is slightly bent towards the right.

<sup>80</sup> The conclusion of the edict is missing and seems not to have been incised.

<sup>81</sup> Read *Piyadasi*.

<sup>82</sup> Possibly *mahathāvahā* to be restored.

<sup>83</sup> It is, of course, possible to read *tadatmaye* or *tadatraye*.

<sup>84</sup> Possibly *ayatiye* is to be read.

<sup>85</sup> A Vedic imperative.



## Mansehra.

. . . [9] [tam] a[nu]vidhiyatu ti[.] Etakaye devana priye Priyadra[śi] raja yaśo va kiṭi va ichhati[.] [E tu] kichi parakrama . i devana priye Priya[dra]śi [raja tam] savraṁ para[trikaye va] [;] [kiti] [?] . . . [10] [a] paparisave siya ti ti<sup>91</sup>[.] Eshe tu parisave e[apu]ñā[m] [.] Dukaraṁ chu [kho] eshe khudrakena va vagre[na usa]ṭena va a[ñā]tra a[gre]na parakramena savraṁ pariti . tu[.] E . [tu kho] usaṭena va duka[ra] [.]

## Girnār.

Devānaṁ priyo Piyadasi rājā evaṁ āha [:] nāsti etārisaṁ dānaṁ yārisaṁ dhammadānaṁ dhammasaṁstavo vā dhammasaṁvibhāgo vā dhammasambadho va [.] Tata idaṁ bhavati dāsabhatakaṁhi samyapratipatī mātari pitari sādhu susrusā mītasastutañātikanāṁ bāmaṇasamañānaṁ sādhu dānaṁ [2] prāṇaṁ anāraṁbho sādhu[.] Eta vatayvaṁ pitā va putrena va bhātā va mītasastutañātikena va āva paṭivesiye[.] idaṁ sādhu idaṁ katayvaṁ[.] So tathā<sup>97</sup> karu ilokachasa āradho hoti parata cha anantaṁ<sup>98</sup> puṇṇaṁ bhavati tena dhammadānena[4]

## Mansehra.

. . . [pri]ye Priyadraśi raja evaṁ āha [:] nāsti . diśe dane adiśe dhramadane dhramasa . ve [dhra]masa[m]vibhage<sup>6</sup> dhrama . . dhe [I.] Tatra eshe [:] dasa[bha]ṭa . sa sa[mya]sarpapātipatī<sup>6</sup> mātāpitushu . . . [12] sāmstutañātikanā śramaṇabramaṇaṇa dane prāṇa anaraṁbhe[.] Eshe vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhatuna pi spami . . pi mitrasaṁstutena ava paṭivesiyena . [13] iyaṁ sadhu iyaṁ kṛtaviye [.] Se ta[tha] karaṁtaṁ hida . ka cha<sup>10</sup> aradhe . i . ratra cha a . tam puṇṇaṁ prasavati . . [dhra]madanena [14]

<sup>96</sup> *Yasho*, not *yaso*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>97</sup> Read *ichhati*.

<sup>98</sup> Read *palakamati*.

<sup>99</sup> *Piyadashi*, not *si*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>100</sup> Read *lājā*.

<sup>101</sup> *Siya ti ti* is also the reading of the Kālsī version. It stands for *itīti*, which occasionally occurs also in Sanskrit.

<sup>102</sup> Read *apapalishave*; *shiyā*, not *siyā*, is the reading.

<sup>103</sup> *Eshe*, not *ese*, is the reading of the impression here and in the next sentence.

<sup>104</sup> The *u*-stroke is distinct.

<sup>105</sup> A short final is more probable than a long one.

<sup>106</sup> This looks like *pitūna*, with two *u*-strokes.

<sup>107</sup> The two apparent *d*-strokes after *ta* are due to fissures in the rock.

<sup>108</sup> Probably *anantaṁ*.

## Kālsī.

dhammavataṁ-vā anuvidhiyatu-ti[.] Etakāye devānaṁ piye Piyadasi[27] lājā yasho-vā<sup>96</sup> kiti-vā ichha<sup>97</sup>[.] Am-chā-kichhi-lakamati<sup>98</sup> devānaṁ-piye Piyadashi<sup>99</sup> lājā<sup>100</sup> ta shavaṁ pālatikyāye-vā [;] kiti [?] Sakale apapalāshave shiyā-ti-ti<sup>101</sup>[.] Eshe-chu-palisave<sup>102</sup> e-apurīne[.] Dukale-chu-kho eshe khudakena-vā vāgena ushūṭena-vā<sup>104</sup> anat[a]<sup>105</sup> aṇā palakamena shavaṁ palitiditu[.] He[ta]-chu-kho [28] [ushaṭena-vā dukale[.]

## EDICT XI.

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

Devānaṁ priyo Priyadraśi raya evaṁ āha ti [:] nāsti ediśaṁ danaṁ yaḍiśaṁ dhramadanāṁ dhramasaṁstave dhramasaṁvibhago [dhra]masaṁbādho[.] Tatra etaṁ [:] dasabhatakanāṁ sammapratipati matāpitushu suśrusa mitra-saṁstutañātikanāṁ śramaṇabramaṇaṇaṁ [23] danaṁ prāṇaṁ anaraṁbho [.] Etaṁ vatavo pituna<sup>106</sup> pi putrena pi bhratuna pi [sa]mikenā pi mitrasaṁstutena ava prativeśiyena [:] [i]maṁ sadhu imaṁ kṛtavo [.] So tatha karaṁtaṁ iloka[m]<sup>107</sup> cha aradheti paratra cha anataṁ puṇṇaṁ prasavati [24] [te]na dhramadanena [25]

## Kālsī.

Devānaṁ-piye Piyadashi lājā bevaṁ-hā<sup>1</sup> [:] nathi heḍiśe dāne [ā]diśaṁ<sup>2</sup> dhammadāne | dhammashaṁvibhage<sup>3</sup> | dhammashaṁbadhe<sup>4</sup> | [.] Tat[a] eshe [:] [dāshabhaṭakashi | shamyāpatipati mātāpitushu | shushushā | mītasamthutanā [ti]kyānaṁ samanabambbhaṇānaṁ dāne [29] pāṇaṁ anaraṁbhe [.] Eshe vataviye pitinā-pi pute-pi<sup>7</sup> bhātinā-pi [sh]avāmikyena-pi<sup>8</sup> mītasamthutanā<sup>9</sup> avā paṭivesiyenā [:] iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kṛtaviye [.] Śe tathā karaṁta hidalokikyē cha karaṁ āladhe hoti palata-cha ananta<sup>11</sup> puṇṇaṁ prasavati tenā dhammadānenā [.]

<sup>99</sup> This may possibly be *hialoka*.

<sup>1</sup> Read *ādā*.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *adiśaṁ* to be read.

<sup>3</sup> *Dhammashaṁvibhage*, not *vibhage*, is the distinct reading.

<sup>4</sup> The impression shows no Anusvara in *badhe*.

<sup>5</sup> The Anusvara is uncertain.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly *samma*<sup>o</sup> is to be read.

<sup>7</sup> Read *putenā-pi*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *shavāmikyena*.

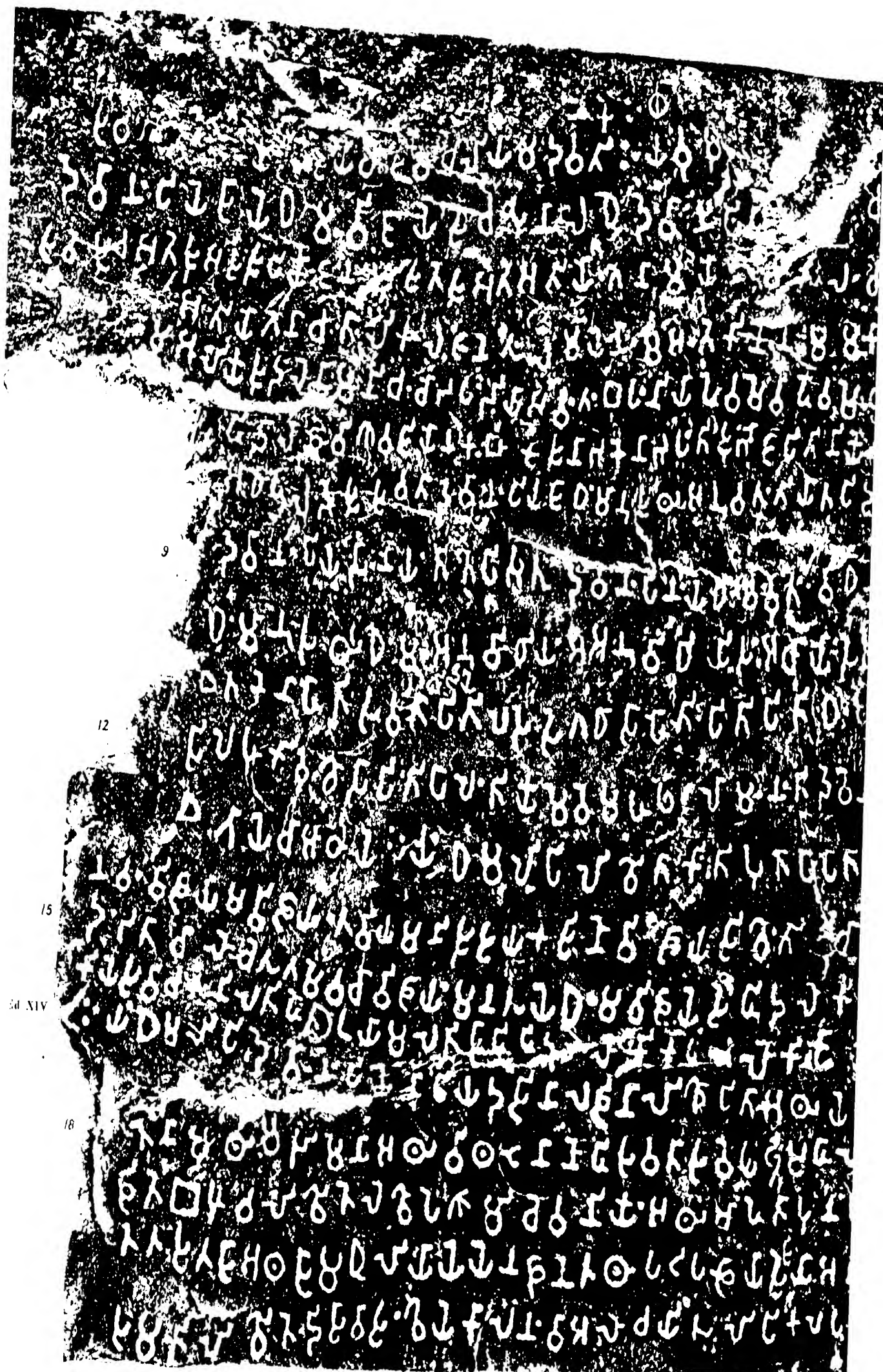
<sup>9</sup> Read *mītasamthutanā*; the *ta* stands below the line.

There is no *pi* after this word.

<sup>10</sup> Possibly a sign (*ku*?) may have stood between *cha* and *aradhe*.

<sup>11</sup> Possibly *anata* to be read.







KÂLSI ASOKA INSCRIPTION, —(IV) ON EAST END OF THE STONE.





## EDICT XII.

## Girnar.

Devānam piye Piyadasi rājā savapāsāmdāni  
cha<sup>11</sup> pavajitāni<sup>12</sup> cha gharastāni<sup>13</sup> cha pūjayati  
dānena cha vividhāya cha pūjāya pūjayati ne [1]  
Na tu tathā dānam va pūjā va devānam piyo  
maññate yathā kiti[?] sāravadhī asa savapāsāmdā-  
nānam [.] Sāravadhī<sup>14</sup> tu bahuvīdhā [2] Tasa tasa<sup>15</sup>  
tu idam mūlam ya vachigutī [3] kintī [?] ātpa-  
pāsāmdapūjā va parapāsāmdagarahā<sup>17</sup> va no bhava  
apakaranamhi lahukā va asa [3] tamhi tamhi  
prakaraṇe[.] Pūjetayā<sup>18</sup> tu eva parapāsāmdā tena  
tana<sup>20</sup> prakaraṇena [.] Evaṁ karuṁ ātpapāsāmdānam  
cha vadhayati parapāsāmdāsa cha  
upakaroti [4] Tadamññathā karoto ātpapāsāmdānam  
cha chhaṇati parapāsāmdāsa cha pi apakaroti[.]  
Yo hi kochi ātpapāsāmdānam pūjayati parapāsāmdānam  
vā garahati [5] savam ātpapāsāmdābhātiyā [3]  
kintī [?] ātpapāsāmdānam dīpayema iti so cha  
puna tatha karāto<sup>22</sup> ātpapāsāmdānam  
bādhatarānam upahanāti [.] Ta samavāyo  
eva sādhu [3] kintī [?] amññamamññasa dhammam  
sruṇāru cha sususera cha [.] Evaṁ hi devānam  
piyasa ichhā [3] kintī<sup>24</sup> [?] savapāsāmdā bahūrutā  
cha asu kalāṇāgamā cha asu [7] Ye cha tatra  
tate<sup>25</sup> prasāmnā tehi vatayvaṁ [.] devānam piyo  
no tathā dānam va pūjā va maññate yathā kintī[?] sāravadhī  
asa savapāsāmdānam bahukā<sup>26</sup> cha [.] Etāya [8] athā vyāpatā dhammamamahāmātā  
cha ithījhakhamamahāmātā cha vachabhūmīkā cha añe  
cha<sup>27</sup> nikāyā [.] Ayam<sup>28</sup> cha etasa phala ya ātpapāsāmdā-  
vadadhī cha hoti dhammasa cha dīpanā [9]

## Mansehra.

Devana priye Priyadasi raja savra prasha-  
dani pravrajitani gahathani cha pujeti danena  
vividhay[e]<sup>29</sup> cha pujaya[.] No [chu] tatha  
dana va puja va [1] devanam priye maññati  
atha kiti [?] salavadhi siya savrapashadana ti[.]

<sup>11</sup> Dele cha.

<sup>12</sup> Possibly *pravajitāni* to be read.

<sup>13</sup> Possibly *gharistāni* to be read.

<sup>14</sup> *Pravrajita*, first read by M. Senart, stands according to a direct photograph above the line, just before *grahathani*.

<sup>15</sup> The apparent *d*-stroke after *ra* is probably an accidental scratch or a *serif*.

<sup>16</sup> The first *ta* and the second *sa* of *tasa tasa* have been obliterated, as the sense requires.

<sup>17</sup> The syllable *sa* has been added as a correction.

<sup>18</sup> Read *garaha*.

<sup>19</sup> Probably a mistake for *pujetayā*.

<sup>20</sup> Read *tena tena*.

<sup>21</sup> Dr. Burgess' new *facsimile* shows more distinctly than the older materials this reading. My former reading *prakara*.

## Shāhbāzgarhi.

Devanam priyo Priyadasi raya savra prashamdani  
pravrajita<sup>24</sup> graha[tha]ni cha pujeti  
danena vividhaye cha pujaye[.]  
No chu tatha dana[m] va puja va [1] devanam priyo  
maññati yatha kiti[?] salavadhi siya savraprasham-  
dana[m] [.] Salav[a]dhi tu bahuvīdhā [.] Tasa  
tu iyo mula yam vachaguti [3] kiti[?] ata-  
prashamdapuja va parapashamdagarana<sup>18</sup> va no  
siya aprakaranasi [.] lahuka va siya tasi tasi  
prakara[n]e[.] Pujetaviya va chu paraprasham-[3]  
[da] tena tena [a]karena<sup>21</sup> [.] Evaṁ kara[th]am  
[a]taprashamdānam vadheti paraprashamññāsa pi cha  
upakaroti [.] Tada aññathā ka[rata] cha ataprasham-  
dānam [4] chhaṇati paraprashamññāsa cha apakaroti[.]  
Yo hi k[o]chi ataprashadānam pujeti paraprash[a]da  
garahati savre ataprashadabhatiya va [3]  
kiti [?] 5 ataprashamññānam dīpayami ti[3] so cha  
puna tatha karamam so cha puna tatha karatam<sup>23</sup>  
bādhatarānam upahanati ataprashadānam [.] So sayamo  
vo sadhu [3] kiti[?] aññamamññasa dhramo [6]  
sruṇeyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti [.] Evaṁ hi devanam  
priyasa ichhā [3] kiti[?] savraprashamññā bahuśruta  
cha kala[na]gama cha siyasu [.] Ye cha tatra  
tatra [7] prasana tesham vatavo [3] devanam priyo  
na tatha danam va puja va maññati yatha kiti[?] sāravadhī  
siya ti savraprashadānam bahuka cha [.] Etaye a . . [8]  
vapata [dha]mama[ha]matra i[stribhi]yachhamamahamatra  
vachabhumika añe cha nikaye [.] Imamchaetisaphalam  
yam ataprashadavadhi [bhoti]. [9] dhramasa cha dīpana [10]

## Kālsi.

Devānā-piye-Piyadasi [30] lājā shavā pāsham-  
dani<sup>23</sup> pavajitāni gahathāni vā pujeti-dānena-  
vividhena<sup>24</sup>-cha-[pūjā]ye [.] No-chu-tathā<sup>25</sup>  
dāne-vā pūjā-vā devānam-piye manati athā  
kita<sup>27</sup> [?] Sālavadhi siyā-ti savapāsāmdānam<sup>28</sup> [.]

*nena* is impossible; so is M. Senart's *pakarena*.

<sup>22</sup> Read *karoto*.

<sup>23</sup> Dele the repeated words.

<sup>24</sup> The syllable *ti* has been inverted as a correction.

<sup>25</sup> Possibly the reading was *tatra tatra*.

<sup>26</sup> Read *bahukā*.

<sup>27</sup> The word *cha* has been added as a correction.

<sup>28</sup> The letter *a* has been added as a correction.

<sup>29</sup> Only the right half of the *anusvāra* is distinct.

<sup>30</sup> Read *pāshamññāni*.

<sup>31</sup> Meant for *vividhaye*.

<sup>32</sup> Possibly *vividhaya* to be read.

<sup>33</sup> *Chu*, not *cha*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>34</sup> Possibly *kiti* to be restored.

<sup>35</sup> *Nam* stands, as a correction, above the line.



*Kalsi.*

Śālavaḍḍhi-nā bahuviddhā<sup>29</sup> [.] Taśa-chu iyaṁ-mule  
 [a]-vachaguti [;] kiti [?] ta atapāsāmaṇḍe  
 puḷā<sup>31</sup> palapāsāmaṇḍa-galabhā-va<sup>32</sup> no śāyā<sup>33</sup> [31]  
 apakalanāśi lahakā-vā<sup>34</sup> śīyā taśi-taśi-pakalanāśi<sup>35</sup>  
 [.] Pujetaviya chu palapāsāda tena-tena  
 akālana<sup>36</sup>[.] Hevaṁ kalata atapāsāda bādham  
 vaḍḍhiyati palapāsāda-pi-vā upakaleti[.]  
 Tadā-āmnathā<sup>38</sup> kalata atapāsāda-cha obbanati  
 palapāsāda pi-vā apakaleti[.] Ye-hi kechha  
 atapāsāda punati<sup>39</sup> [32] palapāsāda-vā [ga[lu]hati |  
 shave atapāsāmaṇḍa[ḍa]lhatiYā-vā[;] kiti | [?]  
 Atapāsāmaṇḍa | dipayema ahe-cha-punā tathā |  
 kalamtarā | bādḍhutale | upahamti | ata-  
 pāsāmaṇḍaśi | [.] Samavāye-va śādhhu[;] kiti | [?]  
 āmnamanashādhamaṁ | shuneyu-chā | shushusheyu  
 chā-ti | [.] Hevaṁ-bi devānaṁ-piyasā-ichhā[;]  
 kiti[33] Savapāsāmaṇḍa | bahushutā-chā kayānāgā  
 cha<sup>42</sup> huveyu-ti | [.] E-va-tata-tatā | pashāmaṇḍa | te-  
 [hi] vataviye | [;] devānaṁ-piye-no-tathā | dānaṁ-vā  
 puḷā-vā | mānati | athā-kiti[;] śālavaḍḍhi śīyā  
 shuvapāsāmaṇḍatim<sup>43</sup> | bahukā-chā | [.] Etāyāthāye  
 viyāputā dharmamahāmātā | ithidhiyakhamahā-  
 mātā | vachabhumikyā | ane-vā-nikā[yā] [34] Iyaṁ  
 cha-etishā | phale | yaṁ atapāsāmaṇḍavaḍḍhi-chā | hoti  
 dhamasha-chā-dipana[.]

**Shahbāzgarhī.**

A[sta]va[sha]<sup>45</sup> abhisita[sade]vana priasa Priadra-  
 śi[sā] rāṇo Ka[liga vijita.] [Diyadha]matre  
 [pranaśatasa]hasre yetato apavudhe śatasahasra-  
 [ma]tre tatra hute bahu[tavatake] mūṭe[. 1]  
 Tato [pa]chha adhuna ladheshu [Kalimgeshu]  
 tivre dhrama[paṇam]<sup>47</sup> dhrama[ka]mata dhra-  
 manuśasti cha devana pri[ya]sa[.] So asti anuśo-  
 ehan[am] devana priyasa vijinit[u]<sup>48</sup> [Ka]limga-  
 [ni][. 2] Avijitam hi [viji]uśman[i ye]tatra  
 vadh[o]<sup>49</sup> va [ma]raṇam va apava[ho] va jana-  
 sa[.] Tam badham vedaniyamataṁ gurumataṁ  
 cha devauśm priyasa[.] Imaṁ pi chu<sup>50</sup> tato

<sup>10</sup> Thus B. for *ima pi oha*.



*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

gurumata . ram [deva]nam priyasa[.] Tatra h[i]  
[3] vasati brahmana va śramaṇa va aṁśe va  
prashamḍa gra[ha]tha va yesu vibhita<sup>51</sup> esha agra-  
bhu[ṭi]<sup>52</sup> suśrūṣa matapitoshu suśrūṣa guru-  
nam suśrūṣa [mitra]samstutasahaya-[4] nāti-  
keshu [da]śabha[ṭa]kanam sammapratipati  
diḍha[bhatita][.] Tesham tatra bhoti apagra-  
tho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramam[.]  
Yesh . va pi samvihitanam [ne]ho aviprahino  
e[te]sha [mi]trasamstutasahayanātika vasana  
[5] prapūṇati[.] Tatra tam pi tesha vo apagra-  
tho bhoti[.] Pratibhagam cha etam savram  
manuṣam<sup>53</sup> gurumatam cha devanam priya-  
sa[.] Nasti cha ekataraspi <sup>54</sup> pi <sup>55</sup> prashamḍaspi  
na nama<sup>56</sup> prasado[.] So yamatro [jano]tada Kalige  
hato cha muṭ[o] cha apavudh[o]cha[ta]to [6] śa-  
tabhage<sup>57</sup> va sahasrabhagam va aja gurumatam  
vo devanam priyasa[.] Yo pi cha apakareya ti  
chhamitaviyamato vo devanam priyasa yam śako  
chhamanaye[.] Ya pi cha aṭavi devanam  
priyasa [vi]jite bhoti ta pi anuneti anunij[h]ape  
ti[;] anutape pi cha p[r]abhava devanam priyasa[.]  
Vuchati tesa[;] kiti[?] avatrapeyu na cha hāmī-  
yasu[.] Ichhati hi devanam priyo savrabhutana  
achhati samyamam samachariyam rabhasiye[.]  
Eshe cha mu[kha]mute<sup>59</sup> vijaye devanam priyasa  
yo dhramavijayo[.] so cha puna ladho devanam  
priyasa iha cha sa[vre]shu cha anteshu [8] a  
shashu pi yojanaśa[te]shu yatra Amtiyoko nama  
Yonaraja param cha tena Amtiyokena chature 4  
majani Turamaye nama Amtikini nama Maka  
nama Alikasudaro nama[.] niche Choda Pamda  
ava Tambapamniya evameva Hidaraja[.] Viśha-  
Vajri-Yona-Kamboyeshu Nabhako Na[bhi]tina [9]  
Bhoja-Pitinikeshu Arindhra-Puli[de]shu savatra  
devanam priyasa dhramanuśasti anuvāṇanti[.]  
Yatra pi devanam priyasa duta na vracamti te pi  
śru[tu] devanam priyasa dhramavutām vidhenam  
dhramanuśasti dhramam [an]uvidhiyamti anu-  
vidhiyīsamti cha[.] Yo [cha] ladhe etakena bhoti  
savatra vijayo sa[vatra puna] [10] vijayo pritiraso  
so[.] Ladha [bhoti] priti dhramavijayaspi[.]<sup>62</sup> La-  
buka tu kho sa priti[.] Paratrikameva mabaphala  
meṇati devanam priyo[.] Etaye cha aṭhaye ayo  
dhramadipi [di]pista[;] kiti[?] putra papotra me  
asu navam vijayam ma vijetavi[ya]m māṇishu [;]  
.ka . yo<sup>64</sup> vijaye [chham]ti cha lahudam[da].

*pajâpatî* for *prajāvatî*.

<sup>59</sup> Possibly *mukhyamute* according to B.

60 Possibly *Ahtekini* to be read.

<sup>61</sup> Read *dūtā*.

<sup>62</sup> Thus B. plainly for °vijayasi.

६३ Read *mañamtu*.

<sup>64</sup> Not legible with certainty in B., where the first syllable

looks like *spra.*



**Sháhábázgarhí.**

. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. ilokikā cha pāralokikā cha[.12]

tam<sup>66</sup> cha rochetu tam e[va] vija mafia.<sup>66</sup> [11]  
yo dhrāmvijayo[.] So hidalokiko paralokiko[.]  
Savra cha nirati bhotu ya [s]ramarati[.] Sa hi hi-  
dalokika paralokika.[12]

**Mansehra.**

Aṭhavashā | bhīṣita | śhā devānām piyasha Piyadashi-  
ne | lājine | Kaligyā vijitā | [. ] Diyadhama[ā]te |  
pānashatashahaśe | yetaphā apavudhe | śataśahasha-  
māte | tata hate | bahutāvamtake | vā maṭe [. ]  
Tatā [pa]chhā | adhunā ladheshu | Kaligyeshu |  
tīve | dharmavāye [35] dhammakāmatā | dham-  
mānushathī chā | devānām piyashā | [. ] She  
athi auushaye | devānām piya[shā] | vijinitu | Kali-  
gyāni | [. ] Avijitam hi | vijinamane | etatā |  
vadhām vā | malane vā | apavahe. vā | janashā |  
[.] She bādha | vedaniyamute | gulumute  
chā | devānām piyashā | [. ] Iyam pi chu | tato |  
galumatātale | devānām piyashā | [. 36] [Sa]vatā |  
vashati bambhanā va shama vā<sup>68</sup> ane vā pāsārinda  
gihithā vā yeśu vihitā esha ag[a]bh[uta]shushushā |  
matāpitishushushā<sup>69</sup> galushusha<sup>70</sup> mitasārñthutashahā-  
yanātikeshu dāsabha[ta]kashi shamayāpatipati  
diḍbabhatitā[.] Teshām tatā hoti [u]paghāte vā  
vadhe vā abhilatānam vā vinikhamane [37]  
Yesh[ām] vā pi [sha]mvihitānam shinehe avi-  
pahino etānam mitasārñthutashahāyanātikya<sup>71</sup>  
viyashane pāpunāti[.] Tata she pi [tā]nameva upa-  
ghāte hoti[.] Paṭibhāge chā esha shava manu.[nam]  
gulumate chā devānām piyashā [. ] Nathi chā she  
janapade yatā nathi ime nikāyā ānantā yenesha [38]  
barihamano chā shamane chā nathi chā kuvā pi  
janapadashi [ya]tā nathi manushānam | ekatalashi  
pi | pāśadashi | no nāma pashāde | [. ] She āvatake  
jane | tadā Kaliṅgeshu [la] . shu hate cha | maṭe  
chā | apavudhe chā | tatā shatebhāge<sup>72</sup> vā | shahasha-  
bhāge vā | aja gulumate vā | devānām piyashā [39]  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
neyu[.] Iobha . . . . . [3]  
shavabhu . . . . . shavama shamachaliyam  
madava ti[.] Iyam vu mu . . . . . [4]  
devānām piyeshā<sup>73</sup> ye dhammavijaye[.] she cha  
punā ladhe devānām pi . . . [da] cha [5] shaveshu cha

[Kaliga] . . . ya  
pranāsa . . .  
[1]<sup>67</sup> pachha adhuna la[dhe]shu Ka[ligē]shu  
ma[nuśa] . cha .  
[2] .  
[a[pava]he va jana] . . Se .  
vedaniyama . . .  
[3] . . . esha agraḥḥu . suśrūṣa  
matapishu [suśrūṣa] guru-  
suśrūṣa mi . s[arṇstu] . . .  
[4] . va [abhi . . nam] va vinikramaṇe[.]  
Yesham va [pi] sarṇvi . . nam sinehe avi-  
prahi[ne e]ta . mitrasam .  
[5] . . . savram manuśanam  
gurumate cha [deva]nam priyasa[.] Nasti cha se  
janapade ya[tra] nasti ime nikaya a . . yamesha  
[bramaṇa cha śra[ma] . . .  
pi [jana . . si] . . . [6]  
no nama prasade[.] Se yavatake jane . tada  
Kaligeshu [hate cha] . . .  
[a]pavudhe cha [tata] śatabhage va sahasrabhage  
aja guruma . e . va . priyasa[.] . .  
ka . . . mitavi [7] .  
[Ya]pi cha aṭavi devanām  
priyasa vijitasi [h]oti [ta] pi anunayati anu[n]i  
[jha]paye ti[;] anu[ta]pe pi cha prabhava deva-  
[nam] priyasa[.] Vuchati [tesham] . . .  
vanam pri[ye] [8] . . .  
mūte vijaye  
[de]vanam priyasa ye dharmavijaye[.] [se cha  
puna ladhe de] vanam priyasa hida cha savreshu cha

<sup>65</sup> The last *Anuvāra* seems certain according to B.

06 Read *vijayam mañamtu*.

67 It is not certain, especially in the beginning, where the lines really end.

on Read shamand.

“Head mdtā°.

<sup>70</sup> Read *galusluksld*.

<sup>71</sup> The *nd* of *nātikya* stands above the line, and is indistinct.

72 Read *shatubhdge*.

73 Road *piashd.*



*Kālsī.*

[ateshu a shashu [p]i yojanashateshu at[a]<sup>74</sup> Atiyoge  
nāma Yona- . . . palam chā tenā [6]  
Antiyogenā chatāli 4 lajāne<sup>75</sup> Tula-  
maye nāma Antekine<sup>76</sup> n[ā]ma Makā nā-[7] ma  
Alikyashudale nāma[,] nicham Choḍa-Pamḍiyā avam  
Tambaparnniyāhevameva hevamevā<sup>77</sup> [8] [Hi]dalājā[.]  
Viśa-Vaji-Yona-Kambojeshu Nābhake<sup>78</sup> Nābhapa-  
ritishu Bhoja-Pitinikye[shu][9] Adha-P.[a]deshu  
shavatā devānam pi[ya]shā dharmānushathi anu-  
vartanti[.] Y[a]ta<sup>80</sup> pi dutā [10] devānam piyasa no  
yamti te pi sutu devānam piyamyā<sup>81</sup> [dham]mavutam  
vidhanam [11] dharmānusasti dharmam anuviddhi-  
yamti anuviddhiyamti chā[.] Ye se [la]dhe [12]  
etakenā hoti savatā [vija]ye<sup>82</sup> pitilase se[.] Gadhā  
sā hoti piti piti dharmavijaya-[13]shi[.] Lahukā vu  
khasā piti[.] Pālaritkiyameve<sup>83</sup> mahaphalā marīnam[ti]  
devanam pine<sup>84</sup> [14] Etāye chā athāye iyaṁ dharmma-  
lipi likhitā[;]kiti[?] putā pāpotā me a .<sup>85</sup> [15] navam  
vijaya ma vijayaritaviya manishu[.] Shay[a]kashi  
no<sup>86</sup> vijayashi kharnti chā lahu-[16] damḍatāchā locho-  
tu tameva chā vijayam manatu ye dharmavijaye[.]  
She hidalokikyapalalo-[17] kiye<sup>87</sup> [.] Shavā cha  
nilati hotu uyāmalati[.] Shā [h]i hidaloki[k]apalalo-  
kikyā[. 18]

*Mansehra.*

amteshu a shashu pi y . . . t . shu . . . yok .  
nama . na . . [9] . . . . .  
[Maka nama]  
Alikasu[dare] nama[ni]cham cha Choḍa-Pamḍiya  
a Tambaparnniya evameva . . . raja[.]  
Visa-Vaj[ri]-Yona-K . . shu [Nabha]ke<sup>79</sup> [Na]-  
bhapaṁtishu-.oja-Pitini . shu Amḍha-P . . . [10]  
[na priyasa] no  
y . ti te pi śrutu devanam priyasa dharmavutam  
vidhanam dharmānusasti dharmam anuviddhi-  
yamti anuviddhi[yisanti cha][.] Y . . .  
[takena [hoti vija.]  
[11]  
[priye[.] [Etaye] ath[ra]ye iyaṁ dhrama . .  
likhita [;] kiti[?] putra prapotra me a . nava .  
[12]  
[lokiko][.] Savra cha nirati  
hotu ya[s]rama[rati][.] Sa[hi hida]lokika paraloka-  
kika [.]

## EDICT XIV.

*Girnar.*

Ayam dharmmalipi devānam priyena Priyadasi-  
nā rāñā lekḥāpitā asti eva [1] samkhitena asti  
majhamena asti vistatana<sup>89</sup>[.] Na cha sar-  
vam sarvata ghaṭitam [2] Mahālake hi vijitam  
bahu cha likhitam likhāpayisam cheva [.]  
Asti cha eta kam [3] puna puna vutam tasa  
tasa athasa<sup>91</sup> mādḥuratāya [;] kinti [?] jano tathā  
paṭipajetha[.] 4 Tatra ekadā asamātam likhi-  
tam asa desam va sachhāya karanam va [5]  
alochetpā lipikarāparadhena<sup>92</sup> va [6].

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

Ayo<sup>93</sup> dhramadipi devanam priyena Priśina<sup>90</sup>  
rañā dipapito asti vo samkhitena asti  
yo vistrītena[.] Na hi savratra  
[so] savro ghaṭiti[.] Mahālake hi vijite  
bahu cha likhite likhapesami cheva[.]  
Asti cha atra puna puna [la]pitam tasa  
tasa [atha]sa madhuriyaye [y]e[na] ja[na] tatha  
[13] paṭipajeya ti[.] So siya va atra kichi asa-  
matam likhitam desam va samkḥaye karaṇa va  
alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena[.] 14]

*Kālsī.*

Iyaṁ dharmmalipi devānam piyenā Piyadaśhinā lajina likḥāpitā athi yevā sukhi-[19] tenā  
athi majhimevā athi vitḥaṭenā[.] No hi savatā savo ghaṭite<sup>93</sup>[.] Mahālake hi vi-[20] jite

<sup>74</sup> The apparent e-stroke in the second syllable is accidental.

<sup>75</sup> Read *lājāne*.

<sup>76</sup> The last syllable is perfectly distinct on the reverse.

<sup>77</sup> Delete *hevameva*.

<sup>78</sup> The last vowel is distinct on the reverse.

<sup>79</sup> The older impression reads [Nabha]ka.

<sup>80</sup> The apparent d-stroke in the first syllable is accidental.

<sup>81</sup> Read *piyasa*.

<sup>82</sup> *Vijaye* stands above the line, the *vi* is triangular, the *ja* badly formed.

<sup>83</sup> Read *ameva*.

<sup>84</sup> Read *mannatī devānam piye*.

<sup>85</sup> Restore *asu*.

<sup>86</sup> Probably *shayakashakashi yo* (i.e. [e]vo for *ova*) to be read.

<sup>87</sup> Probably *°kikyo* to be read.

<sup>88</sup> *Ayo* according to B.

<sup>89</sup> Read *vistatena*.

<sup>90</sup> Read *Priyadrasina*.

<sup>91</sup> The syllable *sa* has been added as a correction.

<sup>92</sup> Probably a mistake for *lipikarāparādhena*.

<sup>93</sup> The syllable *ḥi* stands above the line.



*Kālsī.*

bahu oha likhite lekhaṇeśāmi cheva nikyam [...] Athi chā heta punarhpuna lapi-[21] te tashā  
tashā athashā madhuliyāye yena jane tathā paṭipajeyā [...] She shiyā<sup>24</sup> ata kichhi a-[22]samati  
likhite dishā vā shamkheye kālanam vā alochayitu lipikalapalādhena vā [...] [23]

TRANSLATION OF THE SHĀHBAZGARHĪ VERSION.<sup>1</sup>

## EDICT I.

This religious edict has been incised by order of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods:—No animal may be slaughtered and offered here as a burnt-sacrifice; nor shall any festive assembly be held; for King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, sees much evil in festive assemblies. There are, however, also some *kinds of* festive assemblies considered most excellent by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods.

Formerly many hundred thousand animals were slaughtered daily in the kitchen of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, in order to *prepare* curries. Now, when this religious edict is incised, only three animals are slain *daily*, two (2) peacocks *and* one (1) deer; the deer, however, not even regularly. But in future even these three animals will no *longer* be slaughtered.

## EDICT II.

Everywhere in the empire of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, as well as *among those nations and princes* that are *his* neighbours, such as the Choḍas, the Pāṇḍiyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputa, Tambapāṇṇī, the Yona king, called Am̐tiyoka as well as *among those* who are the vassal-kings of that Am̐tiyoka,—everywhere King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, has founded two (2) *kinds of* hospitals, both hospitals for men and hospitals for animals. Everywhere where herbs wholesome for men and wholesome for animals are not found, they have been imported and sown by *the king's* order. And wells have been dug by his order for the enjoyment of men and beasts.<sup>3</sup>

## EDICT III.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—*When I had been* anointed twelve years [this *following* order was given by me]:—“Everywhere in my empire both *my* loyal Rajukas<sup>4</sup> and vassals shall go forth on a tour every five years,—the reason of this

<sup>24</sup> *Shi* stands above the line.

<sup>1</sup> The subjoined translation of Edicts I—X, XIV differs only slightly, as the text requires, from that given, *Arch. Survey, South Ind.*, vol. I, p. 121ff. The translation of Edict XII has been taken over almost unaltered from the first volume of this Journal, p. 19f. The translation of Edict XIII is based on my German rendering in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 172f. The few notes given here mostly contain matter not given in my former articles on these inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> The Choḍas are the Cholas of Kāñcī; the Pāṇḍiyas are the Pāṇḍyas of the extreme south; the Satiyaputa is probably the king of the Satvats; the Keralaputa, the king of Kerala or Malabar. Tambapāṇṇī, or Tāmaparṇī, is Ceylon, the Yonas are the Yavanas or Greeks, and Am̐tiyoka is Antiochos II (see below Edict XIII).

<sup>3</sup> Two sentences had been left out, and the last has been mutilated (see the Dhauli version).

<sup>4</sup> *Rajuka*, in Pali *rajjuka*, literally, “rope-holder,” means “Revenue Settlement officer;”—see the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLVII, p. 466f.



is the preaching the sacred law—as also for other business, (saying):—Meritorious is the obedience towards mother and father[meritorious is the liberality]towards friends, acquaintances, and relatives, towards Brahmans and ascetics; [meritorious is the abstention from killing living creatures], meritorious is the abstention from reviling heterodox *men*. Moreover, *the teachers and ascetics of all schools* will inculcate *what is* befitting at divine service, both according to the letter and according to the spirit.”

## EDICT IV.

A long period, many hundreds of years, have passed, *during which* the slaughter of animals, the cruel treatment of created beings, the unbecoming behaviour towards relatives *and* the unbecoming behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmans have only increased. But now, in consequence of the fulfilment of the sacred law by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, the sound of drums,<sup>5</sup> or rather the sound of the law, *has been heard*, while the sight of cars of the gods,<sup>6</sup> elephants, and other heavenly spectacles were exhibited to the people. As has not happened formerly in many centuries, even so have grown now through the god-beloved King Priyadarśin's preaching of the law the non-destruction of animals, the good treatment of living creatures, the decorous behaviour towards relatives, the decorous behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmans, the obedience towards parents, *the obedience* towards the aged. Thus, and in many other ways, the fulfilment of the sacred law has grown, and King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow *still more*. Moreover, the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow until the end of time, *and* will preach the sacred law, abiding by the sacred law and by virtuous conduct; for that is the best work, *viz.* the preaching of the sacred law; but the fulfilment of the sacred law is not *possible* for a man destitute of virtuous conduct. The growth of this very matter and its non-diminution are meritorious. For this purpose, *viz. that* they may cause the growth of this matter and may not permit its diminution, this *edict* has been written. This *edict* has been written by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, when he had been anointed twelve years.

## EDICT V.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—Good *works* are difficult of performance. He who is the originator<sup>7</sup> of good *works* does something difficult of performance. Now much good has been done by me. *If* then, my sons and my grandsons and those *among* my descendants who *may come* after them until the end of time, will thus follow *my example*, they will do *what is* meritorious. But he who will give up even a portion of these *virtuous acts* will commit sin, for sin is easily committed.

Now a long period has passed, *and* the *officials* called the Overseers of the Sacred Law have formerly not existed. Now, when I had been anointed thirteen years, I appointed Overseers of the Sacred Law. They are busy among all sects with watching over the sacred law, with the growth of the sacred law, and with the welfare and happiness of *my*

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Jātaka*, iv, 269-76 : *dharmabherīṃ charāpeṣī*.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Fa Hian's account (Beal, p. 106) of religious processions at Patnā.

<sup>7</sup> The word *adikara—Adikala* has been completely preserved in the Mausehra and Kālsi versions alone.



loyal *subjects*, as also among the Yonas, Kamboyas, Gamdhâras, Rastikas, Pitinikas,<sup>8</sup> and all other *nations* which are my neighbours. Among *my* hired servants, among Brahmans and Vaiśyas, among the unprotected and among the aged, they are busy with the welfare and happiness, with the removal of obstacles among my loyal ones. With the prevention of *unjust* imprisonment and of *unjust* corporal punishment, with the removal of obstacles and with loosening bonds, for these purposes they are busy, *considering* that *there is a numerous* progeny, or that *the person concerned* has been overwhelmed by misfortune, or that he *is* aged. ~~Here~~, and in all the outlying towns, they are everywhere busy in all the harems of my brothers and sisters, and among my other relatives. These Overseers of the Sacred Law are busy with what concerns the Sacred Law, with watching over the Sacred Law, and with what is connected with *pious* gifts, in my whole loyal empire. This religious edict has been written for the following purposes, *viz.* that it may endure for a long time, and that my subjects may act accordingly.

#### EDICT VI.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—A long period has elapsed, *during which* formerly the despatch of business and the hearing of the informers have not regularly taken place. Now I have made *the following arrangement*, that the informers may report to me the concerns of the people at any time, while I dine, in *my* harem, in *my* private rooms, in the latrine, in *my* carriages, and in *my* pleasure-garden and everywhere I despatch the business of the people. Moreover, if, with respect to anything which I order by *word of* mouth to be given or to be obeyed as a command, or which as a pressing *matter* is entrusted to my officials, a dispute or a fraud happens in the committee of *any caste or sect*, I have given orders that it shall be brought forthwith to my cognisance in any place and at any time; for I am never satisfied with *my* exertions and with the despatch of business. For I consider the welfare of all people as something for which I must work. But the root of that is exertion<sup>9</sup> and the despatch of business. There is no more important work than *to secure* the welfare of all. And what is the purpose of every effort which I make? It is that I may discharge the debt *which I owe* to the creatures, that I may make some happy in this world, and that they may gain heaven in the next. This religious edict has been written for the following purpose, that it may endure for a long time and that my sons and grandsons may thus exert themselves for the welfare of all men. But that is difficult *to carry out* without the utmost exertion.

#### EDICT VII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires that adherents of creeds of all kinds may dwell everywhere; for they all seek after self-control and purity of mind. But men *possess* various desires and various likings. They will put in practice either the whole or a part only of *what they profess*. But self-control, purity of mind, gratitude and firm attachment are laudable in a lowly man,<sup>10</sup> to whom even great liberality is impossible.

<sup>8</sup> The Rastikas I identify with the Rishikas, a southern nation. The Pitinikas, or Pitenikas, probably had their seats in the same districts.

<sup>9</sup> Compare *Mahābhārata*, XII. 56, 14 and 38, 14, where *utthāna* "exertion" is prescribed for kings and declared to be the root of all good government.

<sup>10</sup> The form *nichā* in the Gīrnār version instead of *nichē*, may be explained as a contraction of *nichāya* i.e. *nichāya*; compare Pillar Edict iv, note on *nijhapajitā*.



## EDICT VIII.

A long period has elapsed, *during which* the beloved of the gods used to go forth on so-called pleasure-tours.<sup>11</sup> On such *occasions* the chase and other similar amusements used to be *pursued*. Now, when King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, had been anointed ten years, he went forth *in search* after true knowledge. Owing to this *event*, religious tours *have become a regular institution* here in my empire. On that *occasion* the following happens, *viz.* the reception of, and almsgiving to, Brahmans and ascetics, the reception of the aged, the distribution of gold, the reception of the people of the provinces, the preaching of the Sacred Law and inquiries concerning the Sacred Law. *It is thus that*, in exchange *for past pleasures*, King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, since then enjoys the pleasures *which* these *virtuous actions* procure.

## EDICT IX.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—The people performs various auspicious rites in misfortunes, at marriages of sons and daughters,<sup>12</sup> on the birth of sons, at *the time of* starting on a journey. On these and similar occasions the people perform many auspicious rites. But at such *times* the women perform many and various despicable and useless rites. Now, auspicious rites ought indeed to be performed. But rites of this description produce no results. But the following, the auspicious rite, *which consists in the fulfilment of* the Sacred Law, produces, indeed, great results.<sup>13</sup> That includes kindness towards slaves and servants, reverence towards venerable persons, self-control with respect to living creatures, liberality towards ascetics and Brahmans. These and other similar *virtuous actions* are called the auspicious rites of the Sacred Law. Now a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, ought to speak *as follows* :—“This is meritorious; this auspicious rite must be practised until the *desired aim* is attained.” To the success of which *auspicious rites* does this refer? For every worldly auspicious rite is doubtful. It may be that it accomplishes the *desired* object; but it may be that it remains even in this world. But that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law acts without reference to time. If it does not secure here the *desired* object, it yet produces endless merit in the next world. But, if it secures the *desired* object both are gained; here that *desired* object, and endless merit is produced<sup>14</sup> in the next world through that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law.

## EDICT X.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, does not think that glory and fame bring much profit, except that he desires glory and fame *with the view* that at present and in the future the people may practise obedience to the Sacred Law, and that they observe the duties of the Sacred Law. For this *purpose* King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires glory and fame. But all the efforts of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, are made with reference to the *results* for a future life. How so? *It is his wish* that all may be free from danger. Now the danger is sin. But assuredly the thing is difficult

<sup>11</sup> The word *vihārayatṛā* occurs in the sense of “pleasure-tour” in Aśvaghoṣa’s *Buddhacharita*, III, 3, and *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> For the use of *dvāho* and *viśāho* compare the *Ambattha Sutta* 2-1 (*Dighanikāya*, vol. I, p. 99).

<sup>13</sup> Compare the beginning of the Jaina Daśavaikālika Sūtra, —*dharmo maṅgalaṃ uḥkaṭṭhaṃ*, etc.

<sup>14</sup> Compare *Jātaka*s, IV, 239, 9, *maḥantaṃ puññaṃ paśadāmiti*.



to accomplish, whether for the low or for the great, except by the greatest exertion and by the renouncing everything. But it is [most difficult] for the great.

#### EDICT XI.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"There is no such gift as the almsgiving of the law, *nor anything like* the intimacy through the law, the charitable gift of the law *and* the connection through the law.<sup>15</sup> This *law* includes the good treatment of slaves and servants, obedience towards parents, liberality towards friends, acquaintances, relatives, ascetics and Brahmans, *and* the non-destruction of living creatures. *Therefore* a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, or a friend and acquaintance, or even a neighbour ought to give advice on this matter, *saying* :—"This is meritorious; this ought to be done." He who acts thus both gains this world and produces for himself endless merit in the next through this almsgiving of the sacred law.

#### EDICT XII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, honours men of all creeds, both ascetics and householders, by gifts and honours of various kinds. But the Beloved of the gods thinks not so *much* of gifts and honours as of what?—that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds. But the increase of essentials *may happen* in various ways. But this is its root, *viz.* guarding one's speech—how so? "Honouring one's own creed and blaming other creeds shall not be in unimportant points, or it shall be moderate with respect to this or that important point." But other creeds must even be honoured for this or that reason. Acting thus, one exalts one's creed and benefits also the other creeds. Acting differently, one hurts one's own creed and injures the other creeds. How so? For he who honours his own creed and blames all other creeds out of reverence for his own creed *thinking* "I promote *thereby* the interests of my own creed," however, acting thus, injures his own creed exceedingly. Hence self-restraint<sup>16</sup> alone *is* commendable. How so? "They shall hear each other's law and love to hear it."<sup>17</sup> For this is the desire of the Beloved of the gods. What?—"that men of all creeds shall have heard much and shall possess holy doctrines. And to those who adhere to this or that *faith* it must be said: "The Beloved of the gods thinks not so *much* of gifts and honours as of what?—"that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds and a large one." For this end are working the Overseers of the Sacred Law, the Superintendents of women, the *Vachabhūmikas*<sup>18</sup> and other bodies of *officials*. And this is its result, *viz.* the exaltation of one's own creed and the promotion of the interests of the law.

#### EDICT XIII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, being anointed eight years, conquered *the country of Kalinga*. One hundred and fifty thousand souls were carried away thence, one

<sup>15</sup> Compare *Itivuttaka*, p. 98 (Windisch), where most of the terms used in this Edict occur, as well as the general views.

<sup>16</sup> The reading of the other three versions *samavāya* "concord, harmony" is better than *sayamo* "self-restraint," *i.e.* with respect to opponents.

<sup>17</sup> Or, possibly, [they shall obey (*it as far as it is worthy to be obeyed*).]

<sup>18</sup> As the Mansehra version offers *Vachabhūmika*, the term may mean either "Overseers of the latrines," or (*vraja-bhūmika*) "Overseers of cowpens," see *Kāmasūtra*, p. 290, l. 1 (Durgāprasāda).



hundred thousand were slain, *and* many times as many died. Afterwards, now that Kalinga has been conquered, *are found* with the Beloved of the gods a zealous protection of the Sacred Law, a *zealous* love for the Sacred Law, a *zealous* teaching of the Sacred Law. That is the repentance of the Beloved of the gods on account of his conquest of Kalinga; for when an unconquered country is being conquered<sup>19</sup> there *happens* both a slaying and a dying, and a carrying-off of the people. That appears very painful and regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. But the following appears to the Beloved of the gods still more regrettable than that; for there dwell Brahmans, or ascetics, or men of other creeds, or householders, among whom the following is practised, *viz.* obedience towards the first-born (?), obedience towards parents, obedience towards venerable persons, becoming behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, slaves and servants, and firm attachment. Such *men* suffer there injury or destruction, or forcible separation from their beloved ones. Or misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those who themselves are well protected, *but* whose affection is undiminished. Then even that misfortune becomes an injury just, for those *unhurt ones*. All this *falls* severally on men, and appears regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. And *men* have faith not merely in a single creed.<sup>20</sup>

Even one hundredth or one thousandth part of those men who were slain, died, or were carried off during the conquest of Kalinga, now appears to the Beloved of the gods *a matter* of deepest regret. Even, if *a man* does *him* an injury, the Beloved of the gods holds that all that can be borne should be borne. Even on *the inhabitants* of the forests, found in the empire of the Beloved of the gods he takes compassion, *if he is told that* he should destroy them successively,—and the Beloved of the gods possesses power to torment *them*. Unto them it is said—what? “Let them shun *doing evil*, and they shall not be killed;” for the Beloved of the gods desires for all beings freedom from injury, self-restraint, impartiality and joyfulness.

But this conquest the Beloved of the gods holds the chiefest, *viz.* the conquest through the Sacred Law. And that conquest has been made by the Beloved of the gods both here *in his empire* and over all his neighbours, even as far as six hundred *yojanas*, where the King of the Yonas, called Am̐tiyoka *dwells*, and beyond this Am̐tiyoka, *where* the four (4) Kings  *dwell*, *viz.*, he called Turamaya, he called Am̐tikini, he called Maka, and he called Alikasudara<sup>21</sup> *further* in the south, *where* the Choḍas and Pamḍas  *dwell* as far as Tambapam̐ni, likewise *where* the Hida-king  *dwells*. Among the Viśas, Vajris,<sup>22</sup> Yonas, Kamboyas, in Nābhaka of the Nābhitis, among the Bhojas, the Pitinikas, the Am̐dhras, and Pulidas—everywhere they follow the teaching of the Beloved of the gods with respect to the Sacred Law. Even those to whom the messengers of the Beloved of the gods do not go, follow the Sacred Law, as soon as they have

<sup>19</sup> For the construction compare the reading of the MSS. A and B in the passage *Jātaka*, III, p. 275:—*Senako nān rajjah kārento Bodhisatto Sakkaṭṭam kāresi*.

<sup>20</sup> The King means to say that on the occasion of conquests many creeds suffer, as there is no country where the people are contented with one only. The Kālsī version, with which that of Girnār seems to have agreed, is more explicit, as it says: “And there is no country where there are not found these countless congregations into which these Brahmans and ascetics *are* divided. And there is nowhere a country where the people have faith in one creed alone.”

<sup>21</sup> According to Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Bd. II, p. 234 f. the five Yona or Greek kings named are Antiochos II., king of Syria (died 247 B.C.), Ptolemaios II., king of Egypt (died 246 B.C.), Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedonia (died 239 B.C.), Magas, king of Cyrene (died 258 B.C.), Alexander, king of Epirus (died between 262 and 258 B.C.).

<sup>22</sup> The Viśas are probably the Bais Raiputs, the Vajris the Vrijis of Eastern India.



heard of the orders of the Beloved of the gods, issued in accordance with the Sacred Law, and his teaching of the Sacred Law, and they will follow it in future.

And the conquest which thereby has been made everywhere—a conquest made everywhere—yields a feeling of joy. But this joy is indeed only *something* small. The Beloved of the gods esteems as precious only that which refers to the next world.

And this religious edict has been written for the following purpose. Why? “In order that my sons and grandsons *as many as* they may be, may not think a new conquest desirable, in order that on *the occasion of* a conquest, only possible by the sword,<sup>23</sup> they may find pleasure in mildness and gentleness, and in order that they may deem a conquest through the sacred law alone a *real* conquest. That yields bliss in this world and in the next. All their joy be the joy in exertion; for, that yields bliss in this world and in the next.

#### EDICT XIV.

These religious edicts<sup>24</sup> have been written by order of King Priyadaśin, beloved of the gods, *under a form*; whether abridged, or expanded. For not everything is suitable in every place. For my empire is large, and much has been written, and I shall write *still more*. Certain *sentences* have been repeated over and over again because of the sweetness of their import. And for what purpose *has that been done*? *It is with the intention* that the people may act thus. But it may be that something has been written here incompletely, be it on account of the space, be it on account of some reason to be *especially* determined, or through a mistake of the writer.

### XXXVII.—A COLLECTION OF SANADS OF MOGHUL EMPERORS.

BY PAUL HORN, Ph.D., STRASSBURG.

Mr. H. Blochmann remarks in his translation of the *Āin-i-Akbarī* that the 19th chapter of the second book on the *Sayūrghāls* is one of the most interesting in Abul Fazl's whole work. The collection of seventy *sanads* discussed here may therefore claim some interest<sup>1</sup> as almost all of them refer to the grant of such rent-free lands, and thus illustrate the formalities and usages of the institution in the most instructive manner, even if they fail to furnish much valuable historical information.

The general points concerning the granting of *Sayūrghāls* being well known, I shall restrict myself, after a few short remarks as to the age and origin of the *sanads*, to hint at some details that arise from their study, giving as specimens the text of three of them with translation. They belong chiefly to the *pargana* of Batāla (spelt Batālah or Batālā, and perhaps in the oldest of the documents Watālah) in the Panjāb, only a small number being from other cities or districts as Akbarābād, Jalālābād, Biāh, Chamāri, Dābhāwāla, and Patīhaibatpūr. Occasionally we find mention of such villages as Bhagwānpūr, Faizuddīnpūr, Harpūr, Kartārpūr, Rahīmābād, Rasūlpūr

<sup>23</sup> The translation gives a free rendering of the Gīrnār reading, *sarasaks eva*, literally “only possible by arrows.”

<sup>24</sup> The word *dharmadipi* or *dhammalipi* has here to be taken in a collective sense; compare the use of *Smṛiti*, *Śruti* and similar terms in Sanskrit.

<sup>1</sup> These *sanads* were obtained by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, of the Archaeological Survey in the Panjāb, and by the Government of India were ordered to be distributed among the British, Calcutta, Lahore and Lucknow Museums.



and Shâhjahânpûr, belonging to the *pargana* of Batâla, or Pâdishâhpûr *alias* Kalânkhurdpûr, belonging to Patîhaibatpûr, or with localities in Batâla as the *masjid-i-jâmi'-i kalân* 'the large jâmi-mosque' and the *maḥalla-i qâzî Isma'il Muhammad* 'the quarter of judge Ism'ail Muhammad.' The sanads were written under the rule of the Emperors Bâbar, Jahângîr, Shâhjahân, Aurangzêb, Shâh 'Âlam, Farrukh Siyar, Muhammad Shâh, Ahmad Shâh, and Tîmûr Shâh.

Among all the names of the persons on whom lands were conferred through these papers only a very few belong to important men. They are almost all small people, mostly women who scarcely would be found in the chronicles, not even the Shaikhs and Qâzîs that sometimes appear. No assignation of grounds to one person reaches a hundred *big'has*, an allowance that Badâûnî (vol. III, p. 205) states as too mean for a learned man, and in most cases the grants vary between 10 and 12 big'has or something more, except rare grants of 40, 60 or 70 to Shaikhs, or once to a wife of such a pious man. The *big'ha* is defined as a *jarîb-i shastgâzî*, i.e. 60 *gaz* long and by 60 broad;<sup>2</sup> if fractions of *big'has* occur we find *biswas*, but no *biswânsas*. It was not customary, as appears from these sanads generally to execute a separate document for every single little allotment, but to take together several persons in one party. Sometimes an order extends even to several parties, the amounts of the property of individuals not being specified in the text. But the statements in question are given on the back, written in *siyâqat*-characters. Also, the individual members of each party are not enumerated in the text, but only one as a representative followed by the words *wa ghairuhu*, *wa ghairuhâ*, or seldom *wa jamâ'atuhu*, with or without the added *shurakâ-i* (for men and women), viz., *sharikahâ-i farmân*. A *farmân*, e.g., generally concerns *musammât Maulânâ Khaṭîb wa ghairuhu*, and afterwards we learn that these others were Maulânâ Hâmid, Maulânâ Ahmad, and Maulânâ Ya'qûb; or it is about *musammât Daulat Khâtûn wa ghairuhâ*, and on the back we find the other names Rahmat Khâtûn, Bibî Aima, Bibî Fâtima, and Maryam Khâtûn, all written without diacritical points and in very cursive characters, the representative person pointed at only by a *mushâr ilaihi*. A *farmân* of a first grant of lands naturally always prescribes the measurement and boundaries (*paimûlan u chak bastan*) of the new territory, a superfluous business if the grounds were already in the possession of somebody and if therefore the matter was only a re-investment. In this case in the beginning the date of the first grant is always mentioned. We seldom read that the donations took place at different times (*batawârikh u sanîn-i mukhtalifa*).

For a rent-free fee the Chagatai word *sayârghâl* is only once used, viz., in the oldest sanad of Bâbar's time, and the Arabic *aima* seldom occurs; generally the Arabic-Persian *madad-i-ma'âsh* is used. If an owner has died it can be transferred to his heir, and so we find grounds that have been for some centuries in the possession of the same family. Likewise the heir succeeds to the testator in case of the latter undertaking at an advanced age the pilgrimage to Makka and Madîna. Once the grant is renewed because one of two parties has died, the other being alive. In the new *farmân* therefore the dead person is replaced by his heirs and the lands are granted anew to those and the old surviving possessors, quite on the former conditions. A *sanad* of Shâhjahân's reign mentions

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Col. H. S. Jarrett's note in his translation of the *Âin-i-Akbarî*, vol. II, p. 61, and the 10th chapter, p. 62. We learn from Badâûnî (vol. II, p. 206) that the salary of a commander of twenty, lowest rank of an officer in the Moghul army, was equivalent to the revenues of a thousand *big'has*.



an order that restricted the right of the heirs in the *Śūba* of Lāhōr to part of the property of the testators in *sayūrghāl*-land, viz., to 58 *big'has* 8 *biswas*; in one case the number of 107 *big'has* 8 *biswas* is diminished therefore by 49 *big'has* that were again made domain lands (*khālīsa sharīfa*), and the rest was handed to the heirs. This may be one of the many tricks invented by the *śadrs* and *qāzis*—who, as Abul Fazl says, wear a turban (as a sign of respectability), but are bad at heart, and who wear long sleeves, but fall short in sense—in order to injure people if they did not prefer even open force.

If a person gets a fee for the first time, it is always stated that he was a worthy one and could not gain his livelihood by other means, the latter formula also occurring in the re-instatement of a former possessor or on the succession of his heir. The former owners of these sanads therefore must be reckoned amongst the third class of men that lands were bestowed upon (*Āin-i Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 198)—I may mention here that *sayūrghāls* are conferred on certain persons even in the so-called '*Institutes of Amīr Tīmūr*,' (see Davy-White's edition pp. 235, 305). Besides, it was to be proved by credible witnesses that the people in question were alive, a function mostly performed by two Shaikhs, at Batāla often by the *mudarras* of the *jāmi'*-mosque and the *mufti*. Before the sanad could be written a memorandum or a *yāddāsht-i wāqī'a* was to be presented, and such papers are sometimes specially mentioned.

It is often said that the owners of a rent-free fee are to be 'assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the enduring empire.' This was also the common benevolent phrase for persons that were discharged from the service in the Moghul empire (conf. '*Ālamgīr-nāma*, p. 594).

In Akbar's time the rule followed in conferring land was, that all *sayūrghāl*-lands should consist of one-half of tilled land and one-half capable of cultivation; in these sanads only land of the latter kind is granted (*zamīn-i uflāda-i lā'iq-i-zirā'at*) and sometimes *banjar*-land, i.e., such as has been uncultivated for five years or more (*Āin-i Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 297).

Of course a certain order is observed in putting the seals on these *farmānhā-i thabī*—such were issued for conferring *sayūrghāls* according to the *Āin-i Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 194—as in all Muhammadan public documents; naturally with some differences under various kings. The sanad of Bābar's time renewing the grant of a village with a revenue of 5,000 copper tankas (i.e., 250 rupees) to Qāzī Jalāl, judge of Batāla, in A.H. 933, has been signed only with the emperor's own seal—round the middle field bearing the words *Zahīruddīn Muhammad Bābar* and the date 928, in five panels the names of his ancestors to Amīr Tīmūr have been inscribed. Likewise the documents bestowing a first *sayūrghāl*, besides the *tughrā*, bear only the seals of the emperors, viz., Jahāngīr—a square, round the centre the names of his forefathers inscribed in circles, and in the four extreme corners four names of Allāh; 'Ālamgīr—a square exactly like that of Jahāngīr's, only larger; and one with the seal of prince Aurangzēb before his accession to the throne, dated the 6th *Jumādī'l auwal* 1069 (30th January 1659), the *julūs* being on the 24th *Ramazān* (the 15th June) of the same year. The seal of the king's son is a round one and contains the words *Muhammad Aurangzēb Bahādur Ghāzī thānī-i Šāhib-qirān thānī*.<sup>3</sup> These sanads are all on paper about 33 inches by 17 (but the margins are

<sup>3</sup> See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II., p. 147, note 23.—A drawing of Aurangzēb's imperial seal is to be found in Sir Thomas Roe's account of his residence at the court of the Great Moghul (cf. *Histoire générale des voyages* Paris 1746 seq. vol. xi, p. 57.)



now all more or less cut and torn off), and are handsomely written in fair *ta'liq*, except Bâbar's one (that measures 13 by 7½ inches, and is in very cursive characters). In Akbar's and Jahângîr's time we find the *Ilâhî* era exclusively used, while later it is seldom mentioned, but that of the Hijra is employed.

There are also some sanads granting *sayûrghâls* sealed only by officials, and not by the emperor himself, whose name however is read on the seals of the latter.\* The size of these sanads is considerably smaller than that of the monarch's; it varies between 16 to 20 inches by about 8½ inches; the writing generally is very irregular. Sometimes the *Šadr ul-šudûr* commands the performance of an imperial *farmân* and gives orders for the assigned lands to be surveyed; such sanads in 'Âlamgîr's time bear only the seal of the functionary named, whereas under Jahângîr and Shâh 'Âlam the seals also of the *Diwân* or of the *Khân Khânân* were affixed. In Farrukh Siyar's reign in these cases the Qâzi's seal takes the first place accompanied by those of different lower officials and private people. If the matter is a re-investment, as in most cases, we always find two seals.

There occur as sealing *Šadr ul-šudûr*'s :

Rizawî Bukhârî, 24th year of 'Âlamgîr (who died in the same year,—conf. *Ma'âthir-i 'Âlamgîrî*, p. (207) and *Ma'âthir ul-Umarâ*, vol. II, pp. 308, 309);

Sharîf Khân, 25th year of 'Âlamgîr (who was elevated to this dignity in the same year,—conf. *Ma'âthir-i 'Âlamgîrî*, p. 219);

Asad Khân, 15th and 32nd years of 'Âlamgîr (with the dates 1081, 14 and 1088, 20 on his seals), i.e., Âsaf uddaula Jumlat ul-Mulk Asad Khân. He is styled *Tarkhân* in another *farmân* (16th year); and

Amjad Khân *Šadr Jahân*, 49th year of Shâh 'Âlam.

Not bearing the title of *Šadr ul-šudûr* on their seals, as also Asad Khân does not, but in that function, appear :

Siyâdat Khân, 38th year of 'Âlamgîr (with the date 1096, 28 on his seal, in which year he, Sayyid Oghlan, received this title, cf. *Ma'âthir ul-Umarâ*, vol. II, p. 495);

Amîn Khân Bahâdur, 47th year of 'Âlamgîr (with the date 1113, 46 on his seal); and

Amîr ul-Umarâ, 48th year of 'Âlamgîr (with the date 1113, 45 on his seal).

In the re-investment-documents we find two seals : that of the *Diwân* (-i *qul*) and that of the *Šadr*, but generally without titles. That one of them must belong to the *Diwân* is (besides *Âin-i-Akbarî*, vol. I, p. 195, line 6 *et seq.*) shown in a sanad of the 50th year of 'Âlamgîr which bears Hâfiz Khân's seal, who in that year became *Diwân* of Lâhôr,—till then having been in the service of Gauharârâi Bêgum, younger sister of the emperor (*Ma'âthir-i 'Âlamgîrî*, p. 513). The same document has also the seal of Mîr Khwâja Shâh, who is here exceptionally styled *Šadr*. The dates of the entries of the sanads in the registers of the *šadârat* and the *diwân* (-i *sa'âdat*) are always noted, the latter falling one or more weeks later than the first. The *šadr*'s seal is placed outside the text in the vertical fold on the right, that of the *Diwân* is a little higher up, above the text itself and under a single line containing the name of the reigning

\* The same was also the case during the Sassanian period (cf. *Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen der koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin*, Heft IV, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, herausgegeben von Paul Horn und Georg Steindorff, Berlin, 1891, p. 28.) The Sassanian high functionaries did not seal with the portrait of the king, but often with his name.



king (on the margin the monarch who had first granted the fee is shortly mentioned with his *post-mortem*-title). The following *Diwāns* and *Ṣadrs* appear together :

Ṣābir 'Alī and Sayyid Ahmad, 11th and 13th years of Jahāngīr,

Diyānat Khān and Nizāmuddīn Hasan Qādirī, 23rd year of 'Ālamgīr (the first with the date 1084, 17 on his seal);<sup>5</sup>

'Abd Ilāhyār ul-Husainī and Aslam Khānazād, 33rd year of 'Ālamgīr (with the dates 1089, 21, *viz.*, 1093, 27 on the seals);

Mīr Ahmad Khān and Aslam Khānazād, 37th year of 'Ālamgīr (the latter with the date 1094, 27 on his seal);

Abū (?) Kāzīm and 'Abd ul-Bāqī, 44th year of 'Ālamgīr (with the dates 32, *viz.*, 1110, 42 on the seals);

Sa'adatmand Khān and Sayyid Ashraf Khān, 3rd year of Shāh 'Ālam (with the dates 1120, *viz.*, 1119, 1 on the seals);

Sa'adatmand Khān and Khwāja Futūh, 2nd year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the engraved 'first-year' on his seal, as also in the following case);

Fazl 'Alī Khān and Khwāja Futūh, 4th and 5th years of Farrukh Siyar;

Ziyā uddīn Muhammad Khān and Futūh Khān, 7th year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the date 'third year' on his seal);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Mīr Muhammad Ṣālih, 5th and 8th years of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1133, *viz.*, 1134 and 1135 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid 'Azīz Khān, 10th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, *viz.* 1139, 9 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid Mīrakshāh Khān, 14th year of Muhammad Shāh (the latter with the date 1142, 12 on his seal);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid Sultān Husain Khān Mausawī, 15th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the date 1138, *viz.*, 1145, 15 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Mīr Muhyi'ddīn Mausawī, 18th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, *viz.* 1148 on the seals); and

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Khwāja Islāḥ Khān, 19th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, *viz.*, 1149, 19 on the seals).

With one seal only (on the right) the same documents have been sealed in the 25th year of Muhammad Shāh (Sayyid Mīrak Khān, 1153, 22), in the 2nd year of Ahmad Shāh (Shamshêrbêg Khān Khānazād, 1161, 1), and in the first year of Tīmūr Shāh (Dāwar Khān Ṣadr ul-ṣudūr). Except the farmāns sealed with the personal seals of the emperors a *tughrā* has but seldom been added the drawing of which is then always very poor and artless.

Even the higher functionaries did not employ a new seal every year, that is to say, they did not alter the date. We often find seals therefore with years that considerably differ from those of the sanads themselves.

On some signets the possessors are styled *murīd* or *murīd-i pādishāh*, a title introduced by Akbar.

<sup>5</sup> Nizāmuddīn Hasan Qādirī occurs as *Ṣadr ul-ṣudūr* also in the text of some sanads from 'Ālamgīr's 22nd year. The Qādirīs were a darwēsh order. Nineteen principles of theirs are enumerated in the Berlin Persian manuscript, *Petermann*, No. 721, (*cf.* Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, No. 233, 2, p. 276).—Khānazāds were a sort of pages educated at the imperial court (*cf.* *Ma'āthir ul-Umarā*, vol. 1, p. 797).



There are also some private documents in this collection of sanads, the most interesting of which concern the sale and purchase of lands. We learn from them the value of arable lands in the *pargana* of Batâla, *viz.*, 251 rupees for 100 *big'has*, 20 rupees for 5 *big'has*, 42 rupees for 15 *big'has* 17 *biswas*, 122 rupees 8 annas for 35 *big'has* *banjar*-land, and 60 rupees for 20 *big'has* *zamin-i bârânî*, the price of the *big'ha* varying therefore between  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and 4 rupees. The sales took place under the rule of Muhammad and Ahmad Shâh, the rupees and the annas being specified as '*âlâmgîrî*'. In Shâh 'Âlam's time once *Buhlûlîs* or *Dâm-i 'âlâmgîrî's* are mentioned. One-half of the fixed amount is always paid on account. As is customary in Christian countries by illiterates to draw a cross instead of the signature, we find a circle once adopted for this purpose by a woman obliged to sign the document about the sale of her grounds. These papers bear the seal of the *Qâzî* as of the competent official and the signatures and seals of a number of witnesses. Judges of Batâla were according to our sanads:—

Qâzî Arjumand in the year 1115 (2), the seal with the date 1112; Qâzî 'Atâ Ullâh, son of 'Azîm Ullâh, 1139, on the seal 1120; Qâzî Ahlîyat Ullâh, 1141, on the seal 1138; Qâzî Mîr Muhammad, 1141, 1147, and 1161, and

Walî Muhammad, son of the dismissed Qâzî Hibat Ullâh, 'who, as his father extended the hand of oppression and tyranny over the inhabitants,' and for this reason, in the second year of Shâh 'Âlam's reign, the citizens presented a petition that he should be deposed and be replaced by their former just Qâzî Ghulâm Muhammad, whose seal with the date 48 appears on documents from 'Âlamgîr's 49th year. I am not sure if this request was entirely successful, at all events in A. H. 1120, 1125, and 1126 the desired Ghulâm Muhammad was not judge, but Muhammad Walî Ullâh, who is perhaps identical with the unjust Walî Muhammad.

In the 16th year of Muhammad Shâh Mîr Muhammad, son of Mîr Muhammad Qâim, was appointed judge of Batâla, as successor of Amânat Ullâh, and he was confirmed in this office after Ahmad Shâh's accession to the throne. The documents bear the seals of Mîr Muhy'iddîn Khânazâd, 1118, and Shamsîhêrbêg Khân Khânazâd, 1161. That Jalâl was Qâzî of Batâla in A. H. 933 has already been mentioned.

Finally there are a few other sanads, *e.g.*, one concerning the grant of a daily allowance of 12 annas to Shaikh Nûr Muhammad and his companions in Patihai-batpûr, to be paid by the *fautadâr* of that town, or regarding the lease of the village of Pâdishâbpûr *alias* Kalânkhurdpûr in the *pargana* of Patihai-batpûr, amounting to 550 rupees a year and being to be delivered to the *fautakhâna*, which need not to be further described.

I now give as a specimen the text<sup>a</sup> of three *sayûrghâl-sanads*, together with their English translations:—

درینوقت میمنت عنوان فرمان والاشان واجب الادعان صادر شد که چهل بیگنه زمین افتاده لائق زراعت خارج جمع از پرگنه چماری مضاف بصوبه پنجاب در وجه مدد معاش مسماں راج بی بی و غیرها حسب الضمن مقرر باشد که حاصل آنرا صرف مایحتاج نموده بدعای بقای دولت ابدطراز مواظبت نمایند باید که حکام و عمال و جاگیرداران و کروریان حال و استقبال اراضی مزبور را پیمرده و چک بسته بتصرف آنها بازگذارند و اصلاً و مطلقاً

<sup>a</sup> I have spelt the Persian words more correctly than they appear sometimes in the originals.



تغییر و تبدیل بدان راه ندهند و بعثت مال رجهات و اخراجات مثل قتلغه و پیشکش و جریبانه و ضابطانه و محصلانه و مهرانه و داروغخانه و پیکار و شکار و مقدمی و قانونگری و ضبط هر ساله بعد تشخیص چک و تکرار زراعت و کلّ مطالبات سلطانی و تکالیف دیوانی مزاحم نشوند و اندرین باب هر سال سند مجدد نطلبند و اگر در محلّ دیگر چیزی داشته باشند آنرا اعتبار نکنند بیست و نهم شوال سال چهل از جلوس والا نوشته شد.

## TRANSLATION.

"In this happy time the high order which is necessary to be heard came forth that 40 *bīg'has* of fallow land, capable of cultivation, allodial to the *pargana* of Chamārī that belongs to the *śūba* of the Panjāb, according to the endorsement were bestowed as a rent-free fee upon P. P. Rāj Bibī and companions. They may spend the revenues of it for their needs, being assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the enduring empire. The present and future magistrates, tax-gatherers, *jāgīr*-holders and *krórīs* having surveyed the stated lands and marked their boundaries<sup>7</sup> should give them into their possession, and by no means allow any alteration or change. After the settlement of the boundaries and the new cultivation one should not trouble them for any demands of the Government and the levies of the court in the shape of quit-rent, taxes, and tributes, as *qutlugha*, presents, the rates of *jaribāna*,<sup>8</sup> *zābitāna*, *muhaśśilāna*, *mahrāna*, *dārōghagāna*, for war and chase, the *muqaddimī* and *qānūngōyī*, and the annual sequestrations. Regarding this no new order should be yearly expected and other eventual existing appointments not considered.<sup>9</sup> Written on the 29th Shawwāl of the 40th year since the sublime accession to the throne (viz., of 'Ālamgīr)."

On the back the text of the *yādhāsh-t-i wāqī'a*, dated Monday, the 13th Rabī II, of the 39th year (21st November, 1695) is given, and besides the dates of entry in the registers the names of Rāj Bibī's companions, viz., Nūr Bibī, Śāhib Khātūn, and Sharīfa Bānū, each of them getting 10 *bīg'has*.

Another sanad concerning a re-investment runs:

حضرت محمد شاه پادشاه غازی خلد ملکه ابداً

خلد منزل

گماشتهای جاگیرداران و کروریان حال و استقبال پرگنه بنالا مضاف صوبه پنجاب بدانند چون بموجب فرمانعالیشان حضرت مرقوم بتاریخ ۲ شعبان سنه ۳ موازی پنجاه و نه بیگنه زمین از پرگنه مذکور در وجه مدد معاش مسمّاء نورخاتون و غیرها شرکای فرمان و عبدالغنی و غیره ورث محمد عاقل و غیره بتجویز صدر سابق مقرر است درینولا بتصدیق ثقات بوضوح پیدوست که مشار الیهم حی و قائم و اراضی مزبوره را قابض و متصرف اند و از ممر دیگر وجه معیشت ندارند بنابر آن بتصدیق فرق مبارک بندگان حضرت خدیو جهان خداوند زمان باعث امن و امان ظلّ ظلیل ایزد متعال نائب نبیل دادار بیهمال مظهر اتم پروردگار رحمت اعم آفریدگار مقنن قوانین جهانداري مبدء مهاد کرم گستری خلافت پناه ظلّ اراضی مرقومه<sup>10</sup> از محققیدم بدستور سابق بشرط فیض و تصرف حسب الضمن مقرر و منسلّم داشته شد می باید که زمین مسطوره را در تصرف آنها واگداشته اصلاً و مطلقاً متعرض

<sup>7</sup> In other sanads the *Chaudharis* (I cannot understand for what reason Blochmann has banished this spelling into the notes of his *Āin-i Akbarī*-edition,—*f.e.* vol. I, p. 198, line 15, instead of putting it into the text), *Qānūngōis*, *Muqaddams* and *Mālikis* are said to have taken part and consented to this act.

<sup>8</sup> These technical terms are all fully explained in the dictionaries.

<sup>9</sup> I know that this last phrase also could be translated 'if they should have possessed something in another place (*besides the above sayūrghāl*) it should not be taken notice of,' but I have preferred the above translation as more harmonizing with the contents.

<sup>10</sup> Corrected from *marqūma-rā* according to other sanads.



نشرند تا حاصلات آنرا فصل بفصل و سال بسال صرف مایحتاج خودها ساخته بدعای درام دولت ابد طراز مواظبت  
مینموده باشند و اگر در محلدیگر چیزی داشته باشند آنرا اعتبار نکنند شرح تحریر فی التاریخ دریم شهر جمادی الاول  
سنه ۱۸ جارس متعلی مطابق سنه ۱۱۴۸ هجری المقدس شد

## TRANSLATION.

“Shâh 'Âlam.”—His Majesty Muhammad Shâh-i Ghâzî, may God perpetuate his reign for ever!

“The present and future representatives of the *Jâgîr*-holders and *Krôris* of the *pargana* of Batâla, belonging to the *sûba* of the Panjâb, may know: According to the high order of His Majesty, dated the 2nd Sha'bân of the third year (*i.e.*, of *Shâh 'Âlam*), 59 *bîg'has* of the land of the *pargana* stated have been bestowed as a rent-free fee, by former *Sâdrs* upon P. P. Nûr Khâtûn and companions, partners of the *farmân*, and upon P. P. 'Abd ul-Ghanî and companions, heir of Muhammad 'Âqil and companions. It now being evidenced through trustworthy testimony that the above-named are alive, really own and possess the stated lands, and do not get their livelihood otherwise, on that account as an alms of the blessed head of the slave (*of God*), His Majesty the sovereign of the world, the master of the time, the author of safety and security, the covering shadow of the sublime God, the excellent viceregent of the peerless distributor of justice, the most perfect manifestation of the all-nourisher, the universal pity of the creator, the founder of the institutions of the world-possessing, who lays the foundation of the carpet of graciousness, the asylum of the khalifate,—the possession of the stated lands, in the former place and on the former conditions, according to the endorsement has been graciously ratified and intrusted. One ought to restore the described grounds into their possession, hindering them not at all, and absolutely not from spending the revenues from season to season and year to year for their own needs and to be assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the everlasting empire. If there should exist any appointment, otherwise<sup>12</sup> it is not to be taken notice of. Written on the 2nd *Jumâdi'l awwal* of the 18th year since the sublime accession to the throne (*i.e.*, of *Muhammad Shâh*), corresponding to the year 1148 of the holy flight (*the 20th September, 1735*).”

On the back the endorsement of Shâh 'Âlam is written, as always in these cases. The names of Nûr Khâtûn's partners were 'Azîz Khâtûn, daughter of Shaikh Muhammad, 'Âmila, Shams Khâtûn, daughter of Ilyâs, Hayât Bânû, those of 'Abd ul Ghanî's Jân Bibî, Sâliha Bânû, etc.

Bâbar's sanad runs—<sup>13</sup>

هو الغالب

فرمان ظهیرالدین محمد بابر غازی

درین وقت فرمان جهان مطاع واجب الاتباع شرف نفاذ یافت که چون موضع مستحراکل بهروری از پرگنه  
رتاله که جمع رقمی آن مبلغ پنجهزار تنگه سیاه است برسم سیرورغال تعلق بقاضی جلال قاضی پرگنه مذکور است

<sup>11</sup> *Rhuld-manzil* was Shâh 'Âlam's *post-mortem*-name.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. note 9.

<sup>13</sup> This *farmân* is very difficult to decipher. The characters want almost all diacritical dots; they are indeed not more fluently written than those of the other sanads, but the tenor is different, so that it cannot be understood by the help of the others. I am indebted for a very few hints to Mr. Jâmi Khân Ghôri at Berlin, who has seen the document, but notwithstanding there remain some doubtful words. My transcript of the name of the village is quite tentative.



میداشته حالا بر هماندستور بدر متعلق شش سنه و بعثت مال وجهات و سایر متوجهات مزاحم و متعرض مشارالیه نشوند و بعرض شد و حوالی تزايد مي آمد که برین موجب معرم [؟] خاصه بتصریح شد و هرساله بفرمان و پیرانچه مجدد محتاج ندانند در زمان [؟] بقصرهما تحریر شد فی شهر ذی قعدة سنه ۹۳۳

## TRANSLATION.

"He (*God*) is the conqueror!

"*Farmân* of Zahir-uddîn Muhammad Bâbar-i-Ghâzî.

"Now the order to be obeyed by all the world and necessary to be respected has the honour of setting forth that the village of Manchharâkal, belonging to *pargana* Watâla, the total register of which amounts to 5,000 copper-*tankas* (250 *Rupees*) and which as a *Sayârghâl* has been bestowed upon Qâzî Jalâl, judge of the city named, is now granted to him on the same conditions for six years. No one should molest nor trouble the aforesaid for quit-rents, *jihât* and *adîr mutawajjihât*.<sup>14</sup> On request it was further enjoined that the imperial seal has been affixed for evidence, and every year a new farmân or order shall not be thought necessary. Written at . . . . . in the castle 'Phoenix,' in the month Zî Qa'da, 933 (*began the 30th July, 1527*)."

On the back the following words are written:—

"Order of the chief wazîr of the cities of faithful mankind, Shaikh....."

Unfortunately the name of the Shaikh is not legible and his seal is also very indistinct.

## XXXVIII.—FURTHER PÂBHOSÂ INSCRIPTIONS.

BY G. BÜRLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In addition to the three larger inscriptions, published by Dr. Führer (*ante*, p. 240ff), the Pâbhosâ cave contains a number of small and difficult ones, regarding which I offer some remarks at the request of the Editor, though I am unable to give in every case certain and complete readings or satisfactory explanations. All of them are somewhat carelessly incised on the hermit's bed and seem to belong to a period, when the cave was no longer occupied by the original donee or donees. The characters show the types of the seventh or eighth century A.D. The language is incorrect Sanskrit, occasionally, it would seem mixed with Prakrit.

## No. I.

## TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. Śrī-Prayagam var[e ?]uttam(?)[p ?]odhaki(?)h

L. 2. Suttadhâr[a ?] akhamñdatah

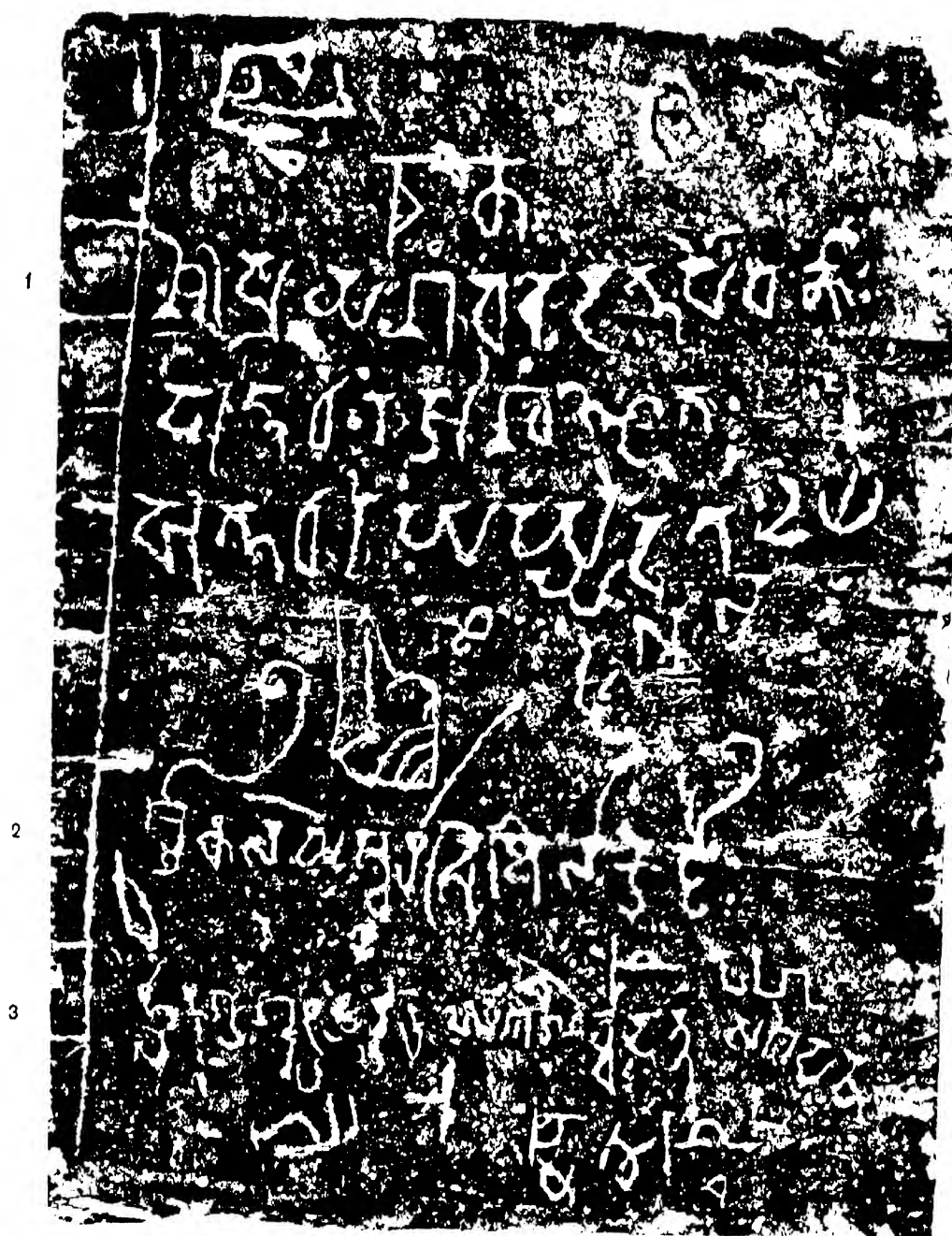
L. 3. Suttadhâr[a ?] yayyo ?[a ?] ubha ?,daya [|| \*]

Above l. 1 stands high up in the left hand corner a large sign, which may be intended for *jñā*, and lower above the middle of the line two letters, the second of which

<sup>14</sup> Otherwise *adîr jihât*.



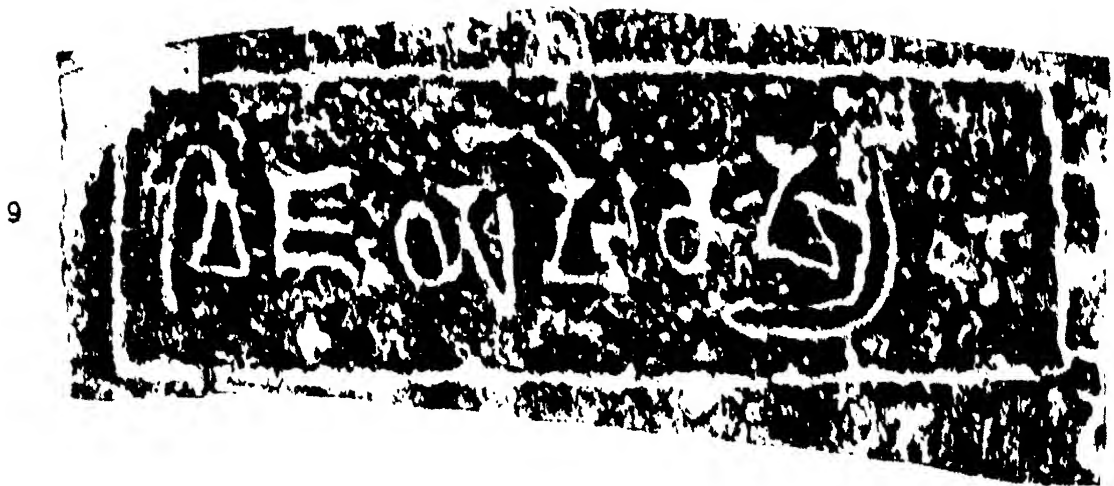
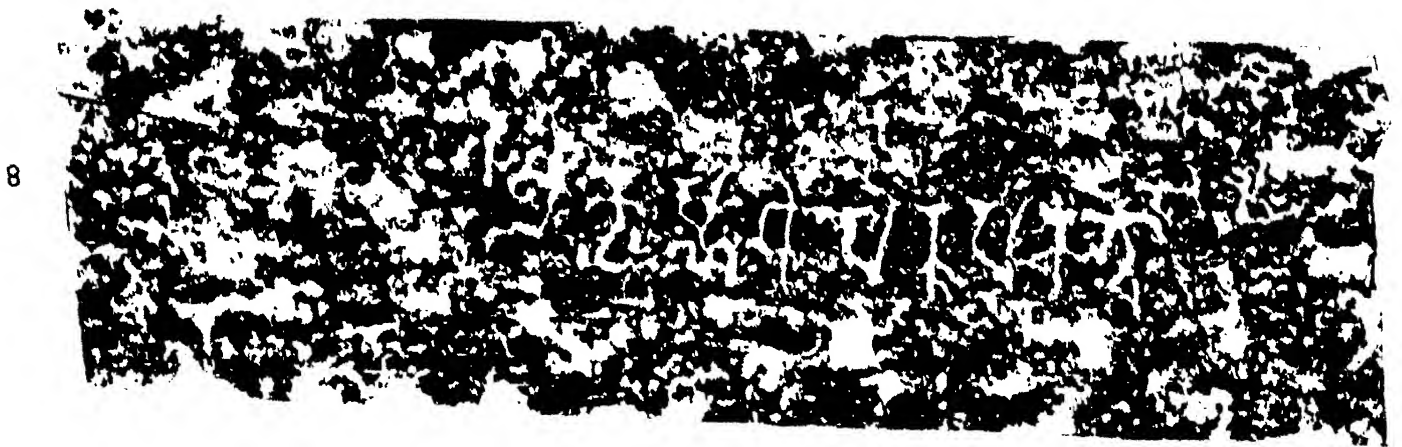
PABHOSA INSCRIPTIONS: ON THE HERMIT'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE.





# PAIHOSA INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE HERMIT'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE.



ON THE WEST WALL, INSIDE THE CAVE.



Scale :  $\frac{1}{4}$  of originals.



is *ka*. Below 1. 3 there is the representation of a conch-shell and to the right three rudely scratched illegible letters.

As regards the interpretation, the only certain facts are (1) the occurrence of the name of "glorious Pray[â\*]ga" and (2) the mention of two *suttadhāra* or masons. Possibly the whole may be intended for: *Śrī-Prayāg[ād Varaputtro Modhaki* [or *Podhaki*], *sūtradhāro' khaṇḍitaḥ sūtradhāro Yayya ubha[yoh\*] deyam* || or in English "From glorious Prayāga, the unblamed mason Modhakin (or Podhakin) son of Varā, (and) the mason Yayya (*Jajja*),—the gift of both these." If this is correct, the inscription probably records repairs of the cave, done by the two persons mentioned.

No. II.

TRANSCRIPT.

Śrī-Kalase[śe\*]śvarādiśi(?)lā kuṭṭi ||

The reading of the seventh and eighth consonants is uncertain; *kuṭṭi* is probably a mistake for *kuṭi*, the two dots, which I have taken for stops, may, of course, denote the *Visarga*, which however would be wrong. The translation is: "The *cella* (or temple) of glorious Kalaśeśvara and the rest." *Kalaśa* is the name of a *Nāga*, and the inscription probably refers to the legend, which makes the cave the home of an enormous *Nāga*, (see *ante*, p. 241).

No. III.

The only signs readable with any certainty are: *rvadatta* towards the end of the line.

No. IV.

[Nanda]dattaprasādo lolī . . . . .

No. V.

Deva . . . . .

No. VI.

TRANSCRIPT.

Om Ke[Ki\*]raṇe[śv]arit(?)ila(?)kedali(?)va . . . sya [||\*]

The inscription seems to refer to a deity called *Kiraṇeśvarī*, which seems to occur again in No. VII.

No. VII.

TRANSCRIPT.

Kiraṇe[śva]riśr[ī\*]ka[r\*]ttā [||\*]

If the restoration is correct, the translation will be, "The maker of (*the statue of*) glorious *Kiraṇeśvarī*" and the inscription may refer to one of the masons, mentioned in No. I, see also No. VIII.



## No. VIII.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Śrī-Kṛṣṇagopīrūpakarttā [॥]

The second *ta* of °*karttā* looks like *va*. The translation is, "The maker of the statues of glorious Kṛṣṇa and of the milkmaids." The inscription probably refers to one of the masons in No. I.

## Nos. IX AND X.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Vijayasenasyah[ya\*] ।

Kiraṇabhojak[a?]

These two pieces may belong together and may possibly mean, "Of Vijayasena, the temple-priest of Kiraṇa (i.e. *Kiraṇeśvarī*).<sup>1</sup>" If this interpretation is correct, the two notes may indicate that Vijayasena visited the cave when the two masons, named in No. I, repaired it. The contents of the whole series may perhaps be connected as follows :— "Some time in the seventh or eighth century the Pābhosā cave was gratuitously restored by two masons of Prayāga and dedicated by Vijayasena, the *Bhojaka* of Kiraṇeśvarī, to the *Nāga* Kalaśa and other deities." This would account for the existence of the legend mentioned by Dr. Führer, according to which the cave is inhabited by an enormous Nāga.

## XXXIX.—AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE BAIJNĀTH PRAŚASTIS.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

During the Christmas vacation of 1892 Dr. M. A. Stein, the energetic and learned Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, visited the Kāngrā district and spent some days at Kīrāgrāma, where he studied the Baijnāth *Praśastis* on the spot and made enquiries regarding various facts they mention. After a certain show of resistance the temple-priests became communicative, no doubt, as Dr. Stein thinks, because they wanted to learn what their inscribed tablets contained. And the results of his enquiries are so valuable for the interpretation of the inscriptions that I am sure I shall render a service to the readers of the *Epigraphia Indica* if I publish here a translation of the portion of his letter, which contains them. Writing from Lahore on February 6th, 1893, he says :—

"Navagrāma, mentioned in the inscription [I, 33] is probably identical with the village of Nāur,<sup>1</sup> where the temple still owns 2½ *halas* of land. Nāur lies about 3 miles west from Kīrāgrāma and belongs to the ancient pargana of Palam, which latter word I would identify with the name of the village of Pralamba, of which the inscription speaks [II, 31]. About thirty years ago, when the introduction of tea-planting induced many Europeans to settle in Kāngrā, Palam<sup>2</sup> was turned into Palampur.

<sup>1</sup> The Sanskrit prototype of Nāur would be *Navapura*, which probably was another name of *Navagrāma*.—[G. B.]

<sup>2</sup> The *Kāngrā Gazetteer* still mentions *Pālam*.



"In the bazar of Kîragrâma I was shown the spot where, so late as two generations ago, stood a shop, belonging to the temple and where the two pious Banians, whom the local traditions too know as the founders of the temple, are said to have lived. This is clearly the *panyasâlâ* mentioned in the *Prasasti* II, 34. Regarding the oil-mill which Manyuka and Âhuka dedicated I could not hear anything; and the god has long lost the income from the *manḍapikâ*. But there was formerly a custom-house on the frontier of the territory of Mandi which passes close to the village. On the rocky hill which rises near the village and is now occupied by the Dâk bangalow, the Râne family is said to have had a fort. I do not dare to decide if these *Rânes*, whose descendants are still Rajput zamîndârs in the parganâ of Baijnâth, are identical with the *Râjânakas* of Kîragrâma.<sup>3</sup>

"But in illustration of what you have said on p. 102, vol. I, of the *Epigraphia* regarding the intermarriage of this Rajput family of Kîragrâm with the Râjâs of Traigarta, I may mention that the Râjâ of Kapurthala quite lately married a girl from the house of a bitterly poor Rajput of the Gulherian Miân clan, who lives as zamîndâr not far from Baijnâth. Though the man is so poor that his daughter, the present Rânî, used to work for wages in the tea plantations, his countrymen have not yet pardoned him that he contracted the alliance with the Râjâ.

"Your proposed identification of Suśarmapura with Koṭ is fully confirmed by the local traditions.

"The temple [of Baijnâth] is well preserved, and in my opinion it has not undergone such very great alterations as the earlier describers state.<sup>4</sup> Thus, big statues of Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ, which clearly belong to the time of the inscription, are found on the gateway pillars of the *Purî*, exactly as Râma describes them in the *Prasasti*, I. 29, and his other detailed statements regarding the building fully agree with the actualities. Only the roof seems to me modern; according to the statements of the Purohitas it was renovated about one hundred years ago by Râjâ Samsârchand."<sup>5</sup>

## XL.—A NOTE ON THE PRÂKRIT GRANT OF THE PALLAVA KING ŚIVASKANDAVARMAN (VOLUME I, pp. 2—10).

BY ERNST LEUMANN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

Prâkrit inscriptions always present particular difficulties. Dr. Bühler, with his usual sagacity, has removed most of those connected with Śivaskandavarman's grant. Some others of the same inscription can only be mastered when further documents of a similar type turn up. A few, however, may perhaps be dealt with now. We have

<sup>3</sup> I consider the identity of the *Râne* family with the *Râjânakas* to be very probable. *Râjânaka* is also the parent of the title *Rând*.—[G. B.]

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. V., p. 179 f.

<sup>5</sup> I take this opportunity to note that Professor Kielhorn has published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, pp. 114 ff, certain emendations of my readings of the two *Prasastis* in accordance with rubbings made by Sir A. Cunningham. The following among Professor Kielhorn's proposals appear to me acceptable:—I. 6, *sureshu nâsthâm apareshu kurvatâm*; I. 29, *bhaktitruṭallobhamalena tena*; I. 37, *śâstradrishṭim anuṣṛitya*; II. 2, *sa pâtu vo Mahâdevo Brahmâdyâ bhaktim âsthitâh*; and II. 9, *Kṛitârthau*. In addition, I would mention that I now translate *astrijano* in I. 13a by "archers" instead of by "heroes," as *astri* is clearly the nominative of *astrin*; note 64 must be altered accordingly.



to correct the following passages in Dr. Bühler's transcript (on pages 5—7 of volume I):—

1. 1, Read *aggittthoma*. The irregular combination *tth* (for *tt*) is a mistake of the engraver which has crept in on account of the similarity of the signs for *th* and *tt*.

1. 3, Separate *visaye savattha*, i.e. *vishaye sarvatra* 'everywhere in our (*amham*) country.'

1. 4, Read *māḍabika* and restore it to *māḍambika*. This word, which means 'chief of a *maḍamba* district' is often found in the older Jain literature;<sup>1</sup> its base *maḍamba* occurs in the same texts and beside in some *Niryuktis* and *Bhāshyas*.

1. 5, Read *ārakhādhikate*, which stands for *ārakkhādhikate* and is equivalent with *ārakkhiya* 'guard' of the Jain literature; literally it means 'employed as a guard (*ārakshā'dhikṛita*). As to the sign *khā*, cf. lines 27 and 38.

1. 7, Read *e* instead of *cha* and cf. the sign for *e* in lines 27, 30, 34. The word *ettha* (*atra* 'here') opens of course a new phrase, and we need not follow Dr. Bühler in inserting a second verb; *vītarāma* is indeed the verb wanted and closes well the preceding phrase. The first verb (*āṇaveti*), however, is certainly well supplied by Dr. Bühler; only we think its place is not before *amham* (in l. 3), but after *ppayutte* (in l. 6). At any rate we are not to combine in irregular co-ordination the accusatives of lines 3—6 with the genitive *saṃcharan-taka-bhaḍa-manusāna*.

I would then translate the whole passage thus: . . . . . "Śivaskandavarman informs (*āṇaveti*) in our country everywhere the royal princes, generals, rulers of larger and smaller districts (*raṭṭhikas* and *māḍambikas*), local prefects and others, the freeholders of various villages, *vallavas*, *govallavas*, ministers, guards, captains<sup>2</sup> *tūthikas*, *neyikas* and all others employed in our service: We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) *saṃcharantakas*, soldiers or other persons.<sup>3</sup>

1. 11, Read *vasudhādhīpataye* (acc. pl. from *°pati*).

<sup>1</sup> e.g. in the *Aupapātika sūtra*, *Paryuṣaṇākālpa* ('*Kalpasūtra*'), etc.

<sup>2</sup> The corrected reading *ārakhādhikate* (in l. 5) makes it very probable that the word immediately following (*gumika*) is also a military term.

<sup>3</sup> In reply to Dr. Bühler's appended notes, I may remark that the persons favoured by the grant are undoubtedly "the Brahmans, who are the freeholders of the settlement (*koḍunka*) called Chillareka." The gift is therefore a *Brahmanaparihāra*, i.e. 'an immunity granted to Brahmans. Honorific allowance, as Dr. Bühler proposes, does not change the sense, but is less appropriate, *koḍunka* is apparently a contracted form of *koḍumbaka* (Sansk. *kaṭumbaka*): in the same way *naṇṇyoka* seems to me to stand for *naṇṇyogika*, which would be a synonym of the term *ābhīyogika* 'servant'—of the Jaina literature. The term *kumāra parihāra* similarly denotes an immunity presented to a prince; the Jātaka phrase adduced by Dr. Bühler means— "When, afterwards they noticed that he was a prince, they no longer gave him any work to do, but spared him, so to say, by a princely immunity."

The inscription, of course, mentions, also, the persons who are to respect the grant, i.e. who are not allowed in any way to trouble the above-named Brahmans (by levying taxes, etc.). So the two cognate Pallava plates clearly state: *Sarvāyuktakāḥ sarva-naṇṇyokāḥ rājavalabhāḥ saṃcharantakāḥ cha tat-sīmā sarva-parihāraiḥ pariharantu parihārayantā cha ayuttu sarva-parihāreḥ pariharantu parihārayan (tu cha)*, "The persons of the king's service and party must spare and cause to spare the territory (described before) by all the (eighteen) kinds of exemption. "In face of these parallel passages, the words—*saṃcharantaka-bhaḍamanusāna... parihāram vitarāma*, can only have the sense which I have given them, without pretending, however, that my translation reflects accurately the grammatical construction. This latter can only be made clear when the three syllables before *parihāram* are deciphered.

That *saṃcharantakas* are a nuisance to people, we learn, e.g. from the description of a model town given in the *Nemicharita*, I. 14 (on Hemachandra's *Bhāvabhāṇḍa*, v. 5): in that town no *saṃcharantakas* are allowed to stroll about (... *saṃcharantakīm tīrai na tattha bhamiṃ*...). Another Prakrit word of the Pallava Inscription (which however occurs also elsewhere) is *happa* 'father': this is found in *Daśavaikālikasūtra* vii, 18,—See *Zeitsch. d. Deut. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* vol. XLVI. pp. 628.



l. 45, Read *mejātāye*, i.e. *mejjātāye*. In Jaina Prākṛit *maryādā* becomes *mejjā*, the last two syllables being contracted. The Sanskrit sounds *arya* in Prākṛit generally are changed to *era*, sometimes to *ejja* or *ariya* or *ajja*.

l. 46, Separate *cha si*. The word *si* refers to *mejātāye*, and therefore represents a singular case like *tasyāḥ*; it is indeed a short form for the anaphoric pronoun *se* that is often met with in the *Niryuktis* and *Bhāshyas* of the Jain literature. The function and origin of *se* has been well discussed by Professor Wackernagel in the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* (vol. XXIV, p. 600). Though *se* and *si* refer to *all genders and numbers* we find occasionally in the *Niryuktis* and *Bhāshyas* a special plural form *sim* which, by the addition of the Anusvāra, has been formed after the fashion of plural genitives like *tesim* (*teshām*), etc.

What remains to be said is of less importance; we are probably to read *vāḍaka* for *vāṭaka* (in lines 12 and 30); misprints are apparently *hiroga* for *hirogo* (10), *pati-bhāgo* for *patibhāgo* (12), *patibhāgo* for *pattibh-* (21), *ṭṭivas°* for *ṭṭivās°* (36), *pilā* for *pīlā* (40), *dattā* for *datā* (48), *kada* for *kaḍa* (51), *brāhmaṇa* for *brahmana*, and *lekhaka* for *lekhaka* (52).

#### SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE GRANT OF ŚIVASKANDA- VARMAN. (VOLUME I, pp. 2—10.)

The corrections of my reading and rendering of Śivaskandavarman's grant, which Professor E. Leumann has proposed above, make, I think, a few further remarks from me desirable.

(Line 1.) Professor Leumann's statement that the plates have *aggiṭṭhoma*, not *aggiṭthoma*, is correct. I should say that the nonsensical form has been caused by a confusion between the two possible forms with *ṭṭha* and *ttha*. Both in literary and in epigraphic Pali, Sanskrit *śṭha* or *śṭha* is represented occasionally by the dental *tenuis* and the *tenuis aspirata*. Thus, we have in literary works for *krośṭṭi* 'a jackal,' both *koṭṭhuka* and *kotthuka*, or even *kutthu*, as well as forms in *ttha* for various past participles in *śṭha*. And the Sanchi votive inscriptions offer *sethi* and *seṭhi* for *śreśṭhin*; Aśoka's New Edicts both *vivutha* and *vyuṭha* for *vyuśṭha*. In such words the Pali *ttha* probably goes back to originals with *sta*, similar to those in the Shāhbāzgarhī version of the Rock Edicts, where we find *sresta* for *śreśṭha*, *dipista* (3rd pers. sing. aor. Âtm.) equivalent to a Sanskrit form *adipishṭa*.

(L. 3.) Professor Leumann is right in separating *visaye savattha*, but the correction has already been given by me in the Addenda and Corrigenda to vol. I, p. 479.

(L. 4.) The plates have not *māḍabika*, as Professor Leumann asserts. The last sign is mutilated, the crossbar of the *ka* on the right having been omitted by mistake. The sign, which has thus come out, can only be read *nu*. Professor Leumann's restoration *māḍambika* "governors of Maḍambas," instead of *māṇḍabika* "custom-house officers," is possible, though, owing to the rarity of the word *maḍamba* (except in Jaina works), somewhat doubtful. I add an explanation of the term *maḍamba*, which Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished to me from the Jaina commentaries: *maḍambāni sarvato'rdha yojanāt parato'vasthitagrāmāṇi*.



(Ll. 5-7.) Professor Leumann's readings *ārakhādhikate* and *ettha* for my *āraṇadhikate* and *chattha* are certainly correct. His translation of lines 6-7, "We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) *Samcharantakas* (soldiers) and other persons" cannot stand, for *°bhaḍamaṇusāṇa* is separated from *parihāraṃ* by a not now readable word ending in *o*, and in all probability the two expressions do not belong together. Even supposing that *saṃcharamtakabhaḍamaṇusāṇa parihāraṃ vitarāma* had to be taken together, the meaning could only be, "We grant an exemption to *Samcharantakas*, etc.,"<sup>3</sup> it is against the custom observed in the grants to name first an exemption and afterwards the object granted. I must add that my translation of *parihāra* by "an immunity" ought to be changed to 'a honorific grant.' Of late I have found in the *Jātakas* several passages where *parihāra* has a concrete meaning and is used for "appanage, honorific allowance, special grant." In several stories it is narrated how queens receive or are deprived of their *parihāra*, and there is the compound *kumāra-parihāra* "an allowance suitable for a prince."

(L. 40.) The correct reading is *pilā* (not *pīlā*, as Professor Leumann says), the short *i* being expressed, as is done very often, by a complete circle.

(L. 45.) *Majātāye* is the reading of the plates, not, as Professor Leumann holds, *mejātāye*. The little stroke above the *ma* has been caused by a slip of the engraver's punch. A real *me* looks very different (see lines 1, 29, 41).

(L. 46.) As *sim* is permissible for *tesim*, *etesim* and *esim*, according to Hemachandra *Prākṛita Vyākaraṇa* III, 81, and occurs, as Professor Leumann says, in Jaina works, I agree with him that its equivalent *si* in *cha si* should be written separate. *Si* refers, however, not, as Professor Leumann thinks, to *majātāye*, but to the grantees. Compare the corresponding passages in the Sanskrit grants, e.g. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V. p. 196, l. 6; p. 207, l. 9; p. 212, l. 23; vol. XI, p. 113, l. 43; p. 159, l. 50.



## TABLES FOR CALCULATING HINDU DATES IN TRUE LOCAL TIME.

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In my paper on the computation of Hindu dates, etc. (vol. I, page 403 ff.), I have given rules for calculating, according to the curiously inaccurate Hindu method, the corrections which must be applied to a date, computed for mean sunrise, in order to obtain the same for true sunrise at any given place in India. As this calculation is rather tiresome, I have computed the following tables, which will make the process easy without detracting from the accuracy of the results. As the problem, to solve which these tables serve, is somewhat complicated, a few remarks on the theory of true and mean time may not be amiss.

1. Suppose the sun to move with an equal motion on the equator (instead of on the ecliptic); then this equatorial sun will exactly regulate mean time. His rising will occur at 6 o'clock for every place on the earth the whole year round, marking the mean beginning of day. The interval between his risings at two distant places will be the time-difference between these places (*see* vol. I, Table XXV).

2. Now assume a second sun to move with the same equable motion on the ecliptic. This supposed sun is meant when the "mean sun" is spoken of. It is obvious that this mean sun and the first will not rise at the same time, except when they coincide at the two points of intersection of the equinoctial and the ecliptic. At every other time the second will, in places in north latitude, rise earlier than the first, when he is in the northern half of the ecliptic; and later, when he is in the southern half. Table XXVII, A-F, gives the interval in *ghaṭikās* and *vināḍīs* between the risings of both supposed suns,<sup>1</sup> for every degree of the ecliptic as entered in the vertical index to the left and right of each table, and for all degrees of north latitude from 10°—35° as entered in the horizontal index at the top of each table. At the intersection of the horizontal and vertical columns is given the interval of rising for the tropical longitude of the mean sun and for the terrestrial latitude in question; *e.g.*, in Table XXVII-B, we find that for 44° trop. Long. ☉ and 20° terr. Lat. the difference in rising is 1gh. 22v. If the trop. Long. ☉ is entered in the index to the *left*, the ecliptical mean sun rises before the mean beginning of the day; if on the index to the *right*, it rises after the mean beginning of the day.

3. We thus find the time of rising of the *mean* sun (moving on the ecliptic), but what is really wanted is the time of rising of the *true* sun. The true sun only twice in the year coincides with the mean sun; at every other time he either precedes or lags behind the mean sun. Their difference in longitude is the equation of the sun's centre, the amount of which in degrees, minutes, and seconds is furnished by Table XXIV-B. If the equation has the sign —, the true longitude of the sun is greater than his mean one, and consequently the true sun rises *later* than the mean one; if the equation in Table XXIV has the sign +, the true sun rises *before* the mean one; always by the time corresponding to the sun's equation of the centre. In order to compute the equivalent in time for the sun's equation of the centre, we must know how much time is occupied in rising by one degree of the ecliptic at the place where the sun is at the moment in question in a given latitude. The amount in *vināḍīs* is furnished by the entries immediately below the degrees of terrestrial latitude in Table XXVII. Though continually changing, it is considered by Hindu astronomers to be constant throughout each single

<sup>1</sup> Or between the risings of a point on the equator and one on the ecliptic, which have the same distances from the equinox.



sign, and equal to the mean.<sup>3</sup> As the different parts of Table XXVII represent the tropical signs, one entry serves for the whole part. Thus we find in Part B that on the 20th parallel one degree of the ecliptic (between 80° and 60° trop. Long.) takes up 8.79 *vinādīs* in rising. Knowing the time taken up in rising by one degree, we can easily calculate the time corresponding to any given value of the equation of the sun's centre.

4. Table XXVII refers to tropical longitude, while the other tables yield sidereal longitude. The former is found by adding to the latter the *ayanāṁśas* (or amount of the precession of the equinox) for the year in question.

The rule for calculating the *ayanāṁśas* is given in section 39 of the former paper (page 421); to find them without calculation is the object of Tables XXVIII and XXIX, e.g., we find by Table XXVIII that in K. Y. 4683 the *ayanāṁśas* were—

$$\begin{aligned} 16^\circ 14' 42'', \text{ viz. K.Y. 4600} &= 15^\circ 0' 6'' \\ 80 \text{ years} &= 1^\circ 12' 0'' \\ 3 \text{ ,,} &= 0^\circ 2' 42'' \\ \text{Ayanāṁśa} &= 16^\circ 14' 42'' \end{aligned}$$

Table XXIX serves for the *Brahma Siddhānta* and *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, Table XXVIII, for the other *Siddhāntas*.

5. I shall now illustrate by examples the working of these tables in connection with the Special Tables; for when such accuracy is wanted, that the difference between mean and true time comes into consideration, the calculation must be made by means of the Special Tables.<sup>3</sup>

*1st Example.*—Let it be proposed to calculate the true *Tilthi* for true sunrise on the 7th (solar) Jyāishṭha K.Y. 4128 at Aligarh, whose latitude is 27° 53' (or roundly 28°) and time difference + 14 vin. We use for this and the following examples the tables for the *Sūrya Siddhānta*:—

(a) We calculate the elements: Distance  $\alpha - \odot$  etc., for the year and day in question, viz.—

|                  | Dist. $\alpha - \odot$ | $\alpha$ 's An. | $\odot$ 's An. | Corr.          |
|------------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 4100 years . . . | 69° 43' 0"             | 217° 8' 30"     | 282° 44' 16"   | + 20 gh. 54 v. |
| 28 ,, . . .      | 117° 47' 3"            | 58° 38' 37"     | ... ..         | — 14 gh. 43 v. |
| 7th Jyai. . .    | 66° 40' 34"            | 97° 16' 26"     | 34° 29' 46"    |                |
|                  | 254° 15' 37"           | 13° 3' 33"      | 317° 13' 52"   | + 6 gh. 11 v.  |

(b) Add the time difference, with the sign changed, for the place in question, to the Corr. (+ 6 gh. 11 v. — 14 v. = + 5 gh. 57 v.) and find by Table XXII the corresponding increase of the elements, distance, etc.—

|             |   |              |              |          |
|-------------|---|--------------|--------------|----------|
| 5 gh.       | = | 1° 0' 57"    | 1° 5' 19"    | 4' 56"   |
| 57 v.       | = | 11' 35"      | 12' 25"      | 56"      |
| 5 gh. 57 v. | = | + 1° 12' 32" | + 1° 17' 44" | + 5' 52" |

(c) Add (or subtract, according to the sign) the increase from the first result.—

|              |             |              |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 254° 15' 37" | 13° 3' 33"  | 317° 13' 52" |
| + 1° 12' 32" | 1° 17' 44"  | 5' 52"       |
| 255° 28' 9"  | 14° 21' 17" | 317° 19' 44" |

(d) Find the equations for the anomalies of the moon and sun by Table XXIV—

|              |          |    |              |              |              |
|--------------|----------|----|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| An. $\alpha$ | 14° 21'  | .. | Eq. $\alpha$ | =            | — 1° 15' 32" |
| An. $\odot$  | 317° 20' | .. | Eq. $\odot$  | =            | — 1° 29' 12" |
| Sum of eq's  |          |    | =            | — 2° 44' 44" |              |

<sup>3</sup> The same inaccuracy pervades all Hindu calculations of true sunrise, and makes all figures in Table XXVI wrong when compared with the true values. However, we do not require the latter, but those which the Hindus assume in their calculations.

<sup>3</sup> I shall indicate below §7, how these tables may be used in connection with the general tables for an estimate of the difference between mean and true local time.



(e) Add the sum of equations to the distance; the result is the true distance at mean sunrise for the place in question, *viz.*  $255^{\circ} 28' 9'' - 2^{\circ} 44' 44'' = 252^{\circ} 43' 25''$ .

(f) Find the sidereal longitude of the sun by subtracting from the above the  $\odot$ 's an., the same for beginning of the century. (Table XIII.)

$$\begin{array}{r} 317^{\circ} 19' 44'' \\ - 282^{\circ} 44' 16'' \\ \hline \text{Sid. Long. } \odot = 34^{\circ} 35' 28'' \end{array}$$

(g) Find the *ayanāmsas* for the year in question, by Table XXVIII—

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{K.Y. 4100} = 7^{\circ} 30' 0'' \\ 28 \text{ years} = 25' 12'' \\ \hline \text{K.Y. 4128} = 7^{\circ} 55' 12'' \end{array}$$

(h) Add the *ayanāmsas* thus found to the sidereal longitude of the sun, the result is the tropical longitude of the sun.—

$$\begin{array}{r} 34^{\circ} 35' 28'' \\ 7^{\circ} 55' 12'' \\ \hline \text{Trop. Long. } \odot = 42^{\circ} 30' 40'' \end{array}$$

(i) Look out in Table XXVII the “interval of rising” of the degree of trop. Long.  $\odot$  now found for the latitude of the given place.

If the left-hand index (0 — 180) is used, the amount is subtractive; if the index to the right ( $180^{\circ} - 360^{\circ}$ ) the amount is additive.

In this case we get, for trop. Long.  $42^{\circ}$  on the 28th parallel, — 1gh. 46v.

(k) Take, from the same part of the Table just used, the time required by one degree in rising, as given there immediately below the degree of latitude in question, and calculate the equivalent in time for the sun's equation. If the equation has the sign +, the amount is subtractive; if —, it is additive.

In the present case:  $1^{\circ}$  takes up 8.24 *vinādīs*, consequently  $1^{\circ} 29'$  will take up 12v. The equation being negative, the amount is additive. We put it down as + 12v.

(l) Add (or subtract according to the sign) the *vinādīs* in (k) to the result in (i); find the increase of Dist.  $\odot - \odot$  for the sum, in Table XXII; add the increase (or subtract according to the sign of the sum) to the true Dist.  $\odot - \odot$  (found in e). The result is the true Dist.  $\odot - \odot$  for true sunrise at the place in question. Here — 1gh. 46v. + 12v. = — 1gh. 34v.

$$\begin{array}{r} 1gh. = 12' 11'' \\ 34v. = 6' 54'' \\ \hline - 1gh. 34v. = -19' 5'' \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{This, added to the result in (e), } viz., 252^{\circ} 43' 25'' \\ \text{makes } 252^{\circ} 24' 20''. \end{array}$$

(m) This result is not quite correct, because we have made use of the mean increase (or decrease) of Dist.  $\odot - \odot$  instead of the true, as the Hindus do. However, we may rest satisfied with this approximation when the true distance comes out larger or smaller, by 4 minutes or more, than an entire number of degrees marking the end of a *Tithi*. This is the case in the present example:  $252^{\circ}$  mark the end of the 21st *tithi* or the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight; but as we found the true distance to be  $252^{\circ} 24' 20''$ , which is more than 4' above the end of the *Tithi*, *viz.*  $252^{\circ}$ , the final result is not affected by the slightly incorrect calculation.

In rare cases where the strictest accuracy is required, proceed as follows:—

Add the increase (or decrease) of the distance, etc., for the sum found in (l) to the



result in (e); again, find the equations of  $\epsilon$  and  $\odot$ , as in (d), and add their sum to the distance, as in (e). The result is the true distance. In this case — 1gh. 84v. :—

|                               | Dist. $\epsilon - \odot$ | $\epsilon$ 's An. | $\odot$ 's An. |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1 gh. . . . .                 | 0° 12' 11"               | 0° 18' 4"         | 0' 59"         |
| 34 v. . . . .                 | 6 54                     | 7 24              | 34             |
| — 1 gh. 34 v. . . . .         | 19 5                     | 20 28             | + 1 33         |
| subtracted from . . . . .     | 255 28 9                 | 14 21 17          | 317 19 44      |
| makes . . . . .               | 255 9' 4"                | 14 0' 49"         | 317 18' 11"    |
| An. $\epsilon$ 14° 1' eq. = — | 1° 13' 49"               |                   |                |
| An. $\odot$ 317° 18' eq. = —  | 1 30 8                   |                   |                |
| Sum of eq's. = —              | 2 43 57                  |                   |                |
| Dist. $\epsilon - \odot$ +    | 255 9 4                  |                   |                |
| True dist.                    | 252° 25' 7"              |                   |                |

This then is the strictly accurate *true* distance  $\epsilon - \odot$ . The error in the preceding method was — 47".

It may be borne in mind, however, that it is a waste of time to attempt this degree of accuracy, unless we know the *Hindu* value of the latitude and longitude of the place for which the date is to be calculated. This uncertainty is enhanced when we have to deal with dates in inscriptions; for we never know for what place the almanac was calculated, from which the date recorded in the inscription was taken, though in most cases we shall probably be right in assuming that the almanac referred to the capital of the kingdom.

The following examples will be understood without further comment. I use the same letters as in the first example to indicate the operations to be gone through :—

Ex. 2.—K. Y. 4128, 4th Bhādrapada; place: Ratnagiri, 17° Lat. and time difference —34 vin.

|                          | $\epsilon - \odot$ | $\epsilon$ 's An. | $\odot$ 's An. | Cor.                              | An. |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|-----|
| (a) 4100 years . . . . . | 69° 48' 0"         | 217° 8' 80'       | 282° 44' 16"   | + 20 gh. 54 v.                    |     |
| 28 " . . . . .           | 117 47 3           | 58 88 37          | ...            | — 14 43                           |     |
| 4th Bhādra . . . . .     | 96 2 4             | 216 11 10         | 124 11 9       | + 6 11                            |     |
|                          | 283 37 7           | 131 58 17         | 46 55 25       | (b) + 34                          |     |
|                          |                    |                   |                | + 6 45                            |     |
| (c) + 6 gh. . . . .      | 1 13 9             | 1 18 23           | 5 55           |                                   |     |
| 45 v. . . . .            | 9 9                | 9 48              | 44             | (d) eq. $\epsilon$ = — 3° 43' 44" |     |
|                          | 284 59 25          | 133 26 28         | 47 2 4         | eq. $\odot$ = + 1 36 5            |     |
| (e) . . . . .            | — 2 7 39           |                   |                | Sum = — 2 7 39                    |     |
|                          | 282 51 46          |                   |                |                                   |     |

(f) 407° 2' 4" (an.  $\odot$  + 360°). (g) 4128 K. Y., *ayandmśa* as above 7° 55' 12"

—282 44 16

124 17 48 (sid. Long.  $\odot$ )

(h) + 7 55 12

132 13 . (trop. Long.  $\odot$ )

(i) trop. Long.  $\odot$  = 132°, on 17° Lat., Interval . = — 32 vin.

(k) Eq.  $\odot$  = + 1° 36' (1° = 10·97 vin.), time of rising . = — 18 vin.

(l) 282° 51' 46"

Sum = — 50 vin. = — 10' 9".....(l)

— 10 9

282 41 37 . Result.

Ex. 3.—K. Y. 4825, 4th Mārgasīra. Srinagar, Lat. 34° 6', time difference — 8 vin.

|                          |             |             |              |              |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| (a) 4300 years . . . . . | 345° 24' 0" | 276° 1' 30" | 282° 43' 58" | —24 gh. 10v. |
| 25 " . . . . .           | 79 27 0     | 142 21 38   | ...          | —28 8        |
| 4th Mārg. . . . .        | 137 35 2    | 338 9 48    | 214 51 41    |              |
|                          | 202 26 2    | 296 32 56   | 137 35 34    | —52 18       |
|                          |             |             |              | (b) + 8      |
|                          |             |             |              | —52 10       |



|   |             |             |  |                          |
|---|-------------|-------------|--|--------------------------|
| (c) 52 gh. . =  | 10° 33' 55" | 11° 19' 23" | 0° 51' 15"                                 |                          |
| 10 v. . =   | 2 2         | 2 11        | 10   |                          |
| 52 gh. 10 v. =  | —10 35 57   | —11 21 34   | —51 25                                     | (d) eq. ☉ = + 4° 55' 16" |
|   | 202 26 2    | 296 32 56   | 137 35 34                                  | eq. ☉ = + 1 31 7         |
| makes .   | 191 50 5    | 285 11 22   | 136 44 9                                   | Sum = + 6° 26' 23"       |
| Sum of eq. . +  | 6 26 23     |             |  |                          |
| (e)   | 198 16 28   |             |  |                          |
| (f) 496° 44' 9" (an. ☉ + 360°)                                  |             |             | (g) 4300 <i>ayanāṁśa</i> . = 10° 30' 0"    |                          |
| — 282 43 53   |             |             | 25 years . = 22 30                         |                          |
| 214 0 16 (sid. Long. ☉)   |             |             | 4325 K. Y. <i>ayanāṁśa</i> . = 10° 52' 30" |                          |
| (h) + 10 52 30  |             |             |  |                          |
| 224 52 46 (trop. Long. ☉)                                       |             |             |  |                          |
| (i) trop. Long. ☉ = 225° on 34° Lat. Interval . = + 1 gh. 32 v. |             |             |  |                          |
| (k) Eq. „ ☉ = + 1° 31' (1° = 12. 18), time of rising = — 18     |             |             |  |                          |
|   |             |             | Sum = + 1 gh. 14 v.                        |                          |
| (l) 1 gh. . . = 12' 11"   |             |             |  |                          |
| 14 v. . . = 2 51  |             |             |  |                          |
| + 1 gh. 14 v. . . = 15 2 (added to c)                           |             |             |  |                          |
|   | 198 16 28   |             |  |                          |
| makes . . . 198° 31' 30" Result.                                |             |             |  |                          |

6. In §62 of my former paper I have said: "In the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi Golādhyāya*" IV, 20, Bhāskara states that the ancient astronomers 'assumed that at Lankā (or on the Equator) the zodiacal signs rise in the same time with 30 degrees of the equinoctial, while in fact they do not. The tables give the interval according to Bhāskara's theory. If the value without Bhāskara's correction is wanted, it may be elicited from the tables. For that purpose the column 0° has been added; in it are given what Bhāskara calls the *udayāntara*. They must be added to, or subtracted from (according to the sign), the value in the table. Under this supposition, we shall get in (i) of the first example above 1gh. 24v. instead of 1gh. 46v., and in (k.) we find 8·27 *vin.* instead of 8·23 as the time taken up in rising 1 degree; the latter correction does not, in this case, sensibly affect the final result, while the former will.

In calculating dates anterior to Bhāskara (K. Y. 4251) the value of the "interval" given in the table should be corrected in the way just explained.

7. The present tables may be used roughly to estimate the difference between mean Indian and true local time, as in the following example.

In §24 of my first paper we found that in K. Y. 4682 the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha ended 46 ghaṭikas after mean sunrise in Lankā on the 18th Vaiśākha of the Tables. What is the corresponding local time at Purniya (26° N. Lat. and + 1gh. 58 *vin.* time difference) ?

First add the time difference to the given Lankā time: 46gh. + 1gh. 58v. = 47gh. 58 *vin.* Then look out in Table VIII the sidereal Long. ☉ on the 18th Vaiśākha: 16° 40'; add the *ayanāṁśa* for K.Y. 4682, *viz.* 16° 15'; the sum is the trop. Long. ☉, 16° 40' + 16° 15' = 32° 55' (or nearly 33°). Now look out in Table XXVII, Part B, the interval between the mean beginning of the day and sunrise on the 26th parallel and for trop. Long. ☉ = 33'; *viz.* 1gh. 25v. The left hand index being used, the true sun rises before the mean beginning of the day; accordingly we must add the interval to mean time. 47gh. 58v. + 1gh. 25v. = 49 gh. 23 v. This is the required true local time for the end of the 11th tithi in Purniya.

\* Our text of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* III, 43, 44, is in accordance with Bhāskara's theory, and must therefore be later. From the error in the position of the Moon's node relative to that of the Sun, I am persuaded that the present text of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* was fixed not before the 13th century A.D. The *bīja* is a still later addition



TABLE XXVII. (PART A.—*Trop. Long.*  $\odot = 0^{\circ} - 29^{\circ}$ ,  $360^{\circ} - 331^{\circ}$ .)

| Lat.        | 10°           | 11°           | 12°           | 13°           | 14°           | 15°           | 16°           | 17°           | 18°           | 19°           | 20°           | 21°           | 22°           | 23°           |       |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------|
| <i>Fin.</i> | 8-58          | 8-51          | 8-43          | 8-37          | 8-29          | 8-21          | 8-15          | 8-07          | 7-99          | 7-92          | 7-84          | 7-76          | 7-68          | 7-60          |       |
| Long.       | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | Long. |
| 0°          | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 360°  |
| 1           | 0 1           | 0 1           | 0 2           | 0 2           | 0 2           | 0 2           | 0 2           | 0 2           | 0 2           | 0 2           | 0 2           | 0 2           | 0 2           | 0 2           | 359   |
| 2           | 0 3           | 0 3           | 0 3           | 0 3           | 0 3           | 0 4           | 0 4           | 0 4           | 0 4           | 0 4           | 0 4           | 0 4           | 0 5           | 0 5           | 358   |
| 3           | 0 4           | 0 4           | 0 5           | 0 5           | 0 5           | 0 5           | 0 6           | 0 6           | 0 6           | 0 6           | 0 7           | 0 7           | 0 7           | 0 7           | 357   |
| 4           | 0 6           | 0 6           | 0 6           | 0 7           | 0 7           | 0 7           | 0 7           | 0 8           | 0 8           | 0 8           | 0 9           | 0 9           | 0 9           | 0 10          | 356   |
| 5           | 0 7           | 0 7           | 0 8           | 0 8           | 0 9           | 0 9           | 0 9           | 0 10          | 0 10          | 0 10          | 0 11          | 0 11          | 0 12          | 0 12          | 355   |
| 6           | 0 9           | 0 9           | 0 9           | 0 10          | 0 10          | 0 11          | 0 11          | 0 12          | 0 12          | 0 12          | 0 13          | 0 13          | 0 14          | 0 14          | 354   |
| 7           | 0 10          | 0 10          | 0 11          | 0 11          | 0 12          | 0 13          | 0 13          | 0 14          | 0 14          | 0 14          | 0 15          | 0 16          | 0 16          | 0 17          | 353   |
| 8           | 0 11          | 0 12          | 0 13          | 0 13          | 0 14          | 0 14          | 0 15          | 0 15          | 0 16          | 0 17          | 0 17          | 0 18          | 0 19          | 0 19          | 352   |
| 9           | 0 13          | 0 13          | 0 14          | 0 15          | 0 15          | 0 16          | 0 17          | 0 17          | 0 18          | 0 19          | 0 19          | 0 20          | 0 21          | 0 22          | 351   |
| 10          | 0 14          | 0 15          | 0 16          | 0 16          | 0 17          | 0 18          | 0 19          | 0 19          | 0 20          | 0 21          | 0 21          | 0 22          | 0 23          | 0 24          | 350   |
| 11          | 0 16          | 0 16          | 0 17          | 0 18          | 0 19          | 0 20          | 0 20          | 0 21          | 0 22          | 0 23          | 0 24          | 0 25          | 0 26          | 0 26          | 349   |
| 12          | 0 17          | 0 18          | 0 19          | 0 20          | 0 21          | 0 21          | 0 22          | 0 23          | 0 24          | 0 25          | 0 26          | 0 27          | 0 28          | 0 29          | 348   |
| 13          | 0 18          | 0 19          | 0 20          | 0 21          | 0 22          | 0 23          | 0 24          | 0 25          | 0 26          | 0 27          | 0 28          | 0 29          | 0 30          | 0 31          | 347   |
| 14          | 0 20          | 0 21          | 0 22          | 0 23          | 0 24          | 0 25          | 0 26          | 0 27          | 0 28          | 0 29          | 0 30          | 0 31          | 0 32          | 0 34          | 346   |
| 15          | 0 21          | 0 22          | 0 24          | 0 24          | 0 26          | 0 27          | 0 29          | 0 29          | 0 30          | 0 31          | 0 32          | 0 34          | 0 35          | 0 36          | 345   |
| 16          | 0 23          | 0 24          | 0 25          | 0 26          | 0 27          | 0 29          | 0 30          | 0 31          | 0 32          | 0 33          | 0 35          | 0 36          | 0 37          | 0 38          | 344   |
| 17          | 0 24          | 0 25          | 0 27          | 0 28          | 0 29          | 0 30          | 0 31          | 0 33          | 0 34          | 0 35          | 0 37          | 0 38          | 0 39          | 0 41          | 343   |
| 18          | 0 26          | 0 27          | 0 28          | 0 29          | 0 31          | 0 32          | 0 33          | 0 35          | 0 36          | 0 37          | 0 39          | 0 40          | 0 42          | 0 43          | 342   |
| 19          | 0 27          | 0 28          | 0 30          | 0 31          | 0 32          | 0 34          | 0 35          | 0 37          | 0 38          | 0 39          | 0 41          | 0 43          | 0 44          | 0 46          | 341   |
| 20          | 0 28          | 0 30          | 0 31          | 0 33          | 0 34          | 0 36          | 0 37          | 0 39          | 0 40          | 0 41          | 0 43          | 0 45          | 0 46          | 0 48          | 340   |
| 21          | 0 30          | 0 31          | 0 33          | 0 34          | 0 36          | 0 38          | 0 39          | 0 41          | 0 42          | 0 43          | 0 45          | 0 47          | 0 49          | 0 50          | 339   |
| 22          | 0 31          | 0 33          | 0 35          | 0 36          | 0 38          | 0 39          | 0 41          | 0 42          | 0 44          | 0 46          | 0 48          | 0 49          | 0 51          | 0 53          | 338   |
| 23          | 0 33          | 0 34          | 0 36          | 0 37          | 0 39          | 0 41          | 0 43          | 0 44          | 0 46          | 0 48          | 0 50          | 0 52          | 0 53          | 0 55          | 337   |
| 24          | 0 34          | 0 36          | 0 38          | 0 39          | 0 41          | 0 43          | 0 44          | 0 46          | 0 48          | 0 50          | 0 52          | 0 54          | 0 56          | 0 58          | 336   |
| 25          | 0 35          | 0 37          | 0 39          | 0 41          | 0 43          | 0 45          | 0 46          | 0 48          | 0 50          | 0 52          | 0 54          | 0 56          | 0 58          | 1 0           | 335   |
| 26          | 0 37          | 0 39          | 0 41          | 0 42          | 0 44          | 0 47          | 0 48          | 0 50          | 0 52          | 0 54          | 0 56          | 0 58          | 1 0           | 1 2           | 334   |
| 27          | 0 38          | 0 40          | 0 42          | 0 44          | 0 46          | 0 48          | 0 50          | 0 52          | 0 54          | 0 56          | 0 58          | 1 0           | 1 3           | 1 5           | 333   |
| 28          | 0 40          | 0 42          | 0 44          | 0 46          | 0 48          | 0 50          | 0 52          | 0 54          | 0 56          | 0 58          | 1 0           | 1 3           | 1 5           | 1 7           | 332   |
| 29          | 0 41          | 0 43          | 0 46          | 0 47          | 0 50          | 0 52          | 0 54          | 0 56          | 0 58          | 1 0           | 1 3           | 1 5           | 1 7           | 1 10          | 331   |

## PART A,—continued.

| Lat.        | 24°           | 25°           | 26°           | 27°           | 28°           | 29°           | 30°           | 31°           | 32°           | 33°           | 34°           | 35°           | 0             |       |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------|
| <i>Fin.</i> | 7-52          | 7-49          | 7-34          | 7-26          | 7-17          | 7-08          | 6-98          | 6-89          | 6-80          | 6-69          | 6-59          | 6-49          | +0-72         |       |
| Long.       | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | Long. |
| 0°          | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 0 0           | 360°  |
| 1           | 0 2           | 0 3           | 0 3           | 0 3           | 0 3           | 0 3           | 0 3           | 0 3           | 0 3           | 0 3           | 0 3           | 0 4           | 0 1           | 359   |
| 2           | 0 5           | 0 5           | 0 5           | 0 5           | 0 6           | 0 6           | 0 6           | 0 6           | 0 6           | 0 7           | 0 7           | 0 7           | 0 1           | 358   |
| 3           | 0 7           | 0 8           | 0 8           | 0 8           | 0 8           | 0 9           | 0 9           | 0 9           | 0 10          | 0 10          | 0 10          | 0 11          | 0 2           | 357   |
| 4           | 0 10          | 0 10          | 0 11          | 0 11          | 0 11          | 0 12          | 0 12          | 0 12          | 0 13          | 0 13          | 0 14          | 0 14          | 0 3           | 356   |
| 5           | 0 12          | 0 13          | 0 13          | 0 14          | 0 14          | 0 15          | 0 15          | 0 16          | 0 16          | 0 17          | 0 17          | 0 18          | 0 4           | 355   |
| 6           | 0 15          | 0 15          | 0 16          | 0 16          | 0 17          | 0 18          | 0 18          | 0 19          | 0 19          | 0 20          | 0 20          | 0 21          | 0 4           | 354   |
| 7           | 0 17          | 0 18          | 0 19          | 0 19          | 0 20          | 0 20          | 0 21          | 0 22          | 0 22          | 0 23          | 0 24          | 0 25          | 0 5           | 353   |
| 8           | 0 20          | 0 21          | 0 21          | 0 22          | 0 23          | 0 23          | 0 24          | 0 25          | 0 26          | 0 26          | 0 27          | 0 28          | 0 6           | 352   |
| 9           | 0 22          | 0 23          | 0 24          | 0 25          | 0 25          | 0 26          | 0 27          | 0 28          | 0 29          | 0 30          | 0 31          | 0 32          | 0 7           | 351   |
| 10          | 0 25          | 0 26          | 0 27          | 0 27          | 0 28          | 0 29          | 0 30          | 0 31          | 0 32          | 0 33          | 0 34          | 0 35          | 0 7           | 350   |
| 11          | 0 27          | 0 28          | 0 29          | 0 30          | 0 31          | 0 32          | 0 33          | 0 34          | 0 35          | 0 36          | 0 38          | 0 39          | 0 8           | 349   |
| 12          | 0 30          | 0 31          | 0 33          | 0 33          | 0 34          | 0 35          | 0 36          | 0 37          | 0 38          | 0 40          | 0 41          | 0 42          | 0 9           | 348   |
| 13          | 0 32          | 0 33          | 0 35          | 0 36          | 0 37          | 0 38          | 0 39          | 0 40          | 0 42          | 0 43          | 0 44          | 0 46          | 0 10          | 347   |
| 14          | 0 35          | 0 36          | 0 37          | 0 38          | 0 40          | 0 41          | 0 42          | 0 44          | 0 45          | 0 46          | 0 48          | 0 49          | 0 10          | 346   |
| 15          | 0 37          | 0 39          | 0 40          | 0 41          | 0 42          | 0 44          | 0 45          | 0 47          | 0 48          | 0 50          | 0 51          | 0 53          | 0 11          | 345   |
| 16          | 0 40          | 0 41          | 0 43          | 0 44          | 0 45          | 0 47          | 0 48          | 0 50          | 0 51          | 0 53          | 0 55          | 0 56          | 0 12          | 344   |
| 17          | 0 42          | 0 44          | 0 45          | 0 47          | 0 48          | 0 50          | 0 51          | 0 53          | 0 54          | 0 56          | 0 58          | 1 0           | 0 13          | 343   |
| 18          | 0 45          | 0 46          | 0 49          | 0 49          | 0 51          | 0 53          | 0 54          | 0 56          | 0 58          | 1 0           | 1 1           | 1 3           | 0 13          | 342   |
| 19          | 0 47          | 0 49          | 0 51          | 0 52          | 0 54          | 0 55          | 0 57          | 0 59          | 1 1           | 1 3           | 1 5           | 1 7           | 0 14          | 341   |
| 20          | 0 50          | 0 51          | 0 53          | 0 55          | 0 57          | 0 58          | 1 0           | 1 2           | 1 4           | 1 7           | 1 8           | 1 10          | 0 15          | 340   |
| 21          | 0 52          | 0 54          | 0 56          | 0 58          | 0 59          | 1 1           | 1 3           | 1 5           | 1 7           | 1 10          | 1 12          | 1 14          | 0 16          | 339   |
| 22          | 0 55          | 0 57          | 0 59          | 1 0           | 1 2           | 1 4           | 1 6           | 1 8           | 1 10          | 1 13          | 1 15          | 1 17          | 0 16          | 338   |
| 23          | 0 57          | 0 59          | 1 1           | 1 3           | 1 5           | 1 7           | 1 9           | 1 12          | 1 14          | 1 16          | 1 18          | 1 21          | 0 17          | 337   |
| 24          | 1 0           | 1 2           | 1 4           | 1 6           | 1 8           | 1 10          | 1 12          | 1 15          | 1 17          | 1 19          | 1 22          | 1 24          | 0 18          | 336   |
| 25          | 1 2           | 1 4           | 1 7           | 1 8           | 1 11          | 1 13          | 1 15          | 1 18          | 1 20          | 1 23          | 1 26          | 1 28          | 0 18          | 335   |
| 26          | 1 4           | 1 7           | 1 9           | 1 11          | 1 14          | 1 16          | 1 18          | 1 21          | 1 23          | 1 26          | 1 29          | 1 31          | 0 19          | 334   |
| 27          | 1 7           | 1 9           | 1 12          | 1 14          | 1 16          | 1 19          | 1 21          | 1 24          | 1 26          | 1 29          | 1 32          | 1 35          | 0 20          | 333   |
| 28          | 1 9           | 1 12          | 1 14          | 1 17          | 1 19          | 1 22          | 1 24          | 1 27          | 1 30          | 1 33          | 1 35          | 1 38          | 0 21          | 332   |
| 29          | 1 12          | 1 15          | 1 17          | 1 19          | 1 22          | 1 25          | 1 27          | 1 30          | 1 33          | 1 36          | 1 39          | 42            | 0 21          | 331   |



TABLE XXVII. (PART B.—*Trop. Long.  $\odot = 30^\circ - 59^\circ, 330^\circ - 301^\circ$* .)

| Lat.  | 10°     | 11°     | 12°     | 13°     | 14°     | 15°     | 16°     | 17°     | 18°     | 19°     | 20°     | 21°     | 22°     | 23°     |       |
|-------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| n.    | 9·4     | 9·34    | 9·29    | 9·22    | 9·17    | 9·11    | 9·04    | 8·98    | 8·92    | 8·85    | 8·79    | 8·72    | 8·66    | 8·59    |       |
| Long. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | Long. |
| 30°   | 0 43    | 0 45    | 0 47    | 0 49    | 0 51    | 0 54    | 0 56    | 0 58    | 1 0     | 1 2     | 1 5     | 1 7     | 1 10    | 1 12    | 330°  |
| 31    | 0 43    | 0 45    | 0 48    | 0 50    | 0 52    | 0 55    | 0 57    | 0 59    | 1 1     | 1 4     | 1 6     | 1 9     | 1 11    | 1 13    | 329   |
| 32    | 0 44    | 0 46    | 0 48    | 0 51    | 0 53    | 0 55    | 0 58    | 1 0     | 1 2     | 1 5     | 1 7     | 1 10    | 1 12    | 1 14    | 328   |
| 33    | 0 44    | 0 47    | 0 49    | 0 51    | 0 54    | 0 56    | 0 59    | 1 1     | 1 3     | 1 6     | 1 8     | 1 11    | 1 14    | 1 16    | 327   |
| 34    | 0 45    | 0 47    | 0 50    | 0 52    | 0 55    | 0 57    | 1 0     | 1 2     | 1 4     | 1 7     | 1 10    | 1 12    | 1 15    | 1 17    | 326   |
| 35    | 0 46    | 0 48    | 0 51    | 0 53    | 0 55    | 0 58    | 1 0     | 1 3     | 1 6     | 1 8     | 1 11    | 1 14    | 1 16    | 1 19    | 325   |
| 36    | 0 46    | 0 49    | 0 51    | 0 54    | 0 56    | 0 59    | 1 1     | 1 4     | 1 7     | 1 9     | 1 12    | 1 15    | 1 18    | 1 20    | 324   |
| 37    | 0 47    | 0 49    | 0 52    | 0 54    | 0 57    | 1 0     | 1 2     | 1 5     | 1 8     | 1 10    | 1 13    | 1 16    | 1 19    | 1 22    | 323   |
| 38    | 0 47    | 0 50    | 0 53    | 0 55    | 0 58    | 1 1     | 1 3     | 1 6     | 1 9     | 1 12    | 1 14    | 1 17    | 1 20    | 1 23    | 322   |
| 39    | 0 48    | 0 51    | 0 53    | 0 56    | 0 59    | 1 2     | 1 4     | 1 7     | 1 10    | 1 13    | 1 16    | 1 19    | 1 22    | 1 25    | 321   |
| 40    | 0 49    | 0 51    | 0 54    | 0 57    | 1 0     | 1 3     | 1 5     | 1 8     | 1 11    | 1 14    | 1 17    | 1 20    | 1 23    | 1 26    | 320   |
| 41    | 0 49    | 0 52    | 0 55    | 0 58    | 1 0     | 1 3     | 1 6     | 1 9     | 1 12    | 1 15    | 1 18    | 1 21    | 1 24    | 1 27    | 319   |
| 42    | 0 50    | 0 52    | 0 56    | 0 59    | 1 1     | 1 4     | 1 7     | 1 10    | 1 13    | 1 16    | 1 19    | 1 23    | 1 26    | 1 29    | 318   |
| 43    | 0 50    | 0 53    | 0 56    | 0 59    | 1 2     | 1 5     | 1 8     | 1 11    | 1 14    | 1 17    | 1 20    | 1 24    | 1 27    | 1 30    | 317   |
| 44    | 0 51    | 0 54    | 0 57    | 1 0     | 1 3     | 1 6     | 1 9     | 1 12    | 1 15    | 1 19    | 1 22    | 1 25    | 1 28    | 1 32    | 316   |
| 45    | 0 52    | 0 54    | 0 58    | 1 1     | 1 4     | 1 7     | 1 10    | 1 13    | 1 16    | 1 20    | 1 23    | 1 26    | 1 30    | 1 33    | 315   |
| 46    | 0 52    | 0 55    | 0 58    | 1 1     | 1 5     | 1 8     | 1 11    | 1 14    | 1 17    | 1 21    | 1 24    | 1 27    | 1 31    | 1 35    | 314   |
| 47    | 0 53    | 0 56    | 0 59    | 1 2     | 1 5     | 1 9     | 1 12    | 1 15    | 1 19    | 1 22    | 1 25    | 1 29    | 1 32    | 1 36    | 313   |
| 48    | 0 53    | 0 56    | 1 0     | 1 3     | 1 6     | 1 10    | 1 13    | 1 16    | 1 20    | 1 23    | 1 27    | 1 30    | 1 34    | 1 37    | 312   |
| 49    | 0 54    | 0 57    | 1 0     | 1 4     | 1 7     | 1 11    | 1 14    | 1 17    | 1 21    | 1 24    | 1 28    | 1 32    | 1 35    | 1 39    | 311   |
| 50    | 0 54    | 0 58    | 1 1     | 1 5     | 1 8     | 1 11    | 1 15    | 1 18    | 1 22    | 1 25    | 1 29    | 1 33    | 1 36    | 1 40    | 310   |
| 51    | 0 55    | 0 58    | 1 2     | 1 5     | 1 9     | 1 12    | 1 16    | 1 19    | 1 23    | 1 27    | 1 30    | 1 34    | 1 38    | 1 42    | 309   |
| 52    | 0 56    | 0 59    | 1 3     | 1 6     | 1 9     | 1 13    | 1 17    | 1 20    | 1 24    | 1 28    | 1 31    | 1 35    | 1 39    | 1 43    | 308   |
| 53    | 0 56    | 1 0     | 1 3     | 1 7     | 1 10    | 1 14    | 1 18    | 1 21    | 1 25    | 1 29    | 1 33    | 1 37    | 1 40    | 1 44    | 307   |
| 54    | 0 57    | 1 0     | 1 4     | 1 8     | 1 11    | 1 15    | 1 19    | 1 22    | 1 26    | 1 30    | 1 34    | 1 38    | 1 42    | 1 46    | 306   |
| 55    | 0 58    | 1 1     | 1 5     | 1 8     | 1 12    | 1 16    | 1 20    | 1 23    | 1 27    | 1 31    | 1 35    | 1 39    | 1 43    | 1 47    | 305   |
| 56    | 0 58    | 1 1     | 1 5     | 1 9     | 1 13    | 1 17    | 1 21    | 1 24    | 1 28    | 1 32    | 1 36    | 1 41    | 1 44    | 1 49    | 304   |
| 57    | 0 59    | 1 2     | 1 6     | 1 10    | 1 14    | 1 18    | 1 22    | 1 26    | 1 29    | 1 33    | 1 37    | 1 42    | 1 46    | 1 50    | 303   |
| 58    | 0 59    | 1 3     | 1 7     | 1 11    | 1 14    | 1 19    | 1 23    | 1 27    | 1 30    | 1 35    | 1 39    | 1 43    | 1 47    | 1 51    | 302   |
| 59    | 1 0     | 1 3     | 1 8     | 1 12    | 1 15    | 1 20    | 1 23    | 1 28    | 1 32    | 1 36    | 1 40    | 1 44    | 1 48    | 1 53    | 301   |

## PART B,—continued.

| Lat.  | 24°     | 25°     | 26°     | 27°     | 28°     | 29°     | 30°     | 31°     | 32°     | 33°     | 34°     | 35°     | 0°      |       |
|-------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| Vin.  | 8·52    | 8·45    | 8·38    | 8·31    | 8·24    | 8·16    | 8·08    | 8·00    | 7·91    | 7·84    | 7·76    | 7·67    | +0·03   |       |
| Long. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | g.h. v. | Long. |
| 30°   | 1 14    | 1 17    | 1 20    | 1 22    | 1 25    | 1 28    | 1 30    | 1 33    | 1 36    | 1 39    | 1 42    | 1 45    | —0 22   | 330°  |
| 31    | 1 16    | 1 19    | 1 21    | 1 24    | 1 27    | 1 29    | 1 32    | 1 35    | 1 38    | 1 41    | 1 45    | 1 48    | 0 22    | 329   |
| 32    | 1 17    | 1 20    | 1 23    | 1 26    | 1 29    | 1 31    | 1 34    | 1 37    | 1 40    | 1 44    | 1 47    | 1 50    | 0 22    | 328   |
| 33    | 1 19    | 1 22    | 1 25    | 1 27    | 1 30    | 1 33    | 1 36    | 1 39    | 1 42    | 1 46    | 1 49    | 1 52    | 0 22    | 327   |
| 34    | 1 20    | 1 23    | 1 26    | 1 29    | 1 32    | 1 35    | 1 38    | 1 41    | 1 44    | 1 48    | 1 51    | 1 55    | 0 22    | 326   |
| 35    | 1 22    | 1 25    | 1 28    | 1 31    | 1 34    | 1 37    | 1 40    | 1 43    | 1 46    | 1 50    | 1 54    | 1 57    | —0 22   | 325   |
| 36    | 1 23    | 1 26    | 1 29    | 1 32    | 1 36    | 1 39    | 1 42    | 1 45    | 1 49    | 1 52    | 1 56    | 1 59    | 0 22    | 324   |
| 37    | 1 25    | 1 28    | 1 31    | 1 34    | 1 37    | 1 41    | 1 44    | 1 47    | 1 51    | 1 55    | 1 58    | 2 2     | 0 22    | 323   |
| 38    | 1 26    | 1 30    | 1 33    | 1 36    | 1 39    | 1 42    | 1 46    | 1 49    | 1 53    | 1 57    | 2 0     | 2 4     | 0 22    | 322   |
| 39    | 1 28    | 1 31    | 1 34    | 1 37    | 1 41    | 1 44    | 1 48    | 1 51    | 1 55    | 1 59    | 2 2     | 2 6     | 0 22    | 321   |
| 40    | 1 29    | 1 33    | 1 36    | 1 39    | 1 43    | 1 46    | 1 50    | 1 53    | 1 57    | 2 1     | 2 5     | 2 9     | —0 22   | 320   |
| 41    | 1 31    | 1 34    | 1 37    | 1 41    | 1 44    | 1 48    | 1 52    | 1 55    | 1 59    | 2 3     | 2 7     | 2 11    | 0 22    | 319   |
| 42    | 1 32    | 1 36    | 1 39    | 1 43    | 1 46    | 1 50    | 1 54    | 1 57    | 2 1     | 2 5     | 2 9     | 2 13    | 0 22    | 318   |
| 43    | 1 34    | 1 37    | 1 41    | 1 44    | 1 48    | 1 52    | 1 55    | 1 59    | 2 3     | 2 7     | 2 11    | 2 16    | 0 22    | 317   |
| 44    | 1 35    | 1 39    | 1 42    | 1 46    | 1 50    | 1 53    | 1 57    | 2 1     | 2 5     | 2 10    | 2 14    | 2 18    | 0 22    | 316   |
| 45    | 1 37    | 1 40    | 1 44    | 1 48    | 1 51    | 1 55    | 1 59    | 2 3     | 2 7     | 2 12    | 2 16    | 2 20    | —0 22   | 315   |
| 46    | 1 38    | 1 42    | 1 46    | 1 49    | 1 53    | 1 57    | 2 1     | 2 5     | 2 9     | 2 14    | 2 18    | 2 23    | 0 22    | 314   |
| 47    | 1 40    | 1 43    | 1 47    | 1 51    | 1 55    | 1 59    | 2 3     | 2 7     | 2 12    | 2 16    | 2 20    | 2 25    | 0 22    | 313   |
| 48    | 1 41    | 1 45    | 1 49    | 1 53    | 1 57    | 2 1     | 2 5     | 2 9     | 2 14    | 2 18    | 2 23    | 2 27    | 0 22    | 312   |
| 49    | 1 42    | 1 47    | 1 51    | 1 54    | 1 58    | 2 3     | 2 7     | 2 11    | 2 16    | 2 20    | 2 25    | 2 30    | 0 22    | 311   |
| 50    | 1 44    | 1 48    | 1 52    | 1 56    | 2 0     | 2 4     | 2 8     | 2 13    | 2 18    | 2 23    | 2 27    | 2 32    | —0 22   | 310   |
| 51    | 1 46    | 1 50    | 1 54    | 1 58    | 2 2     | 2 6     | 2 11    | 2 15    | 2 20    | 2 25    | 2 29    | 2 34    | 0 22    | 309   |
| 52    | 1 47    | 1 51    | 1 55    | 1 59    | 2 4     | 2 8     | 2 13    | 2 17    | 2 22    | 2 27    | 2 32    | 2 37    | 0 22    | 308   |
| 53    | 1 48    | 1 53    | 1 57    | 2 1     | 2 6     | 2 10    | 2 15    | 2 19    | 2 24    | 2 29    | 2 34    | 2 39    | 0 22    | 307   |
| 54    | 1 50    | 1 54    | 1 59    | 2 3     | 2 7     | 2 12    | 2 17    | 2 21    | 2 26    | 2 31    | 2 36    | 2 41    | 0 22    | 306   |
| 55    | 1 51    | 1 56    | 2 0     | 2 4     | 2 9     | 2 14    | 2 18    | 2 23    | 2 28    | 2 33    | 2 38    | 2 44    | —0 22   | 305   |
| 56    | 1 53    | 1 57    | 2 2     | 2 6     | 2 11    | 2 15    | 2 20    | 2 25    | 2 30    | 2 35    | 2 41    | 2 46    | 0 22    | 304   |
| 57    | 1 54    | 1 59    | 2 3     | 2 8     | 2 12    | 2 17    | 2 22    | 2 27    | 2 32    | 2 38    | 2 43    | 2 48    | 0 22    | 303   |
| 58    | 1 56    | 2 1     | 2 5     | 2 10    | 2 14    | 2 19    | 2 24    | 2 29    | 2 35    | 2 40    | 2 45    | 2 51    | 0 22    | 302   |
| 59    | 1 57    | 2 2     | 2 7     | 2 11    | 2 16    | 2 21    | 2 26    | 2 31    | 2 37    | 2 42    | 2 47    | 2 53    | 0 22    | 301   |



TABLE XXVII. (PART C.—Trop. Long.  $\odot = 60^\circ - 89^\circ, 300^\circ - 127^\circ$ )

| Lat.  | 10°    | 11°    | 12°    | 13°    | 14°    | 15°    | 16°    | 17°    | 18°    | 19°    | 20°    | 21°    | 22°    | 23°    |      |
|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------|
| Fin.  | 10-52  | 10-50  | 10-47  | 10-45  | 10-42  | 10-40  | 10-37  | 10-35  | 10-32  | 10-29  | 10-27  | 10-24  | 10-22  | 10-18  |      |
| Long. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. |      |
| 60°   | 1 1    | 1 4    | 1 8    | 1 13   | 1 16   | 1 20   | 1 24   | 1 29   | 1 33   | 1 37   | 1 41   | 1 46   | 1 49   | 1 54   | 300° |
| 61    | 1 0    | 1 3    | 1 8    | 1 13   | 1 16   | 1 20   | 1 24   | 1 28   | 1 32   | 1 37   | 1 41   | 1 45   | 1 49   | 1 54   | 299  |
| 62    | 0 59   | 1 3    | 1 8    | 1 13   | 1 15   | 1 20   | 1 24   | 1 28   | 1 32   | 1 37   | 1 41   | 1 45   | 1 49   | 1 54   | 298  |
| 63    | 0 59   | 1 2    | 1 7    | 1 12   | 1 15   | 1 19   | 1 23   | 1 28   | 1 32   | 1 36   | 1 40   | 1 45   | 1 48   | 1 54   | 297  |
| 64    | 0 58   | 1 2    | 1 7    | 1 12   | 1 14   | 1 19   | 1 23   | 1 27   | 1 32   | 1 36   | 1 40   | 1 45   | 1 48   | 1 54   | 296  |
| 65    | 0 58   | 1 1    | 1 6    | 1 11   | 1 14   | 1 18   | 1 23   | 1 27   | 1 31   | 1 36   | 1 40   | 1 44   | 1 48   | 1 53   | 295  |
| 66    | 0 57   | 1 1    | 1 6    | 1 11   | 1 14   | 1 18   | 1 22   | 1 27   | 1 31   | 1 35   | 1 39   | 1 44   | 1 48   | 1 53   | 294  |
| 67    | 0 57   | 1 0    | 1 5    | 1 11   | 1 13   | 1 18   | 1 22   | 1 27   | 1 31   | 1 35   | 1 39   | 1 44   | 1 47   | 1 53   | 293  |
| 68    | 0 56   | 1 0    | 1 5    | 1 10   | 1 13   | 1 17   | 1 21   | 1 26   | 1 30   | 1 35   | 1 39   | 1 44   | 1 47   | 1 53   | 292  |
| 69    | 0 56   | 0 59   | 1 4    | 1 10   | 1 12   | 1 17   | 1 21   | 1 26   | 1 30   | 1 34   | 1 38   | 1 43   | 1 47   | 1 53   | 291  |
| 70    | 0 55   | 0 59   | 1 4    | 1 9    | 1 12   | 1 16   | 1 21   | 1 25   | 1 30   | 1 34   | 1 38   | 1 43   | 1 47   | 1 53   | 290  |
| 71    | 0 55   | 0 58   | 1 3    | 1 9    | 1 12   | 1 16   | 1 20   | 1 25   | 1 29   | 1 34   | 1 38   | 1 43   | 1 47   | 1 52   | 289  |
| 72    | 0 54   | 0 58   | 1 3    | 1 8    | 1 11   | 1 16   | 1 20   | 1 25   | 1 29   | 1 34   | 1 38   | 1 43   | 1 46   | 1 52   | 288  |
| 73    | 0 54   | 0 57   | 1 2    | 1 8    | 1 11   | 1 15   | 1 20   | 1 24   | 1 29   | 1 33   | 1 38   | 1 43   | 1 46   | 1 52   | 287  |
| 74    | 0 53   | 0 57   | 1 2    | 1 8    | 1 10   | 1 15   | 1 19   | 1 24   | 1 28   | 1 33   | 1 37   | 1 42   | 1 46   | 1 52   | 286  |
| 75    | 0 53   | 0 56   | 1 1    | 1 7    | 1 10   | 1 14   | 1 19   | 1 23   | 1 28   | 1 33   | 1 37   | 1 42   | 1 46   | 1 52   | 285  |
| 76    | 0 52   | 0 56   | 1 1    | 1 7    | 1 10   | 1 14   | 1 19   | 1 23   | 1 28   | 1 32   | 1 37   | 1 42   | 1 45   | 1 51   | 284  |
| 77    | 0 52   | 0 55   | 1 0    | 1 6    | 1 9    | 1 14   | 1 18   | 1 23   | 1 27   | 1 32   | 1 36   | 1 42   | 1 45   | 1 51   | 283  |
| 78    | 0 51   | 0 55   | 1 0    | 1 6    | 1 9    | 1 13   | 1 18   | 1 22   | 1 27   | 1 32   | 1 36   | 1 41   | 1 45   | 1 51   | 282  |
| 79    | 0 51   | 0 54   | 1 0    | 1 5    | 1 8    | 1 13   | 1 18   | 1 22   | 1 27   | 1 31   | 1 36   | 1 41   | 1 45   | 1 51   | 281  |
| 80    | 0 50   | 0 54   | 0 59   | 1 5    | 1 8    | 1 12   | 1 17   | 1 22   | 1 26   | 1 31   | 1 36   | 1 41   | 1 45   | 1 51   | 280  |
| 81    | 0 50   | 0 53   | 0 58   | 1 4    | 1 7    | 1 12   | 1 17   | 1 21   | 1 26   | 1 31   | 1 35   | 1 41   | 1 44   | 1 50   | 279  |
| 82    | 0 49   | 0 53   | 0 58   | 1 4    | 1 7    | 1 12   | 1 16   | 1 21   | 1 26   | 1 31   | 1 35   | 1 40   | 1 44   | 1 50   | 278  |
| 83    | 0 49   | 0 52   | 0 57   | 1 3    | 1 7    | 1 11   | 1 16   | 1 21   | 1 25   | 1 30   | 1 35   | 1 40   | 1 44   | 1 50   | 277  |
| 84    | 0 48   | 0 52   | 0 57   | 1 3    | 1 6    | 1 11   | 1 16   | 1 20   | 1 25   | 1 30   | 1 35   | 1 40   | 1 44   | 1 50   | 276  |
| 85    | 0 48   | 0 51   | 0 57   | 1 2    | 1 6    | 1 10   | 1 15   | 1 20   | 1 25   | 1 30   | 1 34   | 1 40   | 1 43   | 1 50   | 275  |
| 86    | 0 47   | 0 51   | 0 56   | 1 2    | 1 5    | 1 10   | 1 15   | 1 20   | 1 24   | 1 29   | 1 34   | 1 39   | 1 43   | 1 50   | 274  |
| 87    | 0 47   | 0 50   | 0 56   | 1 2    | 1 5    | 1 10   | 1 15   | 1 19   | 1 24   | 1 29   | 1 34   | 1 39   | 1 43   | 1 49   | 273  |
| 88    | 0 46   | 0 50   | 0 55   | 1 1    | 1 4    | 1 9    | 1 14   | 1 19   | 1 24   | 1 29   | 1 34   | 1 39   | 1 43   | 1 49   | 272  |
| 89    | 0 46   | 0 49   | 0 55   | 1 1    | 1 4    | 1 9    | 1 14   | 1 19   | 1 23   | 1 28   | 1 33   | 1 39   | 1 43   | 1 49   | 271  |

## PART C.—continued.

| Lat.  | 24°    | 25°    | 26°    | 27°    | 28°    | 29°    | 30°    | 31°    | 32°    | 33°    | 34°    | 35°    | 0°     |       |
|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| Fin.  | 10-16  | 10-13  | 10-10  | 10-67  | 10-04  | 10-00  | 9-57   | 9-54   | 9-51   | 9-47   | 9-43   | 9-39   | —0-75  |       |
| Long. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | Long. |
| 60°   | 1 59   | 2 4    | 2 8    | 2 13   | 2 18   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 33   | 2 39   | 2 44   | 2 49   | 2 55   | —0 22  | 300°  |
| 61    | 1 59   | 2 3    | 2 8    | 2 13   | 2 18   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 33   | 2 39   | 2 44   | 2 50   | 2 55   | 0 21   | 299   |
| 62    | 1 59   | 2 3    | 2 8    | 2 13   | 2 18   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 33   | 2 39   | 2 44   | 2 50   | 2 56   | 0 21   | 298   |
| 63    | 1 59   | 2 3    | 2 8    | 2 13   | 2 18   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 34   | 2 39   | 2 45   | 2 50   | 2 56   | 0 20   | 297   |
| 64    | 1 58   | 2 3    | 2 8    | 2 13   | 2 18   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 34   | 2 39   | 2 45   | 2 50   | 2 56   | 0 19   | 296   |
| 65    | 1 58   | 2 3    | 2 8    | 2 13   | 2 18   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 34   | 2 39   | 2 45   | 2 50   | 2 56   | —0 19  | 295   |
| 66    | 1 58   | 2 3    | 2 8    | 2 13   | 2 18   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 34   | 2 39   | 2 45   | 2 50   | 2 56   | 0 18   | 294   |
| 67    | 1 58   | 2 3    | 2 8    | 2 13   | 2 18   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 34   | 2 39   | 2 45   | 2 50   | 2 57   | 0 17   | 293   |
| 68    | 1 58   | 2 3    | 2 8    | 2 12   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 34   | 2 39   | 2 45   | 2 50   | 2 57   | 0 16   | 292   |
| 69    | 1 58   | 2 3    | 2 8    | 2 12   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 34   | 2 39   | 2 45   | 2 51   | 2 57   | 0 16   | 291   |
| 70    | 1 57   | 2 2    | 2 7    | 2 12   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 34   | 2 40   | 2 45   | 2 51   | 2 57   | —0 15  | 290   |
| 71    | 1 57   | 2 2    | 2 7    | 2 12   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 34   | 2 40   | 2 46   | 2 51   | 2 57   | 0 14   | 289   |
| 72    | 1 57   | 2 2    | 2 7    | 2 12   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 34   | 2 40   | 2 46   | 2 51   | 2 58   | 0 13   | 288   |
| 73    | 1 57   | 2 2    | 2 7    | 2 12   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 34   | 2 40   | 2 46   | 2 51   | 2 58   | 0 13   | 287   |
| 74    | 1 57   | 2 2    | 2 7    | 2 12   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 34   | 2 40   | 2 46   | 2 51   | 2 58   | 0 12   | 286   |
| 75    | 1 57   | 2 2    | 2 7    | 2 12   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 28   | 2 34   | 2 40   | 2 46   | 2 52   | 2 58   | —0 11  | 285   |
| 76    | 1 56   | 2 2    | 2 7    | 2 12   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 29   | 2 34   | 2 40   | 2 46   | 2 52   | 2 59   | 0 10   | 284   |
| 77    | 1 56   | 2 1    | 2 7    | 2 12   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 29   | 2 34   | 2 40   | 2 46   | 2 52   | 2 59   | 0 10   | 283   |
| 78    | 1 56   | 2 1    | 2 7    | 2 12   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 29   | 2 34   | 2 40   | 2 47   | 2 52   | 2 59   | 0 9    | 282   |
| 79    | 1 56   | 2 1    | 2 7    | 2 12   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 29   | 2 34   | 2 40   | 2 47   | 2 52   | 2 59   | 0 8    | 281   |
| 80    | 1 56   | 2 1    | 2 6    | 2 12   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 29   | 2 34   | 2 40   | 2 47   | 2 52   | 2 59   | —0 7   | 280   |
| 81    | 1 56   | 2 1    | 2 6    | 2 12   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 29   | 2 35   | 2 41   | 2 47   | 2 53   | 3 0    | 0 7    | 279   |
| 82    | 1 55   | 2 1    | 2 6    | 2 11   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 29   | 2 35   | 2 41   | 2 47   | 2 53   | 3 0    | 0 6    | 278   |
| 83    | 1 55   | 2 1    | 2 6    | 2 11   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 29   | 2 35   | 2 41   | 2 47   | 2 53   | 3 0    | 0 5    | 277   |
| 84    | 1 55   | 2 1    | 2 6    | 2 11   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 29   | 2 35   | 2 41   | 2 47   | 2 53   | 3 0    | 0 4    | 276   |
| 85    | 1 55   | 2 0    | 2 6    | 2 11   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 29   | 2 35   | 2 41   | 2 47   | 2 53   | 3 0    | —0 4   | 275   |
| 86    | 1 55   | 2 0    | 2 6    | 2 11   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 29   | 2 35   | 2 41   | 2 48   | 2 53   | 3 1    | 0 3    | 274   |
| 87    | 1 55   | 2 0    | 2 6    | 2 11   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 29   | 2 35   | 2 41   | 2 48   | 2 54   | 3 1    | 0 2    | 273   |
| 88    | 1 55   | 2 0    | 2 6    | 2 11   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 29   | 2 35   | 2 41   | 2 48   | 2 54   | 3 1    | 0 1    | 272   |
| 89    | 1 54   | 2 0    | 2 6    | 2 11   | 2 17   | 2 23   | 2 29   | 2 35   | 2 41   | 2 48   | 2 54   | 3 1    | 0 1    | 271   |



TABLE XXVII. (PART D.—*Trop. Long.*  $\odot = 90^\circ - 119^\circ, 270^\circ - 241^\circ$ .)

| Lat.        | 10°           | 11°           | 12°           | 13°           | 14°           | 15°           | 16°           | 17°           | 18°           | 19°           | 20°           | 21°           | 22°           | 23°           |       |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------|
| <i>Vin.</i> | 10-98         | 11-01         | 11-03         | 11-05         | 11-08         | 11-10         | 11-13         | 11-15         | 11-18         | 11-21         | 11-23         | 11-26         | 11-28         | 11-32         |       |
| Long.       | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | Long. |
| 90°         | 0 45          | 0 49          | 0 54          | 1 0           | 1 3           | 1 8           | 1 13          | 1 18          | 1 23          | 1 28          | 1 33          | 1 38          | 1 42          | 1 49          | 270°  |
| 91          | 0 44          | 0 48          | 0 53          | 0 59          | 1 2           | 1 7           | 1 12          | 1 17          | 1 22          | 1 27          | 1 32          | 1 37          | 1 41          | 1 48          | 269   |
| 92          | 0 43          | 0 47          | 0 52          | 0 58          | 1 1           | 1 6           | 1 11          | 1 16          | 1 21          | 1 26          | 1 31          | 1 36          | 1 40          | 1 47          | 268   |
| 93          | 0 42          | 0 46          | 0 51          | 0 57          | 1 0           | 1 5           | 1 10          | 1 15          | 1 20          | 1 25          | 1 30          | 1 35          | 1 39          | 1 45          | 267   |
| 94          | 0 41          | 0 45          | 0 50          | 0 56          | 0 59          | 1 1           | 1 8           | 1 14          | 1 19          | 1 24          | 1 28          | 1 34          | 1 38          | 1 43          | 266   |
| 95          | 0 40          | 0 44          | 0 49          | 0 55          | 0 58          | 1 3           | 1 7           | 1 13          | 1 18          | 1 22          | 1 27          | 1 32          | 1 36          | 1 42          | 265   |
| 96          | 0 39          | 0 43          | 0 48          | 0 54          | 0 57          | 1 2           | 1 6           | 1 12          | 1 16          | 1 21          | 1 26          | 1 31          | 1 35          | 1 41          | 264   |
| 97          | 0 38          | 0 42          | 0 47          | 0 53          | 0 56          | 1 1           | 1 5           | 1 10          | 1 15          | 1 20          | 1 25          | 1 30          | 1 34          | 1 39          | 263   |
| 98          | 0 37          | 0 41          | 0 46          | 0 52          | 0 55          | 1 0           | 1 3           | 1 9           | 1 14          | 1 19          | 1 23          | 1 28          | 1 33          | 1 38          | 262   |
| 99          | 0 36          | 0 40          | 0 45          | 0 51          | 0 54          | 0 58          | 1 2           | 1 8           | 1 13          | 1 18          | 1 22          | 1 27          | 1 31          | 1 37          | 261   |
| 100         | 0 35          | 0 39          | 0 44          | 0 50          | 0 53          | 0 57          | 1 1           | 1 7           | 1 12          | 1 16          | 1 21          | 1 26          | 1 30          | 1 35          | 260   |
| 101         | 0 34          | 0 38          | 0 43          | 0 49          | 0 52          | 0 56          | 1 0           | 1 6           | 1 11          | 1 15          | 1 20          | 1 25          | 1 28          | 1 34          | 259   |
| 102         | 0 33          | 0 37          | 0 42          | 0 48          | 0 51          | 0 55          | 0 59          | 1 5           | 1 9           | 1 14          | 1 19          | 1 23          | 1 27          | 1 33          | 258   |
| 103         | 0 32          | 0 36          | 0 41          | 0 47          | 0 50          | 0 54          | 0 58          | 1 3           | 1 8           | 1 13          | 1 17          | 1 22          | 1 26          | 1 31          | 257   |
| 104         | 0 31          | 0 35          | 0 40          | 0 46          | 0 48          | 0 53          | 0 57          | 1 2           | 1 7           | 1 12          | 1 16          | 1 21          | 1 25          | 1 30          | 256   |
| 105         | 0 30          | 0 34          | 0 39          | 0 44          | 0 47          | 0 52          | 0 56          | 1 1           | 1 6           | 1 10          | 1 15          | 1 20          | 1 24          | 1 29          | 255   |
| 106         | 0 29          | 0 33          | 0 38          | 0 43          | 0 46          | 0 51          | 0 54          | 1 0           | 1 5           | 1 9           | 1 14          | 1 18          | 1 22          | 1 27          | 254   |
| 107         | 0 28          | 0 32          | 0 37          | 0 42          | 0 45          | 0 49          | 0 53          | 0 59          | 1 4           | 1 8           | 1 12          | 1 17          | 1 21          | 1 26          | 253   |
| 108         | 0 27          | 0 31          | 0 36          | 0 41          | 0 44          | 0 48          | 0 52          | 0 58          | 1 2           | 1 7           | 1 11          | 1 16          | 1 20          | 1 25          | 252   |
| 109         | 0 26          | 0 30          | 0 35          | 0 40          | 0 43          | 0 47          | 0 51          | 0 57          | 1 1           | 1 5           | 1 10          | 1 15          | 1 18          | 1 24          | 251   |
| 110         | 0 25          | 0 29          | 0 34          | 0 39          | 0 42          | 0 46          | 0 50          | 0 55          | 1 0           | 1 4           | 1 9           | 1 13          | 1 17          | 1 22          | 250   |
| 111         | 0 24          | 0 28          | 0 32          | 0 38          | 0 41          | 0 45          | 0 49          | 0 54          | 0 59          | 1 3           | 1 7           | 1 12          | 1 16          | 1 21          | 249   |
| 112         | 0 23          | 0 27          | 0 31          | 0 37          | 0 40          | 0 44          | 0 48          | 0 53          | 0 58          | 1 2           | 1 6           | 1 11          | 1 15          | 1 20          | 248   |
| 113         | 0 22          | 0 26          | 0 30          | 0 36          | 0 39          | 0 43          | 0 47          | 0 52          | 0 56          | 1 1           | 1 5           | 1 10          | 1 13          | 1 18          | 247   |
| 114         | 0 21          | 0 25          | 0 29          | 0 35          | 0 38          | 0 42          | 0 45          | 0 51          | 0 55          | 0 59          | 1 4           | 1 9           | 1 12          | 1 17          | 246   |
| 115         | 0 20          | 0 24          | 0 28          | 0 34          | 0 37          | 0 41          | 0 44          | 0 50          | 0 54          | 0 58          | 1 3           | 1 7           | 1 11          | 1 16          | 245   |
| 116         | 0 19          | 0 23          | 0 27          | 0 33          | 0 36          | 0 39          | 0 43          | 0 49          | 0 53          | 0 57          | 1 1           | 1 6           | 1 10          | 1 14          | 244   |
| 117         | 0 18          | 0 22          | 0 26          | 0 32          | 0 35          | 0 38          | 0 42          | 0 47          | 0 52          | 0 56          | 1 0           | 1 5           | 1 8           | 1 13          | 243   |
| 118         | 0 17          | 0 21          | 0 25          | 0 31          | 0 34          | 0 37          | 0 41          | 0 46          | 0 51          | 0 55          | 0 59          | 1 3           | 1 7           | 1 12          | 242   |
| 119         | 0 16          | 0 20          | 0 24          | 0 29          | 0 33          | 0 36          | 0 40          | 0 45          | 0 49          | 0 53          | 0 58          | 1 2           | 1 6           | 1 10          | 241   |

## PART D,—continued.

| Lat.        | 24°           | 25°           | 26°           | 27°           | 28°           | 29°           | 30°           | 31°           | 32°           | 33°           | 34°           | 35°           | 0°            |       |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------|
| <i>Vin.</i> | 11-34         | 11-37         | 11-40         | 11-43         | 11-46         | 11-50         | 11-53         | 11-56         | 11-60         | 11-63         | 11-67         | 11-71         | -0-75         |       |
| Long.       | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | <i>gh. v.</i> | Long. |
| 90°         | 1 54          | 2 0           | 2 5           | 2 11          | 2 16          | 2 23          | 2 29          | 2 35          | 2 41          | 2 48          | 2 54          | 3 1           | +0 0          | 270°  |
| 91          | 1 53          | 1 59          | 2 4           | 2 10          | 2 15          | 2 21          | 2 27          | 2 34          | 2 40          | 2 46          | 2 54          | 3 0           | 0 1           | 269   |
| 92          | 1 52          | 1 57          | 2 2           | 2 8           | 2 14          | 2 20          | 2 26          | 2 32          | 2 38          | 2 45          | 2 53          | 2 58          | 0 1           | 268   |
| 93          | 1 51          | 1 56          | 2 1           | 2 7           | 2 12          | 2 18          | 2 24          | 2 30          | 2 37          | 2 43          | 2 51          | 2 56          | 0 2           | 267   |
| 94          | 1 50          | 1 54          | 2 0           | 2 5           | 2 11          | 2 17          | 2 23          | 2 29          | 2 35          | 2 42          | 2 50          | 2 55          | 0 3           | 266   |
| 95          | 1 48          | 1 53          | 1 58          | 2 4           | 2 9           | 2 15          | 2 21          | 2 27          | 2 33          | 2 40          | 2 48          | 2 53          | +0 4          | 265   |
| 96          | 1 47          | 1 52          | 1 57          | 2 2           | 2 8           | 2 14          | 2 20          | 2 26          | 2 32          | 2 38          | 2 46          | 2 51          | 0 4           | 264   |
| 97          | 1 46          | 1 50          | 1 55          | 2 0           | 2 6           | 2 12          | 2 18          | 2 24          | 2 30          | 2 37          | 2 45          | 2 49          | 0 5           | 263   |
| 98          | 1 44          | 1 49          | 1 54          | 1 59          | 2 5           | 2 11          | 2 17          | 2 23          | 2 29          | 2 35          | 2 43          | 2 48          | 0 6           | 262   |
| 99          | 1 43          | 1 48          | 1 53          | 1 58          | 2 3           | 2 9           | 2 15          | 2 21          | 2 27          | 2 33          | 2 41          | 2 46          | 0 7           | 261   |
| 100         | 1 42          | 1 46          | 1 51          | 1 57          | 2 2           | 2 8           | 2 13          | 2 19          | 2 26          | 2 32          | 2 40          | 2 44          | +0 7          | 260   |
| 101         | 1 40          | 1 45          | 1 50          | 1 55          | 2 0           | 2 6           | 2 12          | 2 18          | 2 24          | 2 30          | 2 38          | 2 43          | 0 8           | 259   |
| 102         | 1 39          | 1 43          | 1 48          | 1 54          | 1 59          | 2 5           | 2 10          | 2 16          | 2 22          | 2 29          | 2 37          | 2 41          | 0 9           | 258   |
| 103         | 1 38          | 1 42          | 1 47          | 1 52          | 1 57          | 2 3           | 2 9           | 2 15          | 2 21          | 2 27          | 2 35          | 2 39          | 0 10          | 257   |
| 104         | 1 36          | 1 41          | 1 46          | 1 51          | 1 56          | 2 2           | 2 7           | 2 13          | 2 19          | 2 25          | 2 33          | 2 38          | 0 10          | 256   |
| 105         | 1 35          | 1 39          | 1 44          | 1 49          | 1 55          | 2 0           | 2 6           | 2 12          | 2 18          | 2 24          | 2 31          | 2 36          | +0 11         | 255   |
| 106         | 1 34          | 1 38          | 1 43          | 1 48          | 1 53          | 1 59          | 2 4           | 2 10          | 2 16          | 2 22          | 2 28          | 2 34          | 0 12          | 254   |
| 107         | 1 32          | 1 37          | 1 41          | 1 47          | 1 52          | 1 57          | 2 3           | 2 9           | 2 14          | 2 20          | 2 26          | 2 32          | 0 13          | 253   |
| 108         | 1 31          | 1 35          | 1 40          | 1 45          | 1 50          | 1 56          | 2 1           | 2 7           | 2 13          | 2 19          | 2 25          | 2 31          | 0 13          | 252   |
| 109         | 1 30          | 1 34          | 1 39          | 1 44          | 1 49          | 1 54          | 2 0           | 2 5           | 2 11          | 2 17          | 2 23          | 2 29          | 0 14          | 251   |
| 110         | 1 28          | 1 33          | 1 37          | 1 42          | 1 47          | 1 53          | 1 58          | 2 4           | 2 10          | 2 15          | 2 21          | 2 27          | +0 15         | 250   |
| 111         | 1 27          | 1 31          | 1 36          | 1 41          | 1 46          | 1 51          | 1 57          | 2 2           | 2 8           | 2 14          | 2 20          | 2 26          | 0 16          | 249   |
| 112         | 1 26          | 1 30          | 1 34          | 1 39          | 1 44          | 1 50          | 1 55          | 2 1           | 2 6           | 2 12          | 2 18          | 2 24          | 0 16          | 248   |
| 113         | 1 24          | 1 28          | 1 33          | 1 38          | 1 43          | 1 48          | 1 54          | 1 59          | 2 5           | 2 11          | 2 16          | 2 22          | 0 17          | 247   |
| 114         | 1 22          | 1 27          | 1 32          | 1 37          | 1 41          | 1 47          | 1 52          | 1 58          | 2 3           | 2 9           | 2 15          | 2 20          | 0 18          | 246   |
| 115         | 1 21          | 1 26          | 1 30          | 1 35          | 1 40          | 1 45          | 1 51          | 1 56          | 2 1           | 2 7           | 2 13          | 2 18          | +0 19         | 245   |
| 116         | 1 19          | 1 24          | 1 29          | 1 34          | 1 38          | 1 44          | 1 49          | 1 55          | 2 0           | 2 6           | 2 11          | 2 17          | 0 19          | 244   |
| 117         | 1 18          | 1 23          | 1 27          | 1 32          | 1 37          | 1 42          | 1 48          | 1 53          | 1 58          | 2 4           | 2 10          | 2 15          | 0 20          | 243   |
| 118         | 1 17          | 1 21          | 1 26          | 1 31          | 1 36          | 1 41          | 1 46          | 1 51          | 1 57          | 2 2           | 2 8           | 2 14          | 0 21          | 242   |
| 119         | 1 15          | 1 20          | 1 25          | 1 29          | 1 34          | 1 39          | 1 45          | 1 50          | 1 55          | 2 1           | 2 6           | 2 12          | 0 22          | 241   |



TABLE XXVII. (PART E.—*Trop. Long. ☉ = 120° — 149° ; 240° — 211°.*)

| Lat.  | 10°    | 11°    | 12°    | 13°    | 14°    | 15°    | 16°    | 17°    | 18°    | 19°    | 20°    | 21°    | 22°    | 23°    | 24°    |       |
|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| Fin.  | 10°54  | 10°00  | 10°06  | 10°71  | 10°78  | 10°84  | 10°91  | 10°97  | 11°03  | 11°09  | 11°16  | 11°22  | 11°29  | 11°36  |        |       |
| Long. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | Long. |
| 120°  | 0 15   | 0 19   | 0 23   | 0 29   | 0 31   | 0 35   | 0 39   | 0 44   | 0 48   | 0 52   | 0 56   | 1 1    | 1 4    | 1 9    | 1 9    | 240°  |
| 121   | 0 15   | 0 18   | 0 22   | 0 28   | 0 30   | 0 35   | 0 39   | 0 43   | 0 47   | 0 51   | 0 55   | 0 59   | 1 3    | 1 8    | 1 8    | 239   |
| 122   | 0 15   | 0 17   | 0 22   | 0 27   | 0 29   | 0 34   | 0 38   | 0 42   | 0 46   | 0 50   | 0 54   | 0 58   | 1 1    | 1 7    | 1 7    | 238   |
| 123   | 0 14   | 0 17   | 0 21   | 0 27   | 0 28   | 0 33   | 0 37   | 0 41   | 0 45   | 0 49   | 0 53   | 0 57   | 1 0    | 1 5    | 1 5    | 237   |
| 124   | 0 13   | 0 16   | 0 20   | 0 26   | 0 28   | 0 32   | 0 36   | 0 40   | 0 44   | 0 48   | 0 52   | 0 56   | 0 59   | 1 4    | 1 4    | 236   |
| 125   | 0 13   | 0 15   | 0 20   | 0 25   | 0 27   | 0 31   | 0 35   | 0 39   | 0 43   | 0 46   | 0 50   | 0 54   | 0 58   | 1 3    | 1 3    | 235   |
| 126   | 0 12   | 0 15   | 0 19   | 0 24   | 0 27   | 0 30   | 0 34   | 0 38   | 0 42   | 0 45   | 0 49   | 0 53   | 0 56   | 1 1    | 1 1    | 234   |
| 127   | 0 12   | 0 14   | 0 19   | 0 24   | 0 26   | 0 30   | 0 33   | 0 37   | 0 41   | 0 44   | 0 48   | 0 52   | 0 55   | 1 0    | 1 0    | 233   |
| 128   | 0 11   | 0 14   | 0 18   | 0 23   | 0 25   | 0 29   | 0 32   | 0 36   | 0 40   | 0 43   | 0 47   | 0 51   | 0 54   | 0 59   | 0 59   | 232   |
| 129   | 0 11   | 0 13   | 0 17   | 0 22   | 0 24   | 0 28   | 0 31   | 0 35   | 0 39   | 0 42   | 0 46   | 0 50   | 0 52   | 0 57   | 0 57   | 231   |
| 130   | 0 10   | 0 12   | 0 17   | 0 21   | 0 23   | 0 27   | 0 30   | 0 34   | 0 38   | 0 41   | 0 45   | 0 48   | 0 51   | 0 56   | 0 56   | 230   |
| 131   | 0 9    | 0 12   | 0 16   | 0 20   | 0 23   | 0 26   | 0 30   | 0 33   | 0 37   | 0 40   | 0 43   | 0 47   | 0 50   | 0 54   | 0 54   | 229   |
| 132   | 0 9    | 0 11   | 0 15   | 0 20   | 0 22   | 0 25   | 0 29   | 0 32   | 0 36   | 0 39   | 0 42   | 0 46   | 0 48   | 0 53   | 0 53   | 228   |
| 133   | 0 8    | 0 11   | 0 15   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 0 24   | 0 28   | 0 31   | 0 35   | 0 38   | 0 41   | 0 45   | 0 47   | 0 52   | 0 52   | 227   |
| 134   | 0 8    | 0 10   | 0 14   | 0 19   | 0 20   | 0 24   | 0 27   | 0 30   | 0 33   | 0 37   | 0 40   | 0 43   | 0 46   | 0 50   | 0 50   | 226   |
| 135   | 0 7    | 0 9    | 0 13   | 0 18   | 0 20   | 0 23   | 0 26   | 0 29   | 0 32   | 0 36   | 0 39   | 0 42   | 0 45   | 0 49   | 0 49   | 225   |
| 136   | 0 7    | 0 9    | 0 13   | 0 17   | 0 19   | 0 22   | 0 25   | 0 28   | 0 31   | 0 34   | 0 38   | 0 41   | 0 43   | 0 48   | 0 48   | 224   |
| 137   | 0 6    | 0 8    | 0 12   | 0 17   | 0 18   | 0 21   | 0 24   | 0 27   | 0 30   | 0 33   | 0 36   | 0 40   | 0 42   | 0 46   | 0 46   | 223   |
| 138   | 0 6    | 0 8    | 0 12   | 0 16   | 0 17   | 0 20   | 0 23   | 0 26   | 0 29   | 0 32   | 0 35   | 0 39   | 0 41   | 0 45   | 0 45   | 222   |
| 139   | 0 5    | 0 7    | 0 11   | 0 15   | 0 16   | 0 20   | 0 22   | 0 25   | 0 28   | 0 31   | 0 34   | 0 37   | 0 40   | 0 44   | 0 44   | 221   |
| 140   | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 10   | 0 14   | 0 15   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 0 24   | 0 27   | 0 30   | 0 33   | 0 36   | 0 38   | 0 42   | 0 42   | 220   |
| 141   | 0 4    | 0 6    | 0 10   | 0 14   | 0 15   | 0 18   | 0 20   | 0 23   | 0 26   | 0 29   | 0 32   | 0 35   | 0 37   | 0 41   | 0 41   | 219   |
| 142   | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 9    | 0 13   | 0 14   | 0 17   | 0 20   | 0 23   | 0 25   | 0 28   | 0 31   | 0 34   | 0 36   | 0 40   | 0 40   | 218   |
| 143   | 0 3    | 0 5    | 0 8    | 0 12   | 0 14   | 0 16   | 0 19   | 0 22   | 0 24   | 0 27   | 0 29   | 0 32   | 0 34   | 0 38   | 0 38   | 217   |
| 144   | 0 2    | 0 4    | 0 8    | 0 12   | 0 13   | 0 15   | 0 18   | 0 21   | 0 23   | 0 26   | 0 28   | 0 31   | 0 33   | 0 37   | 0 37   | 216   |
| 145   | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 7    | 0 11   | 0 12   | 0 14   | 0 17   | 0 20   | 0 22   | 0 25   | 0 27   | 0 30   | 0 31   | 0 35   | 0 35   | 215   |
| 146   | 0 1    | 0 3    | 0 6    | 0 10   | 0 11   | 0 14   | 0 16   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 0 24   | 0 26   | 0 29   | 0 30   | 0 34   | 0 34   | 214   |
| 147   | 0 1    | 0 2    | 0 6    | 0 10   | 0 10   | 0 13   | 0 15   | 0 18   | 0 20   | 0 22   | 0 24   | 0 28   | 0 29   | 0 33   | 0 33   | 213   |
| 148   | 0 0    | 0 2    | 0 5    | 0 9    | 0 9    | 0 12   | 0 14   | 0 17   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 0 23   | 0 26   | 0 28   | 0 31   | 0 31   | 212   |
| 149   | 0 0    | 0 1    | 0 4    | 0 8    | 0 9    | 0 11   | 0 13   | 0 16   | 0 18   | 0 20   | 0 22   | 0 25   | 0 27   | 0 30   | 0 30   | 211   |

## PART E,—continued.

| Lat.  | 24°    | 25°    | 26°    | 27°    | 28°    | 29°    | 30°    | 31°    | 32°    | 33°    | 34°    | 35°    | 0°     |       |
|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| Fin.  | 11°43  | 11°50  | 11°57  | 11°63  | 11°71  | 11°78  | 11°86  | 11°95  | 12°03  | 12°11  | 12°18  | 12°27  | +0°03  |       |
| Long. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | Long. |
| 120°  | 1 14   | 1 19   | 1 23   | 1 28   | 1 33   | 1 37   | 1 43   | 1 48   | 1 54   | 1 59   | 2 4    | 2 10   | +0 22  | 240°  |
| 121   | 1 13   | 1 17   | 1 22   | 1 26   | 1 31   | 1 36   | 1 41   | 1 47   | 1 52   | 1 57   | 2 2    | 2 8    | 0 22   | 239   |
| 122   | 1 12   | 1 16   | 1 20   | 1 25   | 1 29   | 1 34   | 1 39   | 1 45   | 1 50   | 1 55   | 2 0    | 2 6    | 0 22   | 238   |
| 123   | 1 10   | 1 15   | 1 19   | 1 23   | 1 28   | 1 32   | 1 37   | 1 43   | 1 48   | 1 53   | 1 58   | 2 3    | 0 22   | 237   |
| 124   | 1 9    | 1 13   | 1 17   | 1 21   | 1 26   | 1 31   | 1 36   | 1 41   | 1 45   | 1 51   | 1 56   | 2 1    | 0 22   | 236   |
| 125   | 1 7    | 1 12   | 1 15   | 1 20   | 1 24   | 1 29   | 1 34   | 1 39   | 1 43   | 1 49   | 1 54   | 1 59   | +0 22  | 235   |
| 126   | 1 6    | 1 10   | 1 14   | 1 18   | 1 22   | 1 27   | 1 32   | 1 37   | 1 41   | 1 47   | 1 51   | 1 56   | 0 22   | 234   |
| 127   | 1 5    | 1 9    | 1 12   | 1 16   | 1 21   | 1 25   | 1 30   | 1 35   | 1 39   | 1 45   | 1 49   | 1 54   | 0 22   | 233   |
| 128   | 1 3    | 1 7    | 1 11   | 1 15   | 1 19   | 1 24   | 1 28   | 1 33   | 1 37   | 1 42   | 1 47   | 1 52   | 0 22   | 232   |
| 129   | 1 2    | 1 6    | 1 9    | 1 13   | 1 17   | 1 22   | 1 26   | 1 31   | 1 35   | 1 40   | 1 45   | 1 50   | 0 22   | 231   |
| 130   | 1 0    | 1 4    | 1 8    | 1 12   | 1 16   | 1 20   | 1 24   | 1 29   | 1 33   | 1 38   | 1 43   | 1 47   | +0 22  | 230   |
| 131   | 0 59   | 1 3    | 1 6    | 1 10   | 1 14   | 1 18   | 1 23   | 1 27   | 1 31   | 1 36   | 1 40   | 1 45   | 0 22   | 229   |
| 132   | 0 57   | 1 1    | 1 4    | 1 8    | 1 12   | 1 16   | 1 21   | 1 25   | 1 29   | 1 34   | 1 38   | 1 43   | 0 22   | 228   |
| 133   | 0 56   | 1 0    | 1 3    | 1 7    | 1 11   | 1 15   | 1 19   | 1 23   | 1 27   | 1 32   | 1 36   | 1 41   | 0 22   | 227   |
| 134   | 0 55   | 0 58   | 1 1    | 1 5    | 1 9    | 1 13   | 1 17   | 1 22   | 1 25   | 1 30   | 1 34   | 1 38   | 0 22   | 226   |
| 135   | 0 53   | 0 57   | 1 0    | 1 3    | 1 7    | 1 11   | 1 15   | 1 20   | 1 23   | 1 28   | 1 32   | 1 36   | +0 22  | 225   |
| 136   | 0 52   | 0 55   | 0 58   | 1 2    | 1 5    | 1 9    | 1 13   | 1 18   | 1 21   | 1 26   | 1 30   | 1 34   | 0 22   | 224   |
| 137   | 0 50   | 0 54   | 0 57   | 1 0    | 1 4    | 1 8    | 1 11   | 1 15   | 1 19   | 1 23   | 1 27   | 1 32   | 0 22   | 223   |
| 138   | 0 49   | 0 52   | 0 55   | 0 59   | 1 2    | 1 6    | 1 9    | 1 14   | 1 17   | 1 21   | 1 25   | 1 29   | 0 22   | 222   |
| 139   | 0 47   | 0 51   | 0 53   | 0 57   | 1 0    | 1 4    | 1 8    | 1 12   | 1 15   | 1 19   | 1 23   | 1 27   | 0 22   | 221   |
| 140   | 0 46   | 0 49   | 0 52   | 0 55   | 0 59   | 1 2    | 1 6    | 1 10   | 1 13   | 1 17   | 1 21   | 1 25   | +0 22  | 220   |
| 141   | 0 45   | 0 48   | 0 50   | 0 54   | 0 57   | 1 0    | 1 4    | 1 8    | 1 11   | 1 15   | 1 19   | 1 22   | 0 22   | 219   |
| 142   | 0 43   | 0 46   | 0 49   | 0 52   | 0 55   | 0 59   | 1 2    | 1 6    | 1 9    | 1 13   | 1 16   | 1 20   | 0 22   | 218   |
| 143   | 0 42   | 0 45   | 0 47   | 0 50   | 0 53   | 0 57   | 1 0    | 1 4    | 1 7    | 1 11   | 1 14   | 1 18   | 0 22   | 217   |
| 144   | 0 40   | 0 43   | 0 46   | 0 49   | 0 52   | 0 55   | 0 58   | 1 2    | 1 5    | 1 9    | 1 12   | 1 16   | 0 22   | 216   |
| 145   | 0 39   | 0 42   | 0 44   | 0 47   | 0 50   | 0 53   | 0 56   | 1 0    | 1 3    | 1 7    | 1 10   | 1 13   | +0 22  | 215   |
| 146   | 0 37   | 0 40   | 0 42   | 0 46   | 0 48   | 0 51   | 0 55   | 0 58   | 1 1    | 1 4    | 1 8    | 1 11   | 0 22   | 214   |
| 147   | 0 36   | 0 39   | 0 41   | 0 44   | 0 47   | 0 49   | 0 53   | 0 56   | 0 59   | 1 2    | 1 6    | 1 9    | 0 22   | 213   |
| 148   | 0 34   | 0 37   | 0 39   | 0 42   | 0 45   | 0 48   | 0 50   | 0 54   | 0 57   | 1 0    | 1 3    | 1 7    | 0 22   | 212   |
| 149   | 0 33   | 0 36   | 0 38   | 0 41   | 0 43   | 0 46   | 0 49   | 0 52   | 0 55   | 0 58   | 1 1    | 1 4    | 0 22   | 211   |



TABLE XXVII. (PART F.—*Trop. Long.*  $\odot = 150^\circ - 180^\circ, 210^\circ - 180^\circ$ .)

| Lat.  | 10°    | 11°    | 12°    | 13°    | 14°    | 15°    | 16°    | 17°    | 18°    | 19°    | 20°    | 21°    | 22°    | 23°    |       |
|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| Fin.  | 10-00  | 10-05  | 10-12  | 10-19  | 10-27  | 10-34  | 10-41  | 10-49  | 10-57  | 10-64  | 10-72  | 10-80  | 10-88  | 10-96  |       |
| Long. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | Long. |
| 150°  | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 3    | 0 6    | 0 8    | 0 10   | 0 12   | 0 15   | 0 17   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 0 24   | 0 26   | 0 29   | 210°  |
| 151   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 3    | 0 6    | 0 8    | 0 10   | 0 12   | 0 14   | 0 17   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 0 23   | 0 26   | 0 28   | 209   |
| 152   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 3    | 0 5    | 0 8    | 0 10   | 0 11   | 0 13   | 0 16   | 0 18   | 0 20   | 0 22   | 0 25   | 0 27   | 208   |
| 153   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 3    | 0 5    | 0 7    | 0 9    | 0 11   | 0 13   | 0 16   | 0 17   | 0 19   | 0 22   | 0 24   | 0 26   | 207   |
| 154   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 3    | 0 5    | 0 7    | 0 9    | 0 11   | 0 12   | 0 15   | 0 17   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 0 23   | 0 25   | 206   |
| 155   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 3    | 0 5    | 0 7    | 0 8    | 0 10   | 0 12   | 0 14   | 0 16   | 0 18   | 0 20   | 0 22   | 0 24   | 205   |
| 156   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 3    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 8    | 0 10   | 0 12   | 0 14   | 0 15   | 0 17   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 0 23   | 204   |
| 157   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 6    | 0 8    | 0 9    | 0 11   | 0 13   | 0 15   | 0 17   | 0 18   | 0 20   | 0 22   | 203   |
| 158   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 9    | 0 11   | 0 13   | 0 14   | 0 16   | 0 18   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 202   |
| 159   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 9    | 0 10   | 0 12   | 0 13   | 0 15   | 0 17   | 0 18   | 0 20   | 201   |
| 160   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 2    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 7    | 0 8    | 0 10   | 0 11   | 0 13   | 0 14   | 0 16   | 0 18   | 0 19   | 200   |
| 161   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 2    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 8    | 0 9    | 0 11   | 0 12   | 0 14   | 0 15   | 0 17   | 0 18   | 199   |
| 162   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 9    | 0 10   | 0 12   | 0 13   | 0 14   | 0 16   | 0 17   | 198   |
| 163   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 8    | 0 10   | 0 11   | 0 12   | 0 14   | 0 15   | 0 16   | 197   |
| 164   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 7    | 0 8    | 0 9    | 0 10   | 0 12   | 0 13   | 0 14   | 0 15   | 196   |
| 165   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 9    | 0 10   | 0 11   | 0 12   | 0 13   | 0 14   | 195   |
| 166   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 8    | 0 9    | 0 10   | 0 11   | 0 12   | 0 13   | 194   |
| 167   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 1    | 0 2    | 0 4    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 8    | 0 9    | 0 10   | 0 11   | 0 12   | 193   |
| 168   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 1    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 8    | 0 9    | 0 10   | 0 11   | 0 12   | 192   |
| 169   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 1    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 8    | 0 9    | 0 10   | 0 11   | 191   |
| 170   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 1    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 8    | 0 9    | 0 10   | 190   |
| 171   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 1    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 8    | 0 9    | 189   |
| 172   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 1    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 8    | 188   |
| 173   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 1    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 187   |
| 174   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 186   |
| 175   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 4    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 185   |
| 176   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 3    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 4    | 184   |
| 177   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 3    | 183   |
| 178   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 182   |
| 179   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 181   |
| 180   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 180   |

## PART F.—continued.

| Lat.  | 24°    | 25°    | 26°    | 27°    | 28°    | 29°    | 30°    | 31°    | 32°    | 33°    | 34°    | 35°    | 0°     |       |
|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| Fin.  | 11-04  | 11-13  | 11-21  | 11-30  | 11-39  | 11-48  | 11-57  | 11-66  | 11-76  | 11-87  | 11-97  | 12-07  | +0-73  |       |
| Long. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | gh. v. | Long. |
| 150°  | 0 31   | 0 34   | 0 36   | 0 39   | 0 41   | 0 44   | 0 47   | 0 50   | 0 53   | 0 56   | 0 59   | 1 2    | +0 22  | 210°  |
| 151   | 0 30   | 0 33   | 0 35   | 0 38   | 0 40   | 0 42   | 0 46   | 0 48   | 0 51   | 0 54   | 0 57   | 1 0    | 0 21   | 209   |
| 152   | 0 29   | 0 32   | 0 34   | 0 36   | 0 39   | 0 41   | 0 44   | 0 46   | 0 49   | 0 52   | 0 55   | 0 58   | 0 21   | 208   |
| 153   | 0 28   | 0 31   | 0 33   | 0 35   | 0 38   | 0 40   | 0 42   | 0 45   | 0 48   | 0 50   | 0 53   | 0 56   | 0 20   | 207   |
| 154   | 0 27   | 0 29   | 0 31   | 0 34   | 0 36   | 0 38   | 0 41   | 0 43   | 0 46   | 0 49   | 0 51   | 0 54   | 0 19   | 206   |
| 155   | 0 26   | 0 28   | 0 30   | 0 32   | 0 35   | 0 37   | 0 39   | 0 41   | 0 44   | 0 47   | 0 49   | 0 52   | +0 18  | 205   |
| 156   | 0 25   | 0 27   | 0 29   | 0 31   | 0 33   | 0 36   | 0 38   | 0 40   | 0 42   | 0 45   | 0 47   | 0 50   | 0 18   | 204   |
| 157   | 0 24   | 0 26   | 0 28   | 0 30   | 0 32   | 0 34   | 0 36   | 0 38   | 0 40   | 0 43   | 0 45   | 0 48   | 0 17   | 203   |
| 158   | 0 23   | 0 25   | 0 27   | 0 29   | 0 31   | 0 33   | 0 35   | 0 37   | 0 39   | 0 41   | 0 43   | 0 46   | 0 16   | 202   |
| 159   | 0 22   | 0 24   | 0 25   | 0 27   | 0 29   | 0 31   | 0 33   | 0 35   | 0 37   | 0 39   | 0 41   | 0 43   | 0 16   | 201   |
| 160   | 0 21   | 0 23   | 0 24   | 0 26   | 0 28   | 0 30   | 0 31   | 0 33   | 0 35   | 0 37   | 0 39   | 0 41   | +0 15  | 200   |
| 161   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 0 23   | 0 25   | 0 26   | 0 28   | 0 30   | 0 32   | 0 33   | 0 36   | 0 37   | 0 39   | 0 14   | 199   |
| 162   | 0 18   | 0 20   | 0 22   | 0 23   | 0 25   | 0 27   | 0 28   | 0 30   | 0 32   | 0 34   | 0 35   | 0 37   | 0 13   | 198   |
| 163   | 0 17   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 0 22   | 0 24   | 0 25   | 0 27   | 0 28   | 0 30   | 0 32   | 0 33   | 0 35   | 0 13   | 197   |
| 164   | 0 16   | 0 18   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 0 22   | 0 24   | 0 25   | 0 27   | 0 28   | 0 30   | 0 32   | 0 33   | 0 12   | 196   |
| 165   | 0 15   | 0 17   | 0 18   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 0 22   | 0 24   | 0 25   | 0 26   | 0 28   | 0 30   | 0 31   | +0 11  | 195   |
| 166   | 0 14   | 0 16   | 0 17   | 0 18   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 0 22   | 0 23   | 0 25   | 0 26   | 0 28   | 0 29   | 0 10   | 194   |
| 167   | 0 13   | 0 15   | 0 16   | 0 17   | 0 18   | 0 19   | 0 20   | 0 22   | 0 23   | 0 24   | 0 26   | 0 27   | 0 10   | 193   |
| 168   | 0 12   | 0 14   | 0 15   | 0 16   | 0 17   | 0 18   | 0 19   | 0 20   | 0 21   | 0 22   | 0 24   | 0 25   | 0 9    | 192   |
| 169   | 0 11   | 0 12   | 0 13   | 0 14   | 0 15   | 0 16   | 0 17   | 0 18   | 0 19   | 0 21   | 0 22   | 0 23   | 0 8    | 191   |
| 170   | 0 10   | 0 11   | 0 12   | 0 13   | 0 14   | 0 15   | 0 16   | 0 17   | 0 18   | 0 19   | 0 20   | 0 21   | +0 7   | 190   |
| 171   | 0 9    | 0 10   | 0 11   | 0 12   | 0 13   | 0 13   | 0 14   | 0 15   | 0 16   | 0 17   | 0 18   | 0 19   | 0 7    | 189   |
| 172   | 0 8    | 0 9    | 0 10   | 0 10   | 0 11   | 0 12   | 0 13   | 0 13   | 0 14   | 0 15   | 0 16   | 0 17   | 0 6    | 188   |
| 173   | 0 7    | 0 8    | 0 8    | 0 9    | 0 10   | 0 10   | 0 11   | 0 12   | 0 12   | 0 13   | 0 14   | 0 14   | 0 5    | 187   |
| 174   | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 7    | 0 8    | 0 8    | 0 9    | 0 9    | 0 10   | 0 11   | 0 11   | 0 12   | 0 12   | 0 4    | 186   |
| 175   | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 6    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 7    | 0 8    | 0 8    | 0 9    | 0 9    | 0 10   | 0 10   | +0 4   | 185   |
| 176   | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 5    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 6    | 0 6    | 0 7    | 0 7    | 0 7    | 0 8    | 0 8    | 0 3    | 184   |
| 177   | 0 3    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 4    | 0 4    | 0 4    | 0 5    | 0 5    | 0 5    | 0 6    | 0 6    | 0 6    | 0 2    | 183   |
| 178   | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 3    | 0 3    | 0 3    | 0 3    | 0 3    | 0 4    | 0 4    | 0 4    | 0 4    | 0 1    | 182   |
| 179   | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 1    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 2    | 0 1    | 181   |
| 180   | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 0 0    | 180   |



TABLE XXVIII.—*The Ayanāśha for centuries of the Kali Yuga and for odd years.\**

| K.Y. | Ayanāśha. | Years. | Ayanāśha. |
|------|-----------|--------|-----------|
| 3600 | 0° 0'     | 1      | 0° 0' 54" |
| 3700 | 1 30      | 2      | 0 0 48    |
| 3800 | 3 0       | 3      | 0 0 42    |
| 3900 | 4 30      | 4      | 0 0 36    |
|      |           | 5      | 0 0 30    |
| 4000 | 6 0       | 6      | 0 0 24    |
| 4100 | 7 30      | 7      | 0 0 18    |
| 4200 | 9 0       | 8      | 0 0 12    |
| 4300 | 10 30     | 9      | 0 0 6     |
| 4400 | 12 0      | 10     | 0 0 0     |
| 4500 | 13 30     | 20     | 0 18 0    |
| 4600 | 15 0      | 30     | 0 27 0    |
| 4700 | 16 30     | 40     | 0 36 0    |
| 4800 | 18 0      | 50     | 0 45 0    |
| 4900 | 19 30     | 60     | 0 54 0    |
|      |           | 70     | 1 3 0     |
| 5000 | 21 0      | 80     | 1 12 0    |
| ...  | ...       | 90     | 1 21 0    |

TABLE XXIX.—*The Ayanāśha according to the Siddhānta Siromani.*

| K.Y. | Ayanāśha. | Years. | Ayanāśha. |
|------|-----------|--------|-----------|
| 3628 | 0° 0' 0"  | 1      | 0° 1' 0"  |
| 3700 | 1 11 32   | 2      | 0 2 0     |
| 3800 | 2 51 22   | 3      | 0 3 0     |
| 3900 | 4 31 12   | 4      | 0 4 0     |
|      |           | 5      | 0 5 0     |
| 4000 | 6 11 2    | 6      | 0 5 59    |
| 4100 | 7 50 52   | 7      | 0 6 59    |
| 4200 | 9 30 42   | 8      | 0 7 59    |
| 4300 | 11 10 32  | 9      | 0 8 59    |
| 4400 | 12 50 22  | 10     | 0 9 59    |
| 4500 | 14 30 12  | 20     | 0 19 58   |
| 4600 | 16 10 2   | 30     | 0 29 57   |
| 4700 | 17 49 52  | 40     | 0 39 56   |
| 4800 | 19 29 42  | 50     | 0 49 55   |
| 4900 | 21 9 32   | 60     | 0 59 54   |
|      |           | 70     | 1 9 53    |
| 5000 | 22 49 22  | 80     | 1 19 52   |
| ...  | ...       | 90     | 1 29 51   |

\* Before K.Y. 3600 the Ayanāśha are negative; but they were probably not yet known at that time.



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# ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

- 2, line 16, ~~and page 1~~—~~read~~ note 7.
- 7, l. 31—~~for~~ Tohwah read Tolman.
- 10, l. 8—~~read~~ inscription.
- 15, in note 7<sup>1</sup>—~~read~~ ~~for~~.
- 17, l. 25—~~for~~ Tohwah read Tolman.
1. 35—~~read~~ Vrahmadi.
- 19, l. 5 fr. bot. ~~for~~ Aditya read Āditya.
- 25, ll. 1, 2—~~for~~ Haradā-aji read Haradāsa-ji.
- 13, l. 2—~~from~~ bottom, ~~for~~ Dev+karapa read Devakarapa.
- 35, foot-note, prefix <sup>2</sup>.
- 81, l. 27—~~for~~ nayara read nagara.
- 87, l. 6—~~for~~ twenty, read nearly seventy (68).
1. 9—~~for~~ hundred read hundred.
- 2nd foot-note, prefix <sup>2</sup>.
- 94, l. 5—~~for~~ Dhama- read Dhamasiva.
- 126, l. 7, and p. 127, l. 1.—As suggested by Prof. Aufrecht in his *Catal. Catalogorum* the word *Sūra* of the original should be taken to be a proper name, and the two passages should therefore be translated: 'The following is a verse of Sūra's,' and 'This is (a verse of) Sūra's.'
- 128, l. 41—~~before~~ which add of.
- 131, l. 18—~~for~~ the pardoned deceased son of, read son of the deceased pardoned.
- 133, foot-note, prefix <sup>2</sup>.
- 134, l. 1—~~for~~ ابن read ابن and l. 8, read Ism'ail, son of Rāib.
- 134, ll. 24 and 28, delete "and".
- 135, l. 18—~~for~~ درجہ we may read درجہ i.e. Durgah Mall.
- 136, l. 11—~~from~~ bottom, ~~del~~ of before the renowned.
- 148, l. 13, from bottom—~~read~~ ابن شيخ يوسف الفقير حقير خانيوسف (l. 6, from bottom) 'The poor, wretched Khān Yūsuf son of Shāikh Yūsuf.
- 150, l. 20—~~for~~ بند حضرت read بند حضرت (l. 29) his Solomon-like majesty.
- 154, lines 25, 26, 27, ~~for~~ Bohm read Bahar.
- 157, l. 6—~~for~~ غامی read غامی.
- 160, l. 12, ~~del~~ the sign of punctuation after Asiatic.
- 161—prefix <sup>2</sup> to the first note.
- Page 162, l. 13—~~read~~ ~~read~~.
1. 27—~~read~~ ~~read~~.
- 175, l. 29—~~read~~ ~~read~~.
- in note 7—~~read~~ ~~read~~.
- 176, l. 32—~~read~~ ~~read~~.
- 180, l. 28—~~read~~ vāshpāmbhāshana.
- 185, l. 23—~~read~~ ~~read~~.
1. 25—~~read~~ ~~read~~.
- 192, note<sup>2</sup> add:—As pointed out to me by Prof. Bühler, this verse evidently contains a reference to the towns of Kalyāṇa, Āśvalli and Ayodhyā; but I cannot give yet an entirely satisfactory translation.
- 212, last foot note,—prefix <sup>1</sup>, and add:—Dr. Fleet informs me, that these copper-plates now belong to Patsingh and Patsingh Patter of Samgamner. He also informs me that the Garuda of the seal is represented as a man, squatting, with his hands joined palm to palm, and with a high tiara on his head; and that his wings are depicted in much the same way as on the Pathan and other Rāshtrakūṭa seals.
- 217, note<sup>2</sup> add:—Dr. Fleet, after cleaning the original plates, has kindly furnished the following notes on the printed text:—In line 16 the inserted letters (compare note 39) are *syāhāyā*; the *anuvāda* is omitted.—In line 29 the reading is *madana-mādyana-mānina*.—In line 30 read *ka hē narandra*.—In line 31 for [nanu] read *oḥa*.—In line 31 for [tale] read *bhrito*.—In line 33 the bracketed *akṣaras* *ra* and *na* are quite clear.—In line 40 read *yaṇa*.
- 219, l. 51—~~read~~ ~~read~~.
- 223, l. 6—~~read~~ ~~read~~.
- l. 42—~~read~~ ~~read~~.
- 226, l. 3—~~read~~ ~~read~~.
- l. 24—~~read~~ ~~read~~.
- 229, l. 41—~~read~~ *Sārya-siddhānta*.
- 230, l. 30—~~read~~ ~~read~~.
- 239, l. 22—~~read~~ ~~read~~.
- 240, note<sup>2</sup>—~~for~~ Lakshmana read Lakshmana.
- 255, l. 31—~~for~~ read (f).
- 265, l. 10—~~for~~ ~~read~~ ~~read~~.
- 267, l. 21—~~for~~ Path read Path.
- 267, in note<sup>2</sup>—~~read~~ ~~read~~.

Read on... 3.6.40  
R. R. No. 7820  
S. R. No. 50446



Page 397, l. 24—read °सर्वस्व?  
 " 384, l. 15—add the sign of visarga opposite the figure 8.  
 " 395, l. 4—read °द्वे.  
 " " l. 11— " द्विवि.  
 " 399, l. 31—put a comma after was.  
 " 399, l. 13—put a comma at the end of the line.  
 " 399, l. 9—for which read which.  
 " 399, l. 6—read बीजी.  
 " " l. 21— " बीजासः.  
 " 399, note 3d—for Kielhorn read Kielhorn.  
 " 399, note 2, last line—for See place read See plate.  
 " 399, l. 16 (2nd col.)—for odātā read odātā-[4.]

Page 411, l. 7—read महीक्षव.  
 " " note 1d— " आश्वि.  
 " 412, l. 10— " बी न.  
 " " l. 19— " वैभव.  
 " 413, l. 17— " विचित्रह.  
 " " l. 32— " दत्तलक्ष्मी.  
 " 415, l. 34— " रामवीर.  
 " 416, l. 16— " तद्वत्.  
 " 420, l. 23— " चटपट.  
 " 421, l. 23—add a comma at the end of the line.  
 " 422, l. 24—read Rāmākīrti and Jayākīrti  
 " " l. 25 for a read any.

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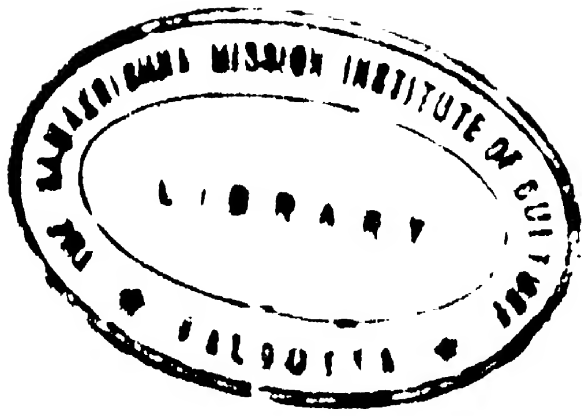


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